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Ps. CXIX. 169.
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ὁ λογος ὁ σος αληθεια ἐστι
ΑΚΡΟΓΩΝΙ
ΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED

BY

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VOLUME FIFTH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE COSMOGONY, MYTHOLOGY, RELIGIOUS IDEAS, LIFE AND MANNERS, OF THE INDIANS IN THE VEDIC AGE.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1872.

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἄψυχον ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὑποχείριον· ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀέναα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαμεν, οὐχ ἑτέρους παρ' ἑτέροις οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ νοτίους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, οὕτως ἑνὸς λόγου τοῦ ταῦτα κοσμοῦντος καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας ἐπιτροπευούσης, καὶ δυνάμεων ὑπουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντας τεταγμένων, ἕτεραι παρ' ἑτέροις κατὰ νόμους γεγόνασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσηγορίαι· καὶ συμβόλοις χρῶνται, καθιερωμένοι οἱ μὲν ἀμυδροῖς, οἱ δὲ τρανωτέροις, ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν νόησιν ὁδηγοῦντες οὐκ ἀκινδύνως. Ἔνιοι γὰρ ἀποσφαλέντες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὤλισθον· οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἕλος τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἔλαθον αὖθις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες τὴν ἀθεότητα.—Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, section 67.

[In opposition to those who represented Dionysos, the wine-god, as meaning merely wine, Hephaistos fire, Demeter corn, etc., Plutarch urges]:—

"For the god is not a lifeless thing, subject to human handling and control. But from the fact that they dispose of, and bestow upon us, these objects, and preserve them to us perpetual and constant, we have considered them to be gods. And these gods are not different among different peoples, they are not Barbarian, or Hellenic, not southern or northern; but just as the sun, and the moon, and the heaven, and the earth, and the sea are common to all—though they receive different names from different races—so too, while there is but one reason that orders, and one providence that superintends, this universe, and administrative powers are set over all, different honours and appellations have been assigned to these divine beings by the laws of different nations. And symbols too are employed, some of an obscure character, by initiated persons, and others of a plainer description by others, with the view of guiding men's conceptions of divine things. But this practice is not free from danger; for some persons, deviating from the truth, have slipped into superstition, while others, seeking to avoid the marsh of superstition, have fallen into atheism as over a precipice."

HERTFORD:

PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

PREFACE.

In the present volume I have reprinted, with the addition of some new materials, subsequently collected, and of the texts on which they are founded, a series of papers on the theogony, mythology, and religious ideas of the Vedic poets, and other subjects, which originally appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1864, and the two following years: and I have appended a new section, on life and manners during the Vedic age.

I have not thought it necessary to translate all the texts to which I have referred in proof of the representations I have made. To have done so would have extended the work to an unnecessary length, as numerous verses are cited for the sake of a single epithet. Some of the texts are rendered in full; but in many, perhaps most, cases I have contented myself with giving the substance of several passages of similar or identical purport.

Nor have I considered it necessary to supply here any summary of the contents of the volume, such as was given in the prefaces to the third and fourth volumes, and in that to the second edition of the first volume. The summary given in the Table of Contents seems sufficiently ample to afford the reader the means of readily

ascertaining what he may expect to find in the body of the work.

I have tried to exhibit, in a metrical form, the substance of the ideas regarding Indra and some other deities, which are more fully illustrated in the prose sections.

I should also further remark that in this volume I have attempted nothing more than to exhibit the most prominent features of the gods,—such as display themselves on the surface. It must remain for some more profound and critical scholar, after maturer investigation, to penetrate more deeply into the nature and essence of the Vedic mythology, to estimate and represent it in a more philosophical spirit, to investigate the age of the different hymns, and to determine how far it may be possible to trace in them a development of the mythology, from a simpler to a more complex state, or any other modification of its character or elements, even before it began to show any tendency towards monotheism.

Meanwhile, and until the subject shall have been treated in a manner more befitting its importance, the materials which I have brought together, arranged, and interpreted, will enable those students of mythology who are themselves unable to consult the originals, to form, I trust, a not inaccurate, and a tolerably complete, conception of the character and attributes of the Indian deities in the earliest form in which they are represented to us by written records.

CONTENTS.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 22 In the page-headings from here to p. 96, *for* "The Indian gods generally" *substitute* the headings of the several subsections.

,, 36, line 4, for "*stānāḥ*" read "*sthānāḥ*."

,, 46, ,, 19, for "*Varuṇauta*" read "*Varuṇa uta*."

,, 63, ,, 10, *after* "foolish" *insert* "vii. 61, 5."

,, 85, ,, 3 from bottom, *after* "Indra" *insert* "vi. 21, 4."

,, 93, ,, 9 from bottom, for "*jaghrusho*" read "*jaghnusho*."

,, 134, ,, 6 from bottom, *for* "dare" *read* "brave."

,, 350, ,, 21, *after* "quoted" *insert* "above, p. 50, and."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME FIFTH.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Fourth Volume of this work I have collected the principal passages of the Vedic Hymns which refer to the origin of the universe, and to the characters of the gods Hiraṇyagarbha, Viśvakarman, Vishṇu, Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā; and have compared the representations there given of these deities with the later stories and speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Brāhmaṇas, and in the mythological poems of a more modern date. In the course of these researches, I have also introduced occasional notices of some of the other Vedic deities, such as Aditi, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

In the present volume I propose to give a further account of the cosmogony, mythology, and religious ideas exhibited in the hymns of the Rig-veda,[1] and to compare these occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.

[1] This subject has been already treated by Professor Roth in his dissertations on "The Legend of Jemshid" and on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 417 ff. and vi. 67 ff.; by the same writer, and by Professor Whitney, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 291 ff., and 331 ff.; by Professor Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 607 ff.; by Professor Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856 (reprinted in Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.), and in his History of Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 531 ff.; by Professor Wilson in the Prefaces to the three vols. of his translation of the Rig-veda; by M. Langlois in the notes to his French translation of the Rig-

(1) *Affinities of the Indian and Grecian mythologies.*

In the Second Volume of this work I have stated the reasons, drawn from history and from comparative philology, which exist for concluding that the Brahmanical Indians belong to the same race as the Greek, the Latin, the Teutonic, and other nations of Europe. If this conclusion be well-founded, it is evident that at the time when the several branches of the great Indo-European family separated to commence their migrations in the direction of their future homes, they must have possessed in common a large stock of religious and mythological conceptions. This common mythology would, in the natural course of events, and from the action of various causes, undergo a gradual modification analogous to that undergone by the common language which had originally been spoken by all these tribes during the period of their union; and, in the one case as in the other, this modification would assume in the different races a varying character, corresponding to the diversity of the influences to which they were severally subjected. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find that even the oldest existing mythology of the Indians differs widely from the oldest known mythology of the Greeks, any more than we are to find that the Sanskrit in its earliest surviving forms is a very different language from the earliest extant Greek, since the Vedic hymns, the most primitive remains of Sanskrit poetry, date from a period when the two kindred races had been separated for perhaps above a thousand years, and the most ancient monuments of Greek literature are still more recent. Yet, notwithstanding this long separation, we might reasonably anticipate that some fragments of the primitive Indo-European mythology should have remained common to both the eastern and the western branches of the family; while, at the same time, we should, of course, expect that such traces of common religious conceptions would be more distinctly perceptible in the older than in the more recent literary productions of the several peoples. And such, in point of fact, turns out to be the case. The mythology of the Veda

veda; by Professor Weber, and by Drs. Kuhn and Bühler, etc. etc. The substance of some of the following sections is repeated or condensed in a paper which I read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1864. See the Transactions of that Society, vol. xxiii. part iii. pp. 647 ff.

does exhibit in some points a certain similarity to that of Homer and Hesiod, and the mutual resemblance between the religious ideas of those ancient works is, upon the whole, greater than that existing between the later Indian and the Greek pantheons. I say that, upon the whole, the older Indian mythology coincides more nearly with the Greek than the later Indian mythology does. But, on the other hand, the later Indian system presents some points of resemblance with the Greek which the Vedic system does not exhibit. I allude to the fact that we find in the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas a god of the sea, a god of war, and a goddess of love, who (the last two, at least,) are unknown to the oldest parts of the Veda, and yet correspond in a general way to the Poseidon, the Ares, and the Aphrodite of the Greeks. Personifications of this sort may, however, be either the product of an early instinct which leads men to create divine representatives and superintendents of every department of nature, as well as of human life and action; or they may arise in part from a later process of imagination or reflection which conducts to the same result, and from a love of systematic completeness which impels a people to fill up any blanks in their earlier mythology, and to be always adding to and modifying it. Resemblances of this last description, though they are by no means accidental, are not necessarily anything more than the results of similar processes going on in nations possessing the same general tendencies and characteristics. But the older points of coincidence between the religious ideas of the Greeks and the Indians, to which reference was first made, are of a different character, and are the undoubted remains of an original mythology which was common to the ancestors of both races. This is shown by the fact that, in the cases to which I allude, it is not only the functions, but the names, of the gods which correspond in both literatures.

(2) *Antiquity and peculiarity of the Vedic mythology.*

But the value of the Vedic mythology to the general scholar does not consist merely in the circumstance that a few religious conceptions, and the names of two or three deities, are common to it with the Greek. It is even more important to observe that the earliest monuments of Indian poetry, consisting, as they do, almost exclusively of

hymns in praise of the national deities, and being the productions of an age far anterior to that of Homer and Hesiod, represent a more ancient period of religious development than we discover in the Greek poets, and disclose to us, in the earliest stages of formation, a variety of myths which a few centuries later had assumed a fixed and recognised form.[2] It is also to be noticed that, from the copiousness of the materials they supply, the hymns of the Rig-veda furnish us with far more minute illustrations of the natural workings of the human mind, in the period of its infancy, upon matters of religion than we can find in any other literature whatever. From their higher antiquity, these Indian hymns are also fitted to throw light on the meaning of a few points of the Greek system which were before obscure. Thus, as we shall see, the Indian Dyaus (sky, or heaven) explains the original meaning of the Greek Zeus, and the Sanskrit Varuṇa gives a clue to the proper signification of Ouranos.

As in the first volume of this work, 2nd edition, pp. 2–4,[3] I have stated the grounds on which the Vedic hymns are assumed to have been composed at a period considerably more than a thousand years before our era, I shall here take their great antiquity for granted, and proceed to give some account of their cosmogony and mythology.

(3) *Origin of cosmogonic and mythological speculation.*

To a simple mind reflecting, in the early ages of the world, on the origin of all things, various solutions of the mystery might naturally present themselves. Sometimes the production of the existing universe would be ascribed to physical, and at other times to spiritual, powers. On the one hand, the various processes of growth and change which are constantly visible in all the departments of nature might have suggested the notion of the world having gradually arisen out of nothing, or out of a pre-existing undeveloped substance. Such an idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of a primeval principle, or out of indiscrete matter, called Prakṛiti, became at a later period the foundation of the Sânkhya philosophy. Or, again, perceiving light and form and colour

[2] See Professor Max Müller's essay on "Comparative Mythology," in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 47, and the reprint in Chips from a German Workshop, p. 75 f.

[3] See also Vol. II. pp. 206 ff. and Vol. III. 2nd ed. 217 f. and 224.

and beauty emerge slowly every morning out of a gloom in which all objects had before appeared to be confounded, the early speculator might conceive that in like manner the brightness and order of the world around him had sprung necessarily out an antecedent night in which the elements of all things had existed together in indistinguishable chaos. And, in fact, this idea of the universe having arisen out of darkness and chaos is the doctrine of one of the later hymns of the R.V. (x. 129). Or, on the other hand, contemplating the results effected by human design and energy, and arguing from the less to the greater, or rather impelled by an irresistible instinct to create other beings after his own likeness,[4] but endowed with higher powers, the ancient thinker might feel that the well-ordered frame of nature could not possibly have sprung into being from any blind necessity, but must have been the work of a conscious and intelligent will. In this stage of thought, however, before the mind had risen to the conception of one supreme creator and governor of all things, the various departments of nature were apportioned between different gods, each of whom was imgined to preside over his own especial domain. But these domains were imperfectly defined. One blended with another, and might thus be subject, in part, to the rule of more than one deity. Or, according to the various relations under which they were regarded, these several provinces of the creation might be subdivided among a plurality of divinities, or varying forms of the same divinity. These remarks might be illustrated by numerous instances drawn from the Vedic mythology. In considering the literary productions of this same period, we further find that as yet the difference between mind and matter was but imperfectly conceived, and that, although, in some cases, the distinction between some particular province of nature and the deity who was supposed to preside over it was clearly discerned, yet in other instances the two things were confounded, and the same visible object was at different times regarded diversely, as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being, and a cos-

[4] Arist. Pol. i. 2, 7. Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ δι μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, δι δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο· ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔιδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν δι ἄνθρωποι, ὅυτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν. "And all men represent the gods as being ruled by a king, because they themselves, either now, or formerly, were so governed. And just as men regard the forms, so also they consider the lives, of the gods, to be similar to their own."

mical power. Thus, in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth, are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings.

(4) *Variety in the conceptions of the Vedic poets.*

The varieties and discrepancies which are in this way incident to all nature-worship, are, in the case of the Vedic mythology, augmented by the number of the poets by whom it was moulded, and the length of time during which it continued in process of formation.

The Rig-veda consists of more than a thousand hymns, composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries. In these songs the authors gave expression not only to the notions of the supernatural world which they had inherited from their ancestors, but also to their own new conceptions. In that early age the imaginations of men were peculiarly open to impressions from without; and in a country like India, where the phenomena of nature are often of the most striking description, such spectators could not fail to be overpowered by their influence. The creative faculties of the poets were thus stimulated to the highest pitch. In the starry sky, in the dawn, in the morning sun scaling the heavens, in the bright clouds floating across the air and assuming all manner of magnificent or fantastic shapes, in the waters, in the rain, in the storm, in the thunder and lightning, they beheld the presence and agency of different divine powers, propitious or angry, whose characters corresponded with those of the physical operations or appearances in which they were manifested. In the hymns composed under the influence of any grand phenomena, the authors would naturally ascribe a peculiar or exclusive importance to the deities by whose action these appeared to have been produced, and would celebrate their greatness with proportionate fervour. Other poets might attribute the same natural appearances to the agency of other deities, whose greatness they would in like manner extol; while others again would devote themselves in preference to the service of some other god whose working they seemed to witness in some other department of creation. In this way, while the same traditional divinities were acknowledged by all, the power, dignity, and functions

of each particular god might be differently estimated by different poets, or perhaps by the same poet, according to the external influences by which he was awed or inspired on each occasion. And it might even happen that some deity who had formerly remained obscure, would, by the genius of a new poet devoted to his worship, be brought out into greater prominence. In such circumstances it need not surprise us if we find one particular power or deity in one place put above, and in another place subordinated to, some other god; sometimes regarded as the creator, and sometimes as the created. This is very prominently illustrated in the case of the Vedic divinities, Dyaus and Pṛithivī, Heaven and Earth, to which the second Section shall be devoted, and by other instances which will be brought to light in the following pages.

SECTION I.

THE INDIAN GODS GENERALLY, AS REPRESENTED IN THE RIG-VEDA.

Before proceeding to offer some description of the powers, functions, characters, and mutual relations of the several deities celebrated in the Rig-veda, I shall give some account of the general conceptions entertained by the Vedic poets and some later Indian writers, regarding their classes, numbers, origin, and duration.

(1) *Yāska's classification of the gods.*

The following classification of the Vedic gods is adduced by Yāska[5] in his Nirukta (vii. 5), as being that given by the ancient expositors who preceded him: *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā antariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām māhābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā adhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā abhidhānāni* | "There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda (*Nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the air; and Sūrya (the sun), whose place is in the sky.[6] These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *ud-*

[5] For some account of Yāska's work see the second vol. of this work, pp. 162 and 173, and my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, pp. 319 ff.

[6] Compare R.V. x. 158, 1. *Sūryo no divas pātu Vāto antarikshāt | Agnir naḥ pārthivebhyaḥ* | "May the Sun preserve us from the sky, Vāyu from the air, and Agni from things on earth."

gātṛi, are applied to one and the same person, [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling]. Or these gods may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct."[7] Pursuing the triple classification here indicated, Yāska proceeds in the latter part of his work to divide the different deities, or forms of the same deities, specified in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka or Vocabulary, which is prefixed to his work, into the three orders of terrestrial (Nirukta vii. 14–ix. 43), intermediate or aerial (x. 1–xi. 50), and celestial (xii. 1–46). I shall not reproduce these lists, which could not in some places be thoroughly understood without explanation, as they include several deities whose precise character and identification with other divinities are disputed, and embrace a number of objects which are not gods at all, but are constructively regarded as such from their being addressed in the hymns.[8]

(2) *Their number.*

The gods are spoken of in various texts of the Rig-veda as being thirty-three in number. Thus it is said in R.V. i. 34, 11: "Come

[7] This passage is quoted more at length in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 133 ff.

[8] The following is the manner in which Yāska classifies the hymns. I quote the classification as interesting, though unconnected with my present subject:—He divides (Nir. vii. 1) the hymns, or portions of hymns, devoted to the praise of the gods into three classes, viz. (1) those in which the gods are addressed in the third person as absent, as "Indra rules over heaven and earth" (x. 89, 10), etc.; (2) those which address them in the second person as present, such as "O Indra, slay thou our enemies" (x. 152, 4), etc.; and (3) those in which the author speaks in the first person, and about himself. Of these the first two classes are the most numerous. Again some of the hymns are merely laudatory, as, "I declare the valorous deeds of Indra," R.V. i. 32, 1; others contain prayers, not praises, as, "may I see clearly with my eyes, be radiant in my face, and hear distinctly with my ears." Again, there are imprecations, as, "may I die to-day, if I am a Yātudhāna" (vii. 104, 15), etc. Again, a particular state of things is described, as, "there was then neither death nor immortality" (x. 129, 2). Again, a lamentation is uttered, as, "the bright god will fly away and never return" (x. 95, 15). Or, praise and blame are expressed, as, "he who eats alone, is alone in his guilt" (x. 117, 6), and "the house of the liberal man is like a pond where lotuses grow" (x. 107, 10); and in the same way, in the hymn to Dice, gambling is reprehended, and agriculture praised (x. 34, 13). "Thus the views with which the rishis beheld the hymns were very various." The original text of most of this passage will be found in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 211.

hither, Nâsatyas, Aśvins, together with the thrice eleven gods,[9] to drink our nectar" (*ā nāsatyā tribhir ekādaśair iha devebhir yātam madhupeyam Aśvinā*).

Again, in i. 45, 2: "Agni, the wise gods lend an ear to their worshipper. God with the ruddy steeds, who lovest praise, bring hither those three and thirty" (*śrushṭivāno hi dāśushe devāḥ Agne vichetasaḥ* | *tān rohidaśva girvaṇas trayastriṁśatam ā vaha*).

i. 139, 11 (=Taitt. S. i. 4, 10, 1). "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory[10] are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering" (*ye devāso divi ekādaśa stha pṛithivyām adhi ekādaśa stha* | *apsukshito mahinā ekādaśa stha te devāso yajnam imaṁ jushadhvam*).

iii. 6. 9. "Agni bring hither according to thy wont and gladden the three and thirty gods with their wives" (*patnīvatas triṁśataṁ trīṁś cha devān anushvadham āvaha mādayasva*).

viii. 28, 1. "May the three over thirty gods who have visited our sacrificial grass, recognize us, and give us double"[11] (*ye triṁśati trayas paro devāso barhir āsadan* | *vidann aha dvitā 'sanan*).

viii. 30, 2. "Ye who are the three and thirty gods worshipped by Manu (or man), when thus praised, may ye become the destroyers of our foes" (*iti stutāso asatha riśādaso ye stha trayaś cha triṁśach cha* | *manor devāḥ yajniyāsaḥ*).

viii. 35, 3. "Aśvins, associated with all the thrice eleven gods, with the Waters, the Maruts, the Bhṛigus, and united with the Dawn and the Sun, drink the soma" (*viśvair devais tribhir ekādaśair iha adbhir marudbhir Bhṛigubhiḥ sachābhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibata Aśvinā*).

[9] That is, as Sāyaṇa explains, those included in the three classes, consisting each of eleven gods, specified in the verse (i. 139, 11), "Ye eleven gods who exist in the sky," etc.

[10] On this Sāyaṇa remarks, "Although, according to the text, 'There are only three gods,' (Nirukta, vii. 5), the deities who represent the earth, etc., are but three, still through their greatness, *i.e.* their respective varied manifestations, they amount to thirty-three, according to the saying, 'other manifestations of Him exist in different places.'" Compare S'p. Br. xi. 6, 3, 4 ff. The Atharva-veda (x. 9, 12) divides the gods into dwellers in the sky, air, and earth (*ye devāḥ divishado antarikshasadaś cha ye ye cha ime bhūmyām adhi*). And the same Veda i. 30, 3, speaks of the gods who dwell in the sky, on earth, in the air, in plants, animals, and waters (*ye devāḥ divi stha ye pṛithivyāṁ ye antarikshe oshadhīshu paśushu apsu antaḥ*).

[11] Roth says that *dvitā* does not mean *double*, but *assuredly, especially*.

ix. 92, 4. "O pure Soma, all these gods, thrice eleven in number, are in thy secret," etc.[12] (*tava te, Soma pavamāna niṇye viśve devās trayaḥ ekādaśa*).

This number of thirty-three gods is in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iv. 5, 7, 2) explained as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas, together with Dyaus and Pṛithivī (Heaven and Earth), while Prajāpati makes a thirty-fourth (*ashṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dyāvā-pṛithivī trayastriṁśyau | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ | Prajāpatiś chatustriṁśaḥ*). Or, according to another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5), the thirty-three are made up in the same manner with the exception of Indra and Prajāpati, who are substituted for Heaven and Earth (*te ekatriṁśad Indraś chaiva Prajāpatiś cha trayastriṁśau*).[13]

This enumeration could scarcely have been the one contemplated in the hymns, as we have seen that one of the texts above quoted (R.V. i. 139, 11) assigns eleven deities, who must probably have been all of the same class, to each of the three spheres, sky, air, and earth.[14] It is

[12] This number of thirty-three gods is referred to in a hymn to the sun in the Mahābhārata iii. 171, as joining in the worship of that deity: *Trayas triṁśach cha vai devāḥ.* See also v. 14019 and 15465 of the same third book; book iv. 1769, and book xiii. 7102. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa 14, 14 f. (Bombay ed.) Aditi was the mother of thirty-three gods, Adityas, Vasus, and Rudras, and of the two Aśvins (*Adityām jajnire devās trayastriṁśad arindama | Adityāḥ Vasavo Rudrāḥ Aśvinau cha parantapa*). In Gorresio's edit. the verse occurs in 20, 15. See also the S'p. Br. xii. 8, 3, 29. The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says that Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave in marriage to Soma. The A.V. xi. 3, 52, says that Prajāpati made thirty-three worlds out of the odana oblation. See also R.V. viii. 39, 9, Vālakhilya, 9, 2. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 18, says: *trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ somapās trayastriṁśad asomapāḥ | ashṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Adityāḥ Prajāpatiś cha Vashaṭkāraś cha ete devāḥ somapāḥ | ekādaśa prayājāḥ ekādaśa anuyājāḥ ekādaśa upayājāḥ ete asomapāḥ paśu-bhājanāḥ | somena somapān prīṇāti paśunā asomapān* | "Thirty-three gods are drinkers of Soma, and thirty-three are not. The eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, Prajāpati and Vashaṭkāra are the soma-drinkers. The eleven Prayājas, the eleven Anuyājas, and the eleven Upayājas are those who do not drink it, but receive animal sacrifices. He (the sacrificer) satiates the soma-drinkers with soma, and those who do not drink it with animal-sacrifices." For an explanation of the terms *prayāja, anuyāja, and upayāja* see Professor Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. ii. 110, notes.

[13] Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 2, 4. In the sequel of the above passage (S'atap. Br. xi. 6, 3, 6) Dyaus, Pṛithivī, and Āditya are said to be included among the Vasus. So that it is clear there is no consistency in these accounts.

[14] On this division of the universe into three domains, see the remarks of Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races." Jour. Germ. Or. Society, 1852, p. 68.

also clear that this number of thirty-three gods could not have embraced the whole of the Vedic deities, as in some of the preceding texts Agni, the Aśvins, and the Maruts are separately specified, as if distinct from the thirty-three. Further, Indra could not have been, in the opinion of the author of the Brāhmaṇa, at least as expressed in this passage, xi. 6, 3, 5, one of the twelve Ādityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of thirty-three gods.

In the R.V. iii. 9, 9 (= R.V. x. 52, 6 and Vāj. S. 33, 7) the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni,"[15] etc. (*trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇi Agniṁ triṁśach cha devāḥ nava cha asaparyan*).

In another passage (i. 27, 13) the gods are spoken of as divided into great and small, young and old: "Reverence to the great, reverence to the small: reverence to the young, reverence to the old. Let us worship the gods if we are able; may I not, o gods, neglect the praise of the greatest" (*namo mahadbhyo namo arbhakebhyo namo yuvabhyo namaḥ āśinebhyaḥ | yajāma devān yadi śaknavāma na jyāyasaḥ śamsam ā vṛikshi devāḥ |*).

I am not aware, however, that this latter classification of the gods is alluded to in any other of the hymns. In fact this distinction among the deities is denied in another passage, viii. 30, 1: *na hi vo asti arbhako devāso na kumārakaḥ | viśve satomahāntaḥ it |* ("None of you, o gods, is small or young: you are all great").

(3) *Their origin and immortality.*

In the Rig-veda the gods are spoken of as immortal[16] (as in i. 24, 1; i. 72, 2, 10; i. 189, 3; iii. 4, 11; iii. 21, 1; iv. 42, 1; vii. 11, 1; vii. 17, 4; x. 13, 1; x. 65, 15; x. 69, 9; x. 72, 5; but they are not regarded in

[15] The commentator remarks here that the number of the gods is declared in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad. See pp. 642 ff. of the text of this Upanishad, printed in the Bibl. Ind.; and pp. 205 ff. of the English translation in the same series. The same passage occurs in nearly the same words in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 4 ff. On the numbers of the gods, see a note of Professor Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 212, note, and the remarks by Dr. Kuhn in his notice of this paper in his Zeitschrift, p. 223.

[16] In the Atharva-veda i. 31, 1, four immortals are spoken of as the guardians of the four quarters of the sky (*āśānām āśāpālebhyaś chaturbhyo amṛitebhyaḥ*).

general as unbeginning or self-existent beings.[17] There are, as we shall see in the next section, many passages in which they are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. In i. 113, 19, Ushas, the Dawn, is characterized as the mother of the gods (*devānām mātā*); in ii. 26, 3, Brahmaṇaspati is called their father (*devānām pitaram*); in ix. 87, 2, Soma is said to be the father and skilful generator of the gods (*pitā devānām janitā sudakshaḥ;* see also ix. 42, 4; ix. 86, 10; and ix. 109, 4); in ix. 96, 5, the same deity is described as the generator of Heaven, Earth, Agni, Sūrya, Indra, and Vishṇu (*janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitota Vishṇoḥ*); in x. 72, 5, the gods are declared to have been born after Aditi (*tāṁ devāh anv ajāyanta*); in x. 97, 1, certain plants appear to be described as produced three ages (yugas) before the gods (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*); whilst in x. 129, 6, the gods are said to have been born subsequently to the creation of the universe, so that in consequence no one can declare its origin (*arvāg devās tasya visarjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ā babhūva*).[18] Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, and Aṁśa are designated, in R.V. ii. 27, 1, and some of them elsewhere, as Ādityas, or sons of Aditi. The birth of Indra is mentioned in various texts, and his father and mother alluded to, though not generally named[19] (iv. 17, 4, 12; iv. 18, 5, 12; viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 1; x. 134, 1 ff.). In vi. 59, 1, Indra and Agni are ad-

[17] This is not, however, admitted by Professor Max Müller, who says (Chips from a German Workshop, i. 38) "passages in which the birth of certain gods is mentioned have a physical meaning: they refer to the birth of the day, the rising of the sun, the return of the year."

[18] In the Atharva-veda xi. 7, 23, all the gods are said to have been born from *Uchchhishṭa* or the remains of the oblation (*Uchchhishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritāḥ*); and in verse 27 the same assertion is repeated regarding them in conjunction with the fathers, men, Gandharvas, and Apsarases (*devāḥ pitaro manushyāḥ Gandharvāpsarasaś cha ye | uchchishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritāḥ*). Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 2, 3. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 2, 2, 2, it is said: *Ayaṁ vai samudro yo 'yam pavate | etasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni samuddravanti |* "This which is purified is the ocean (*samudra*). From this ocean all the gods, all creatures issue forth" (*samuddravanti*). The gods are said to have been born in pairs according to a passage of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (vi. 5, 6), referred to by Sāyaṇa on R.V. viii. 72, 8.

[19] In R.V. x. 101, 12, a goddess called *Nishṭigrī* is mentioned, apparently as the mother of Indra: *Nishṭigryāḥ putram ā chāvaya ūtaye Indram |* "draw hither Indra the son of Nishṭigrī to aid us," etc. Sāyaṇa on this passage identifies her with Aditi, viz.: "She who swallows up her rival wife *Nishṭi, i.e.* Diti." Indra is in fact

dressed in these words: *Hatâso vâm pitaro devaśatravaḥ Indrâgnī jīvatho yuvām* | "Your fathers, who had the gods for foes, have been slain, o Indra and Agni; but you survive." But in the next verse both gods are said to have had one generator and to be twin-brothers (*samāno vāṁ janitā bhrātarā yuvāṁ yamāv ihehamatarā*). The A.V. i. 30, 2, speaks of some of the gods as being fathers and others as being sons (*ye vo devāḥ pitaro ye cha putrāḥ sachetaso me śṛiṇuta idam uktam*). See also R.V. x. 63, 2, which will be quoted in the Section on Aditi.

In iv. 54, 2 (=Vāj. S. 33, 54) it is said that Savitṛi bestows immortality, an excellent lot, on the gods (*devebhyo hi prathamaṁ yajniyebhyo amṛitatvaṁ suvasi bhāgam uttamam*).[20] Agni is also said, vi. 7, 4, by his power or skill, to confer immortality on the gods, who worship him when he is born like an infant and shines forth from out of his parents (*tvāṁ viśve amṛita jāyamānam śiśuṁ na devāḥ abhi saṁ navante* | *tava kratubhir amṛitatvam āyan vaiśvānara yat pitror adīdeḥ*). In ix. 106, 8 the gods are said to drink Soma to obtain immortality (*tvāṁ devāso amṛitāya kam papuḥ* | compare ix. 109, 2, 3).[21] In x. 53, 10 some means are alluded to (it is not clear what) by which the gods attained immortality (*yena devāso amṛitatvam ānaśuḥ*). In x. 167, 1 Indra is said to have conquered heaven by austere fervour (*tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapya ajayaḥ svaḥ*); and in x. 159, 4 he is said to have become glorious and exalted by the offering of some oblation (*yenendro havishā kṛitvī abhavad dyumnī uttamaḥ*).

In the A.V. iv. 23, 6 Agni is said to have been the author of the immortality of the gods (*yena devāḥ amṛitam anvavindan*); in the same

addressed as an Āditya along with Varuṇa in vii. 85, 4. He is not, however, as we have seen above, considered as such in the S'p. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5, where he is mentioned as distinct from the twelve Ādityas.

[20] Sāyaṇa interprets this by saying that he gives them soma and other means of attaining immortality (*amṛitatvaṁ tat-sādhanam uttamam utkṛishṭatamam bhāgam somādi-lakshaṇam suvasi anujānāsi*). The same deity is said i. 110, 3, to have conferred immortality on the Ṛibhus (*tat Savitā vo amṛitatvam āsuvat*).

[21] See S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ix. 5, 1, 1-8, where it is said that immortality departed from the gods (*devebhyo ha vai amṛitatvam apachakrāma*), when they set themselves to recover it by religious observances. They poured out soma into Agni and thus infused immortality into him, and by so doing acquired it themselves, as he is the soul of all the gods. Soma is the principle of immortality (*abhishutya agnāv ajuhavuḥ* | *tad agnāv amṛitam adadhuḥ* | *sarveshām u ha esha devānām ātmā yad agniḥ* | *tad yad agnāv amṛitam adadhus tad ātmann amṛitam adadhata* | *tato devāḥ amṛitāḥ abhavan* | *tad yat tad amṛitaṁ Somaḥ saḥ*).

Veda, xi. 5, 19, the gods are said to have overcome death by continence and austere fervour (*brahmacharyeṇa tapasā devāḥ mṛityum apāghnata*); and, ibid. xiii. 1, 7, to have acquired immortality through Rohita (*yena devāḥ amṛitam anvavindan*). Compare the same Veda iii. 22, 3; iv. 11, 6; iv. 14, 1; Satap. Br. i. 7, 3, 1; Ait. Br. vi. 20; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 1, 3, and vi. 5, 3, 1; and the Mahābhārata xiv. 1444: *Tathaiva tapasā devāḥ mahāmāyāḥ divaṁ gatāḥ* |.

I have elsewhere quoted a number of passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in which it is related how the gods became immortal; and how, though of the same parentage, and originally on a footing of equality, with the Asuras, they became superior to them.[22] (See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 47–53; and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. pp. 41–45.)

According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the gods obtained their divine rank by austerity (*tapasā devāḥ devatām agre āyan* | iii. 12, 3, 1).

In other places some of the gods, as Indra (iii. 46, 1; v. 42, 6), are spoken of as undecaying; and in vi. 24, 7 it is said of that god that neither autumns nor months wear him out, nor do days cause him to decay (*na yaṁ jaranti śarado na māsāḥ na dyāvaḥ Indram avakarśayanti*). Whether or not the Vedic poets had any conception of an

[22] In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 4, 2, 1, it is said that all creatures came to Prajāpati, and asked that they might live. To the gods he said, "Sacrifice is your food, your immortality is your support, the sun is your light," etc. (*yajno vo 'nnam amṛitatvaṁ vaḥ ūrg vaḥ sūryo vo jyotiḥ* | To the passages of the S'. P. Br. regarding the manner in which the gods acquired immortality, above referred to, I may add one as yet unpublished from the India Office MS. of the Taittirīya Sanhitā vii. 4, 2, 1: *Yathā vai manushyāḥ evaṁ devāḥ agre āsan* | *te 'kāmayantāvarttim pāpmānam mṛityum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadaṁ gachhema iti* | *te etaṁ chaturviṁśatirātram apaśyaṁs tam āharaṁs tena ayajanta tato vai te 'varttim pāpmānam mṛityum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadam agachchhan* | "The gods were formerly just like men. They desired to overcome want, misery, death, and to go to the divine assembly. They saw, took, and sacrificed with, this Chaturviṁśatirātra, and in consequence overcame want, misery, and death, and reached the divine assembly." In the Taitt. Sanh. v. p. 43*a* (of India Office MS.) we are told that "the gods and Asuras contended together; and that the former were less numerous than the latter, when they took some bricks which they saw, and placing them in the proper position to receive the sacrificial fire, with the formula 'Thou art a multiplier,' they became numerous" (*Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan* | *kanīyāṁso devāḥ āsan bhūyāṁso 'surāḥ* | *te devāḥ etāḥ ishṭakāḥ apaśyan* | *tāḥ upādadhanta "bhūyaskṛid asi" ity eva bhūyāṁso 'bhavan*). In the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. 1184, it is said that in the battle which they had with each other "the Asuras were the elder brothers and the gods the younger" (*idaṁ tu śrūyate pārtha yuddhe devāsure purā* | *asurāḥ bhrātaro jyeshṭhāḥ devāś chāpi yavīyasaḥ*).

absolute future eternity of the gods, does not appear. But, as we have seen, the authors of the Brāhmaṇas did not regard them as naturally and essentially immortal; and it is at all events evident that in later times their immortality was regarded as only relative, as according to the Puranic representation the gods are only a portion of the existing system of the universe, and are therefore subject, as regards their corporeal part, to the same law of dissolution as other beings. See the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. p. 49, and Professor Wilson's Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 14. Thus, in a verse quoted in the commentary of that work (p. 3 of the Sanskrit), it is said: "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through time, passed away in every mundane age; for time is hard to overcome" (*bahūnīndra-sahasrāṇi devānāṁ cha yuge yuge | kālena samatītani kālo hi duratikramaḥ*). And in the Sānkhya Aphorisms, iii. 53, it is said that "the suffering arising from decay and death is common to all" (*samānaṁ jarā-maraṇādi-jaṁ duḥkham*); which the commentator interprets to mean that such suffering is "the common lot of all beings, both those who go upwards and those who go downwards, from Brahmā to things without motion" (*ūrddhvādho-gatānām Brahmādi-sthāvarāntānāṁ sarveshām eva jarā-maraṇādi-jaṁ duḥkhaṁ sādhāraṇam*).[23] The souls which have animated the gods, however, like those which animate all other corporeal beings, being eternal and imperishable, must of course survive all such dissolutions, to be either born again in other forms, or become absorbed in the supreme Brahma. See Wilson's Vishṇu Pur. p. 632, note 7; and the 3rd vol. of this work, 2nd ed. p. 99, where it is shewn, on the authority of the Brahma Sūtras or of Sankara their commentator, that the gods both desire and are capable of final emancipation.

(4) *Different generations of gods and their mutual relations.*

Two of the passages above quoted (in p. 14), R.V. vi. 59, 1, and A.V. i. 30, 2, imply that the existing gods were successors of others who had previously existed. The former verse is perhaps illustrated (as Prof. Aufrecht has suggested to me) by R.V. iv. 18, 12: *Kas te mātaraṁ vidhavām achakrat śayuṁ kas tvām ajighāṁsat charantam | kas te devo adhi mārḍīke āsīd yat prākshiṇāḥ pitaram pādagṛihya |* "Who (o

[23] Compare Ritter's History of Philosophy, Engl. transl. vol. 3, p. 538.

Indra) made thy mother a widow? Who sought to kill thee lying or moving? What god was present in the fray, when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?"[24] In vii. 21, 7, mention is made of earlier gods: "Even the former gods[25] admitted their powers to be inferior to thy divine prowess" (*devāś chit te asuryāya pūrve anu kshatrāya mamire sahāṁsi*). Earlier gods are also mentioned in x. 109, 4, though in conjunction with (unless we are to understand them as identified with) the seven rishis: "In regard to her the former gods said, the seven rishis who sat down to practise austerity," etc. (*devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve saptarishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ*). An earlier age of the gods is mentioned in x. 72, 2 f.: "In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata* | 3. *Devānāṁ yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata*). And in R.V. i. 164, 50 we have the following verse, which is repeated in x. 90, 16 (the Purusha Sūkta): *yajnena yajnam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan* | *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ* | "With sacrifice the gods worshipped the sacrifice: these were the earliest rites. These great powers sought after the sky, where are the early Sādhyas, gods."[26]

[24] In explanation of this legend Sāyaṇa refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 1, 3, 6. The following is the passage referred to, which I quote to show how little light it throws on the text of the R.V.: *Yajno dakshiṇām abhyadhyāyat* | *tām samabhavat* | *tad Indro 'chāyat* | *so 'manyata "yo vai ito janishyate sa idaṁ bhavishyati" iti* | *tāṁ prāviśat* | *tasyā Indra evājāyata* | *so 'manyata "yo vai mad ito 'paro janishyate sa idaṁ bhavishyati" iti* | *tasyā anumṛiśya yonim āchhinat* | *sā sūtavaśā 'bhavat* | *tat sūtavaśāyai janma* | *tāṁ haste nyaveshṭayata* | *tāṁ mṛigeshu nyadadhāt* | *sā kṛishṇavishāṇā 'bhavat* | "*Indrasya yonir asi mā mā hiṁsīr*" *iti* | "Yajna (sacrifice) desired Dakshiṇā (largess). He consorted with her. Indra was apprehensive of this. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her will be this.' He entered into her. Indra himself was born of her. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her besides me will be this.' Having considered, he cut open her womb. She produced a cow," etc. No mention is here made of his killing his father.

[25] Sāyaṇa in loco says this means Asuras.

[26] I quote here part of a note from my article On the Interpretation of the Veda, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 395: Yāska tells us (Nirukta xii. 41) that the Nairuktas understood the Sādhyas to be "the gods whose locality is the sky," *dyusthāno devagaṇaḥ*, whilst, according to a legend (*ākhyāna*) the term denoted a former age of the gods." Professor Wilson translates the word Sādhyāḥ in R.V. i. 164, 50 by "who are to be propitiated," a sense not assigned by Sāyaṇa, who proposes, first, that of *sādhanā yajnādi-sādhana-vantaḥ karmadevāḥ*, "performers, performers of sacrifices, etc., work-gods." These words are rendered by Prof. Wilson in his note on i. 164, 50, "divinities presiding

The gods do not seem to have lived always on a friendly footing with each other. It appears to me that the two following verses, R.V. iv. 30, 3, 5, though otherwise rendered by Professor Wilson (after Sāyaṇa) are to be understood of Indra fighting against the gods, and not with the gods against the Asuras: 3. *Viśve chana id anā tvā devāsaḥ Indra yuyudhuḥ* | *yad ahā naktam ātiraḥ* | 5. *Yatra devān ṛighāyato viśvān ayudhyaḥ ekaḥ it* | *tvam Indra vanūn ahan* | 3. "Even all the gods assailed thee Indra, when thou didst prolong(?) day and night. 5. When thou didst fight alone against all the furious gods, thou didst slay the destructive." This interpretation is favoured by the tenor of verses 4, 6, 8–11 of the same hymn.[27]

(5) *Their powers and prerogatives.*

The gods can do whatever they will; no mortal, however hostile his disposition, can thwart their designs (R.V. viii. 28, 4. *Yathā vaśanti devās tad id asat tad eshāṁ nakir ā minat* | *arāvā chana marttyaḥ*). The same is said of the Maruts viii. 20, 17; and of Indra viii. 50, 4; viii. 55, 4. It is similarly declared in iii. 56, 1, that no one, however skilful

over or giving effect to religious acts." This does not, however, appear to be the real sense, as Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 31, 17, tells us that "there are two kinds of gods," *karmadevāḥ*, "work-gods," and *ājānadevāḥ*, "gods by birth," the first being those who had attained to the condition of deities by their eminent works, and the second those who were produced at the beginning of the creation. The second class is superior to the first, and, according to the Bṛihadāraṇyaka, a hundred enjoyments of the latter (the work-gods), "are only equal to one single enjoyment of the former." See all this and more declared in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, pp. 817 ff. (p. 230 f. of translation), and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1087. A second sense proposed for *sādhyāḥ* by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 164, 50, is that of the "deities presiding over metres," *chhando 'bhimāninaḥ*, who were Ādityas and Angirases, and, according to a Brāhmaṇa, by worshipping Agni were exalted to heaven. Prof. Wilson remarks in his note: "It would seem that in Sāyaṇa's day the purport of the designation *Sādhya* had become uncertain." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 31, 16, renders the term *virāḍ-upādhi-sādhakāḥ*, "producers of the condition of Virāj."

[27] I should observe that the Brāhmaṇas constantly speak of the gods and Asuras as being both the offspring of Prajāpati: as contending together (S'atap. Br. v. 1, 1, 1; vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2); and even as being originally equal or alike (4th vol. of this work, p. 52). And to prove that even malignant spirits may be called "gods," Prof. Roth, *s.v. deva*, quotes from the Taitt. Sanh. iii. 5, 4, 1, a verse to the effect: "May Agni preserve me from the gods (*devāḥ*), destroyers of sacrificers, stealers of sacrifices, who inhabit the earth;" and a second text from the A.V. iii. 15, 5: "Agni, do thou through the oblation repel the gods who are destroyers of happiness" (? *sātaghnaḥ*).

and wise, can impede the first and firm decrees of the gods (*na tā minanti māyino na dhīrāḥ vratā devānām prathamā dhruvāṇi*). They have dominion over all creatures (x. 65, 15. *Devān Vasishṭho amṛitān vavande ye viśvā bhuvanā abhi pratasthuḥ*). They are supplicated in viii. 30, 3, not to lead the worshippers far away from the paths of their ancestor Manu (*mā naḥ pathaḥ pitryād mānavād adhi dūraṁ naishṭa parāvataḥ*). In one passage (R.V. x. 33, 8 f.) a grateful priest exclaims that if he were lord of the immortals and of mortals, his royal patron's life should be prolonged; but, he adds, no one, even though he attain the age of a hundred years, can live beyond the time the gods appoint; such has been the perpetual course of things (8. *Yad īśīya amṛitānām uta vā martyānām | jīved id maghavā mama* | 9. *Na devānām ati vrataṁ śatātmā chana jīvati | tathā yujā vi vavṛite*). In another place, x. 117, 1, an encomiast of liberality expresses his assurance that the gods had not ordained him (or others) to die of hunger, as even the full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*Na vai u devāḥ kshudham id vadhaṁ dadur uta āśitam upa gachhanti mṛityavaḥ*). Another poet cries (x. 64, 2) that there is no other helper than the gods, on whom the fulfilment of all his wishes depends (*na marḍitā vidyate anyaḥ ebhyo deveshu me adhi kāmāḥ ayaṁsata*). They live in enjoyment in the region where Vishṇu took his three strides (viii. 29, 7. *Trīṇi ekaḥ urugāyo'vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | comp. i. 154, 4). In iii. 54, 5, the rishi asks "who knows, who now can declare, what road leads to the gods? Their lower abodes are indeed perceived, but there are higher and mysterious manifestations, or regions, beyond (*ko addhā veda kaḥ iha pra vochad devān achha pathyā kā sameti | dadṛiśre eshām avamā sadāṁsi pareshu yā guhyeshu vrateshu*[28]).

On the other hand the drinker of Soma attains to the privilege of immortality and of knowing the gods (viii. 48, 3. *Apāma somam amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān* | Comp. x. 31, 3. *navedaso amṛitānām abhūma* |).

[28] The construction and sense of the last four words is obscure. They occur again in a different connection in x. 114, 2 (where however *yāḥ* is feminine: *tāsām ni chikyuḥ kavayo nidānam pareshu yāḥ guhyeshu vrateshu* | "The wise perceive the nature of these, who [exist] in high and mysterious forms, [or realms]." The sense of enclosure or realm is assigned to the word *vrata* by Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 225, who renders this last line thus: The poets discovered their (the Nirṛitis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers."

The gods reward their pious worshippers and punish those who neglect their service: viii. 2, 18. *Ichhanti devāḥ sunvantam na svapnāya spṛihayanti* | "The gods desire a man who pours out libations: they do not love sleep."

viii. 31, 15. *Makshu devavato rathaḥ śūro vā pṛitsu kāsu chit* | *devānāṁ yaḥ id mano yajamānaḥ iyakshati abhīd ayajvano bhuvat* | 16. *Na yajamāna rishyasi na sunvāna na devayo* | "15. Impetuous is the chariot of the godly man, and he is a hero in every battle. The sacrificer who seeks to please the gods overcomes the man who does not sacrifice. 16. Thou dost not perish, o sacrificer, nor thou who offerest libations, nor thou, o godly man."

vii. 39, 2. *Na devāsaḥ kavatnave* | "The gods are not for (*i.e.* they are not the portion of) the illiberal (or sluggish)." Have the words *na ṛite śrāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ*, in iv. 33, 11, a similar meaning: "The gods are not friendly to him who is tired of the sacred rite"? See a collection of texts to the same effect as regards the individual deities in my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of society in the Vedic age," Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, pp. 286 ff.; and a selection from them in the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 259 ff.

According to the Satapatha Brāhmana, i. 1, 1, 7, "the gods know the intentions of a man. They are aware that he contemplates the performance of this rite, and will make his offering in the morning; and consequently they all come to his house and abide there" (*Mano ha vai devāḥ manushyasya ājānanti* | *te enam etad vratam upayantaṁ viduḥ prātar no yakshyate iti* | *te asya viśve devāḥ gṛihān āgachhanti te asya gṛiheshu upavasanti*).

I have here endeavoured to collect such characteristics and attributes as are in the Veda ascribed to the gods collectively. In the sections treating of the several deities, the qualities and functions attributed to each will be brought forward in detail.

SECTION II.

DYAUS[29] AND PṚITHIVĪ.

I begin with Dyaus and Pṛithivī (Heaven and Earth), who seem to have been very ancient Aryan divinities, and are in many passages of the Rig-veda described as the parents of the other gods.

In addition to numerous detached verses in which these deities are introduced among other objects of adoration, are invited to attend religious rites, and supplicated for different blessings, there are several hymns[30] (i. 159; i. 160; i. 185; iv. 56; vi. 70; and vii. 53), which are specially devoted to their honour. As a specimen of the way in which they are addressed, I subjoin a translation (very imperfect, I fear,) of some parts of the 159th and 160th hymns of the first book:

i. 159, 1. *Pra dyāvā yajnaiḥ pṛithivī ṛitāvṛidhā mahī stushe vidatheshu prachetasā | devebhir ye devaputre sudaṁsasā itthā dhiyā vāryāṇi prabhūshataḥ* | 2. *Uta manye pitur adruho mano mātur mahi svatavas tad havīmabhiḥ | suretasā pitarā bhūma chakratur uru prajāyāḥ amṛitam varīmabhiḥ* | "1. At the festivals [I worship] with offerings, and celebrate the praises of, Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn. 2. With my invocations I adore the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty inherent power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring."

[29] The crude form of this word is Dyu. I employ the nominative *Dyaus*, from its closer resemblance to the Greek Ζεύς. The genitive is *Divas*.

[30] See also A.V. iv. 26. Pṛithivī alone is celebrated in R.V. 5, 84, 1 ff. Hymn i. 185, is translated and commented on by M. Ad. Regnier in his E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas.

i. 160, 2. *Uruvyachasā mahinī asaśchatā pitā mātā cha bhuvanāni rakshataḥ* | . . . . 3. *Ayam devānām apasām apastamo yo jajāna rodasī viśva-śambhuvā* | *vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samānṛiche* | 4. *Te no griṇāne mahinī mahi śravaḥ kshattram dyāvā-pṛithivī dhāsatho mahat* | *yenābhi krishṭīs tatanāma viśvahā panāyyam ojo asme sam invatam* | "2. Widely expanded, vast, unwearied, the Father and the Mother preserve all creatures. . . . . 4. He was the most skilful of the skilful gods who produced these two worlds, which are beneficent to all, who, desiring to create an excellent work, stretched out these regions and sustained them by undecaying supports. 5. When lauded, may the mighty Heaven and earth bestow on us great renown and power. May they impart to us laudable energy whereby we may always control other creatures."

In the hymns Heaven and Earth are characterized by a profusion of epithets, not only such as are suggested by their various physical characteristics, as vastness, breadth, profundity, productiveness, unchangeableness (*uruvyachasā, mahinī, urvī, bahule, dūreante, gabhīre, ghṛitavatī, madhudughe, bhūriretasā, payasvatī, ajare*) (i. 160, 2; i. 185, 7; iv. 56, 3; vi. 70, 1, 2); but also by such as are of a moral or spiritual nature, as innocuous or beneficent, wise, promoters of righteousness, (*ṛitāvṛidhā, ṛitāvarī, prachetasā, adruhā*) (i. 159, 1 f.; i. 160, 1; iv. 56, 2; vi. 70, 6; x. 36, 2).

(1) *Heaven and Earth described as the universal parents.*

The two (Heaven and Earth) together are styled parents, *pitarā* (in i. 159, 2; iii. 3, 11; vii. 53, 2; x. 65, 8), or *mātarā* (in i. 155, 3; ix. 85, 12; x. 1, 7; x. 35, 3;[31] x. 64, 14), or *janitrī* (*dyāvā-pṛithivī janitrī* R.V. x. 110, 9). In other passages the Heaven is separately styled father, and the Earth mother (in R.V. i. 89, 4; i. 90, 7; i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 11; iv. 1, 10; v. 42, 16; v. 43, 2, 15; vi. 51, 5;[32] vi. 70, 6; vi. 72, 2; viii. 92, 2; x. 54, 3; x. 88, 15 (= Vāj. Sanh. 19, 47). See also A.V. ii. 28, 4; iii.

[31] Here they are supplicated to preserve the worshipper sinless. In R.V. vi. 17, 7, they are called *mātarā yahvī ṛitasya*, "the great parents of sacrifice."

[32] The words of the original here are *Dyaush pitaḥ Pṛithivī mātar adhrug Agne bhrātar Vasavo mṛiḷatā naḥ* | "Father Heaven, innoxious mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us." A.V. vi. 4, 3 has *Dyaushpitar yāvaya duchhunā yā.*

23, 6; vi. 4, 3; vi. 120, 2; viii. 7, 2; and xii. 1, 10. In the same Veda, xii. 1, 12, the poet says: "The Earth is the mother, and I am the son of the earth: Parjanya is the father; may he nourish us (*Mātā bhūmiḥ putro aham pṛithivyāḥ | Parjanyaḥ pitā sa u naḥ pipartu*). Again in verse 42 of the same hymn he says, "Reverence be paid to the Earth, the wife of Parjanya, to her who draws her richness from showers (*Bhūmyai Parjanya-patnyai namo 'stu varsha-medase*). Here, as it will be noticed, Parjanya takes the place of Dyaus, as the husband of Pṛithivī.[23]

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 27, we have the following reference to the marriage of Heaven and Earth: *Imau vai lokau saha āstām | tau vyaitām | na avarshat na samatapat | te panchajanāḥ na samajānata | tau devāḥ samanayan | tau saṁyantāv etaṁ deva-vivāhaṁ vyavahetām | ..... asau vai lokaḥ imaṁ lokam abhi paryāvarttata | tato vai dyāvāpṛithivī abhavatām | na dyāvā antarikshād na antarikshād bhūmiḥ |* which is translated as follows by Professor Haug (vol. ii. 308): "These two worlds (heaven and earth) were once joined. (Subsequently) they separated. (After their separation) there fell neither rain, nor was there sunshine. The five classes of beings (gods, men, etc.) then did not keep peace with one another. (Thereupon) the gods brought about a reconciliation of both these worlds. Both contracted with one another a marriage according to the rites observed by the gods." The end of the section I render: "That world approached this world: thence were produced heaven and earth: neither the heaven nor the earth was produced from the air."

Heaven and Earth are regarded as the parents not only of men, but of the gods also, as appears from the various texts where they are designated by the epithet *devaputre*, "having gods for their children" (viz. in i. 106, 3; i. 159, 1; i. 185, 4;[24] iv. 56, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 53, 1; x. 11, 9). In like manner it is said (in vii. 97, 8) that "the divine worlds (*i.e.* Heaven and Earth), the parents of the god, have augmented Bṛihaspati by their power"[25] (*devī devasya rodasī janitrī Brihaspatiṁ*

[23] The Taittirīya Araṇyaka says, p. 73: *Jāyā bhūmir patir vyoma | mithunaṁ tā ityādi |* "The Earth is the wife, the Sky is the husband; they are a pair." Manu says, ii. 225: *Mātā pṛithivyāḥ mūrttiḥ |* "A mother is an image of the Earth."

[24] In verse 6 of this hymn they are called *janitrī*, "the parents."

[25] In iii. 53, 7, and iv. 2, 15, the Angirases are said to be *divasputrāḥ*, sons of Dyaus. See also x. 62, 6, and 3.

vāvṛidhatur mahitvā); and (in x. 2, 7) they are described as having, in conjunction with the waters, and with Tvashṭṛi, begotten Agni (*yaṁ tvā dyāvā-pṛithivī yaṁ tv āpas Tvashṭā yaṁ tvā sujanimā jajāna*). And in various passages they are said to have made (*pitarā bhūma chakratuḥ*), and to sustain (*pitā mātā cha bhuvanāni rakshataḥ | viśvaṁ tmanā bibhṛitho yad ha nāma*) all creatures (in i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 1).[36]

In the next Section we shall find that according to R.V. x. 63, 2, a threefold origin is ascribed to the gods, some of them having been produced from Aditi, others from the aerial waters, and others again from the earth.

(2) *Passages to the same effect from the classical authors.*

But it is not in ancient Indian mythology alone that Heaven and Earth are regarded as being the universal parents. It is observed by a recent French author that "the marriage of Heaven and Earth forms the foundation of a hundred mythologies."[37] According to the Theogony of Hesiod (116 ff.) the first thing that arose out of Chaos was "the broad-bosomed Earth, the firm abode of all things"

Ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

She in her turn "produced the starry Heaven, co-extensive with herself, to envelope her on every part."[38] From the union of these two powers sprang Oceanos, Kronos, the Cyclopes, Rheia, etc. (132 ff.); and from Kronos and Rheia again were produced Zeus, Here, and other deities (453 ff.). In his "Works and Days" (561) Hesiod speaks of the Earth as Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, the earth the mother of all things."[39]

Among the Homeric hymns there is one of 19 lines addressed to "the mother of all things" which begins thus:

Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι, ἠΰθεμέθλον,
Πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσ' ἐστὶν, κ.τ.λ.

[36] In one place (vi. 50, 7), the waters are spoken of as mothers (*janitrīḥ*) of all things moveable and immoveable. Compare the passages from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 15 f.; 21 f.; and the texts given in the 1st vol. 2nd ed. p. 31 f. 52 f.; and R.V. x. 121, 7; x. 29, 3. In the A.V. xix. 54, 1, the waters themselves are said to have sprung from time (*kālād āpaḥ samabhavan*).

[37] M. Albert Réville, Essais de Critique Religieuse, p. 383. "Cent mythologies sont fondées sur le mariage du ciel et de la terre." See also pp. 292 and 298.

[38] The original verses will be found at the close of the section on Varuṇa.

[39] The line in which these words occur is however supposed to be spurious.

"I will sing of the Earth, the universal mother, the firmly based, the most venerable, who feeds all creatures that are on the ground," etc. In v. 6, it is said that it depends on her to give life to mortals, and to take it away:

πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἠδ' ἀφελέσθαι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν.

In verse 16 she is addressed as a venerable goddess, σεμνὴ θεὰ, and in v. 17 as "the mother of the gods, and the spouse of the starry Ouranos:

χαῖρε θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

Æschylus, in his Prometheus Vinctus, 88 ff., makes Prometheus exclaim "O divine æther, and ye many-winged blasts, ye fountains of the rivers, thou multitudinous laugh of Ocean, and thou Earth, the Universal Mother;—and the all-beholding circle of the Sun I invoke:"

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαὶ
ποταμῶν τε πηγαὶ ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμῆτορ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

In the Seven against Thebes, 16, Eteocles speaks of "Mother Earth, the most beloved nurse":

Γῇ τε μητρὶ, φιλτάτῃ τροφῷ.

At the beginning of the Eumenides of the same poet the Earth is worshipped as the first prophetess:

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
Τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

And in the 41st fragment of Æschylus (from the Danaides) Aphrodite is introduced as saying:

ἐρᾷ μὲν ἁγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·
δενδρῶτις ὥρα δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
τέλειός ἐστι. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

"The pure Heaven loves to inflict on the Earth an amorous blow; and desire seizes the earth to obtain the nuptial union. Rain falling from the moist Heaven impregnates the Earth, who brings forth for mortals the food of sheep, and the sustenance of Demeter. The verdure of the woods also is perfected by the showers proceeding from this marriage. Of all these things I (Aphrodite) am in part the cause."

Sophocles also, in his Œdipus Coloneus, 1480, makes the chorus speak of "Mother Earth:"

> Ἵλαος, ὦ δαίμων, ἵλαος, εἴ τι γᾷ
> ματέρι τυγχάνεις ἀφεγγὲς φέρων.

And in his Antigone, 338, she is characterized as "the highest of the deities, imperishable and unwearied:"

> θεῶν τε τὰν ὑπερτάταν, γᾶν
> ἄφθιτον, ἀκαμάταν ἀποτρύεται, κ.τ.λ.

In his Philoctetes, 391, she is addressed as "the all-nurturing earth, the mother of Zeus himself:"

> Ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διὸς,
> ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον νέμεις.

Euripides also, in his Hippolytus, 601, makes his hero invoke "Mother Earth:"

> ὦ γαῖα μῆτερ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπτυχαί, κ.τ.λ.

So too in the Helena, 39:

> ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν
> πλήθους τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα, κ.τ.λ.

And again in the same drama, 613, the heroine speaks of Heaven as the Father:

> πατέρ' ἐς οὐρανὸν
> ἄπειμι·

In his Bacchæ, 274, the same poet makes Teiresias thus identify Earth with the goddess Demeter:

> δύο γὰρ, ὦ νεανία,
> τὰ πρῶτ' εν ἀνθρώποισι, Δημήτηρ θεά.
> Γῆ δ' ἐστίν· ὄνομα δ' ὁπότερον βούλει κάλει,
> αὕτη μὲν ἐν ξηροῖσιν ἐκτρέφει βροτούς.

"Two things, o youth, are the first among men, the goddess Demeter, and she is the Earth. Call her by either name as you please. She nourishes mortals with dry sustenance."[40] The second deity is Dionysus who gives them the juice of the grape.

[40] In describing the Egyptian cosmogony Diodorus Siculus i. 12 also thus connects the Earth with Demeter: Τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεῦσαι· καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως Δήμητραν καλεῖν, βραχὺ μετατεθείσης τῆς λέξεως· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα προμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα "γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα." "And they say that, conceiving the Earth as a sort of receptacle of the things which were produced, they called her mother; and that the Greeks in like manner call her Demeter, with a slight alteration of the letters (*i.e.* Dēmētēr for Gēmētēr): for of old she was called 'Earth Mother' (Gēn mētēra), as Orpheus too testifies when he speaks of 'the Earth the mother of all things, Demeter, the giver of wealth.'"

And in the 6th fragment from the Chrysippus of the same dramatist we find the following passage:

Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθὴρ,
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,
ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίους
παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνατοὺς,
τίκτει δὲ βορὰν, φῦλα τε θηρῶν,
ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως
μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

"The mighty Earth, and Jove's Æther,—of these the one is the generator of men and gods, and the other, receiving the drops of moisture, produces mortals, produces food, and the tribes of animals;—whence she is not unjustly regarded as the mother of all." [41]

The earth also appears to be regarded by Pindar (Nem. 6, 1 ff.) as the common parent, or sustainer, of both gods and men:

Ἓν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι·

"There is one race of men, and one of gods; but we both draw our breath from the same mother."

In the following passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vol. v. p. 355 (Diod. Sic. i. 7; [42] Euseb. P. E. i. p. 20[d])[43], and in the fragment of Euri-

[41] See also Plato, Repub. iii. 20: *Ἐπειδὴ δε παντελῶς ἐξειργασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μήτηρ οὖσα ἀνῆκε, κ.τ.λ.* "But when they were perfectly fashioned, and the earth, their mother, sent them forth," etc. See also the Menexenus, Sect. 7: from which I extract the following: *ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον παρέχεται ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη· . . . ὀυ γὰρ γῆ γυναῖκα μεμίμηται κυήσει καὶ γεννήσει ἀλλα γυνὴ γῆν.* "Whereby our own land and mother (Attica) gives sufficient proof that she has produced men," etc. And: "For the earth does not imitate woman in becoming pregnant, and bearing offspring, but woman the earth."

[42] Diodorus begins the passage i. 7, in which he introduces these lines from Euripides, as follows: He tells us that in the opinion of some speculators "heaven and earth had, according to the original constitution of things, but one form, the natural properties of the two being blended; but that afterwards, when the body of the one had become separated from that of the other, the world assumed that regular arrangement which we now witness," etc. (*κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανόν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμιγμένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὸν μὲν κόσμον περιλαβεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν ὁρωμένην ἐν αὐτῷ σύνταξιν, κ.τ.λ.*). After giving the details of this development, he concludes: "And in regard to the nature of the universe, Euripides, who was a disciple of Anaxagoras, the physical philosopher, does not appear to have differed from the views which have been stated" (*ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως οὐδ' Εὐριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητὴς ὢν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ*). He then quotes the lines given in the text.

[43] See W. Dindorf's Euripides, vol. ii. p. 915, ed. Oxford, 1833.

pides, which is there preserved, we find that a doctrine, partly similar to that of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa adduced above, regarding heaven and earth, is ascribed to the philosopher Anaxagoras, and was expressed by his disciple the poet:

Ἀναξαγόρᾳ προσεφοίτησεν Εὐριπίδης. Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν ὅτι πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, εἶτα ὕστερον διεκρίθη. μετὰ ταῦτα ὡμίλησε καὶ Σωκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπορώτερον ἤγαγε τὸν λόγον. ὁμολογεῖ οὖν την διδασκαλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν διὰ τῆς Μελανίππης·

Κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,
τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος
δένδρη, πετεινὰ, θῆρας, οὕς θ' ἅλμη τρέφει,
γένος τε θνητῶν.

"Euripides frequented the lectures of Anaxagoras. Now it was the theory of that philosopher that all things were confounded (*lit.* all things were in all things), but afterwards became separated. Euripides afterwards associated with Socrates, and became doubtful regarding the theory. He accordingly admits the ancient doctrine by the mouth of Melanippe: 'The saying is not mine but came from my mother, that formerly the Heaven and Earth formed one substance: but when they were separated from each other, they gave birth to all things, and brought them forth into the light, trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and the race of mortals.'"

The appellation of mother is naturally applied to the earth, as the source from which all vegetable products spring, as well as the home of all living creatures. This is remarked by Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," in these lines, v. 793 ff.:

"Nam neque de cælo cecidisse animalia possunt,
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis:
Linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata," etc.

And again, v. 821:

"Quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta
Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit
Humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit," etc.

And in illustration of the idea that Heaven is the father of all things, I may quote his words, ii. 991:

"Denique cælesti sumus omnes semine oriundi:
Omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis

Umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit,[44]
Feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta
Et genus humanum," etc.

And ii. 998:

"Qua propter merito maternum nomen adepta est.
Cedit idem retro de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras, et quod missumst ex ætheris oris
Id rursum cæli rellatum templa receptant."

See also v. 799:

"Quo minus est mirum, si tum sunt plura coorta
Et majora, novâ tellure atque æthere adulta," etc.

My attention was drawn to these passages by finding them referred to in Professor Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," pp. 236, 247, and 276. See also Lucretius i. 250:

Postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether
In gremium matris terrai praecipitavit;

And v. 318:

Denique jam tuere hoc, circum supraque quod omnem,
Continet amplexu terram:

See also Pacuvius 86, quoted by Mr. Munro in his Notes on Lucretius v. 318, and Virgil, Georgics ii. 325, cited in his note on Lucr. i. 250:

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis
Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

Mr. Munro there remarks: "From the Vedas to the Pervigilium Veneris poets and philosophers love to celebrate this union of ether and earth, ether as father descending in showers into the lap of mother earth." See the same author's notes on Lucr. ii. 991.[45] Tacitus, too, informs us in his Germania, 40: Nec quidquam notabile in singulis nisi quod in commune Ertham, it ed Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur.[46] "Nor is there anything in regard to particular points which deserves remark except that they all together worship Ertha, *i.e.* Mother Earth, and think that she intervenes in the affairs of men, and moves round among the nations."

[44] Compare A.V. xii. 1, 12, 42, quoted above, p. 23.

[45] See also Professor Max Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 459, and Mr. C. Bruce's paper "On the Vedic Conception of the Earth," Journ. R. A. S. xix. 330 ff.

[46] Ed. F. Ritter (Cambridge and London, 1848) who substitutes Ertham for the common reading Nertham. See his Notes in loco, and on Section 9.

(3) *Heaven and earth elsewhere spoken of as created.*

On the other hand, Heaven and Earth are spoken of in other places as themselves created. Thus it is said (i. 160, 4; iv. 56, 3), that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artizan of all the gods[47] (*ayaṁ devānām apasām apastamo yo jajāna rodasī viśvaśambhuvā: sa it svapā bhuvaneshu āsa yaḥ ime dyāvā-prithivī jajāna*). Again, Indra is described as their creator (*janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ*) (vi. 30, 5; viii. 36, 4);[48] as having beautifully fashioned them by his power and skill (x. 29, 6, *mātre nu te sumite Indra pūrvī dyaur majmanā prithivī kāvyena*); as having generated from his own body the father and the mother (by which heaven and earth are clearly intended (x. 54, 3. *Kaḥ u nu te mahimanaḥ samasya asmat pūrve rishayo antam āpuḥ | yan mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvaḥ svāyāḥ*); as having bestowed them on his worshippers (iii. 34, 8. *Sasāna yaḥ prithivīṁ dyām utemām*); as sustaining and upholding them (*dadhāra yaḥ prithivīm dyām utemām*) (iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 3; vi. 17, 7; x. 55, 1);[49] as grasping them in his hand (iii. 30, 5. *Ime chid Indra rodasī apāre yat saṁgribhṇāḥ maghavan kāśir it te*); as stretching them out like a hide (viii. 6. 5. *Ojas tad asya titvishe ubhe yat samavarttayat | Indraś charmeva rodasī*). The same deity is elsewhere (vi. 30, 1) said to transcend heaven and earth, which are equal to only a half of the god[50] (*Pra*

[47] This phrase is, perhaps, primarily meant as an eulogy of the heaven and earth, by expressing that he must have been a most glorious being who was the author of so grand a production as heaven and earth (see Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 160, 4, who says, "that having in the previous verse magnified the heaven and earth by lauding their son the sun, the poet now magnifies them by exalting their maker"). But it also appears to intimate that, in the idea of the writer, the heaven and earth were, after all, produced by some greater being. In iv. 17, 4, it is similarly said that "the maker of Indra was a most skilful artist."

[48] The A.V. xii. 1. 10, says: "May our mother the earth whom Indra, the lord of power, made, friendly to himself, give milk to me her son (*Indro yāṁ chakre ātmane anamitrāṁ śachīpatiḥ | sā no bhūmir visrijatām mātā putrāya me payaḥ.*

[49] Who are the sons or children of Indra's brother (*bhrātuḥ putrān*) mentioned in this verse, and who is the brother?

[50] In viii. 59, 5, it is said: "If, Indra, a hundred heavens and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor anything born, nor both worlds" (*yad dyāvaḥ Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmir uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam ashṭa rodasī*).

ririche divaḥ Indraḥ prithivyāḥ arddham id asya prati rodasī ubhe); and they are further represented as following him as a chariot wheel a horse (viii. 6, 38. *Anu tvā rodasī ubhe chakraṁ na vartti etaśam*); as bowing down before him (i. 131, 1. *Indrāya hi Dyaur asuro anamnata Indrāya mahī prithivī varīmabhiḥ*);[51] as trembling from fear of him (iv. 17, 2. *Tava tvisho janiman rejata Dyauḥ rejad bhūmir bhiyasā svasya manyoḥ*[52] | See also iv. 22, 3 f.; vi. 17, 9; viii. 86, 14); as being disturbed by his greatness (vii. 23, 3. *Vi bādhishṭa rodasī mahitvā Indraḥ*); as subject to his dominion (x. 89, 10. *Indro divaḥ Indraḥ īśe prithivyāḥ*); and as doing homage to his power (viii. 82, 12. *Adha te apratishkutāṁ devī śushmaṁ saparyataḥ | ubhe suśipra rodasī*). The creation of heaven and earth is also ascribed to other deities, as to Soma and Pūshan (ii. 40, 1. *Somāpūshaṇā jananā rayīṇāṁ jananā divo janānā prithivyāḥ*); to Soma (ix. 98, 9. *Sa vāṁ yajneshu Mānavī Indur janishṭa rodasī | devo devī ityādi* |[53] See also ix. 90, 1; ix. 96, 5); to Dhātṛi (x. 190, 3. *Sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam*[54] *akalpayat | divaṁ cha prithivīṁ cha antariksham atho svaḥ*); to Hiraṇyagarbha (x. 121, 9. *Mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ prithivyāḥ yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajāna* | Comp. v. 5); they are declared to have received their shape and variety of forms, from Tvashṭṛi, though themselves parents (x. 110, 9. *Yaḥ ime dyāvāprithivī janitrī rūpair apiṁśad bhuvanāni viśvā*); to have sprung respectively from the head and the feet of Purusha (x. 90, 14. *Nābhyāḥ asya antariksham śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavarttata | padbhyāṁ bhūmiḥ*); and to be sustained or supported by Mitra (iii. 59, 1), by Savitṛi (iv. 53, 2; x. 149, 1. *Savitā yantraiḥ pri-*

[51] Heaven (Dyaus) is here styled *asuraḥ*, "the divine," as also in iii. 53, 7.

[52] It might at first sight appear as if, according to the fourth verse of this hymn (iv. 17, 4), the Heaven, *Dyaus*, was the father of Indra (see Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 151). But the meaning seems to be: "The Heaven esteemed that thy father was a stalwart hero: he was a most skilful artist who made Indra, who produced the celestial thunderer, unshaken, as the world (cannot be shaken) from its place." This is confirmed by verse 1, which says that the Heaven acknowledged Indra's power; and by verse 2, which represents it as trembling at his birth. See also vi. 72, 3.

[53] The two worlds, *rodasī*, are here styled *devī*, "divine," and *mānavī*, "human," or "connected with men," or "friendly to men."

[54] It is remarkable that here Dhātṛi is said to have formed the sun, moon, sky, earth, air, and heaven, as before; as if, agreeably to the Puranic conception, they had previously existed, and been destroyed. See the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 51, 66, 76.

thivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat), by Varuṇa (vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; viii. 42, 1), by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2), by Soma (ix. 87, 2), and by Hiraṇyagarbha (x. 121, 5).

(4) *Speculations about their origin.*

In other passages we encounter various speculations about their origin. In i. 185, 1, the perplexed poet enquires, "Which of these two was the first,[65] and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?" (*Katarā pūrvā katarā aparā ayoḥ kathā jāte kavayoḥ ko vi veda*).[66] In vii. 34, 2, the waters are said to know the birth-place of heaven and earth (*viduḥ pṛithivyāḥ divo janitraṁ śriṇvanti āpo adha ksharantīḥ*). In x. 31, 7, the Rishi asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and many dawns have disappeared?" (*kiṁ svid vanaṁ kaḥ u sa vṛikshaḥ āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ | saṁtasthāne ajare itaūtī ahāni pūrvīr ushaso jaranta*). This question is repeated in x. 81, 4;[67] and in the same hymn (verses 2 and 3) the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the sole agency of the god Viśvakarman:[68] 2. "What was the support, what and how was the basis from which by his might the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and spread out the sky? 3. The one god who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, blows with his arms and his wings, when producing the heaven and earth" (2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhanaṁ katamat svit kathā āsīt | yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṇod mahinā viśvachakshāḥ* | 3. *Viśvataśchakshur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt | sam bāhubhyaṁ dhamati sam pata-*

[65] S'atap.-Br. xiv. 1, 2, 10, *Iyam pṛithivī bhūtasya prathama-jā*, "This earth is the firstborn of created things."

[66] Compare Professor Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 488, and Nirukta iii. 22.

[67] See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, where the answer is given, "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree from which they fashioned heaven and earth" (*Brahma vanam Brahma sa vṛikshaḥ āsīd yato dyāvāpṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ*). In A.V. xii. 1, 60, Viśvakarman is said to have sought the earth with an oblation when she had entered into the fluid atmosphere (*yām anvaichhad Viśvakarmā antar arṇave rajasi pravishṭām*). Compare the accounts in the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas of the earth being sunk beneath the waters at the creation, 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 50–55, 76.

[68] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 4 ff., and Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 299.

trair dyāvā-bhūmī janayam devaḥ ekaḥ). In x. 72, which will be quoted in the next section, a different account is given of the origin of heaven and earth. In R.V. x. 129, 1, it is said that originally there was "nothing either non-existent or existent, no atmosphere or sky beyond" (*na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat*); and in Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., it is declared, that "formerly nothing existed, neither heaven, nor earth, nor atmosphere," and their formation is described: "That, being non-existent, resolved, 'Let me become,'" etc. (*idam vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīt | na pṛithivī | na antariksham | tad asad eva san mano 'kuruta "syām" iti |* The passage is quoted at length in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 27 ff.)

It is, as we have already seen (p. 24), a conception of the Greek, as well as of the oldest Indian, mythology, that the gods sprang from Heaven and earth (in the former case Ouranos and Gaia). The Indian god who is represented in the Veda as the consort of the Earth and the progenitor of the gods, does not, however, as we have seen, bear the same name as the corresponding divinity among the Greeks, but is called *Dyaus*, or *Dyaush pitar*. But this latter name is in its origin identical with Zeus, or Zeus pater, and Jupiter, or Diespiter, the appellations given to the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans,[59] whom Hesiod represents as the grandson of Ouranos. On the other hand, the name of Ouranos corresponds to that of the Indian deity Varuṇa, who, though he is not regarded as the progenitor of the gods, yet, as we shall see more fully in a future section, is considered to coincide with Ouranos in representing the sky.

The word Pṛithivī, on the other hand, which in most parts of the Rig-veda is used for Earth, has no connection with any Greek word of the same meaning. It seems, however, originally to have been merely an epithet, meaning "broad;"[60] and may have supplanted the older

[59] For the proof of the identity of Dyaus and Zeus, see Prof. Müller's Lectures on Language, i. 11; ii. 425–434; Prof. M. Bréal, "Hercule et Cacus," 102; Hartung, "Religion und Mythologie der Griechen," ii. 5 f.; iii. 1 ff. See also iii. pp. 45 f., and and 76 f. of the last-named work, where Hera, the consort of Zeus, is described as a representative of the earth, and where Uranos and Gaea, Kronos and Rhea, Zeus and Hera, though described in the Greek mythology as successive pairs of deities, are yet asserted to be essentially the same couples, with altered names.

[60] Compare in the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 53, two passages from the Taittirîya Sanhitâ and Brâhmaṇa, in which the formation of the earth is described,

word *Go*, which (with *Gmā* and *Jmā*) stands at the head of the earliest Indian vocabulary, the Nighaṇṭu, as one of the synonyms of Pṛithivī (earth), and which closely resembles the Greek Γαῖα or Γῆ. In this way *Gaur mātar* may possibly have once corresponded to the Γῆ μήτηρ or Δημήτηρ of the Greeks.

Professor Benfey (Orient und Occident, i. 48, note 275, which the German reader may consult), and M. Michel Bréal (Hercule et Cacus, p. 101) are of opinion that the functions which in the older Indian mythology were assigned to Dyaus, were at a later period transferred to Indra, whose characteristics will form the subject of a later section.

and in which it is said to have derived the name of Pṛithivī from its being extended (*aprathata*). See also R.V. ii. 15, 2, *sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathat cha* | "He upheld the earth (*pṛithivī*), and spread it out" (*paprathat*).

SECTION III.

ADITI.[61]

I proceed to Aditi, who is, in idea at least, if not chronologically, one of the older Indian deities, and who is the only goddess, except Nishṭigrī[62] and Ushas, whom I have noticed as specified by name in the R.V. as the mother of any of the gods.

(1) *The epithets by which she is characterised.*

Though not the subject of any separate hymn, Aditi is an object of frequent celebration in the Rig-veda, where she is supplicated for blessings on children and cattle (as in i. 43, 2. *yathā no Aditiḥ karat pāśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam*), for protection and for forgiveness. She is represented, as we have already seen (p. 13), as the mother of Varuṇa and some of the other deities. In the Nighaṇṭu, or ancient vocabulary prefixed to the Nirukta, the word Aditi is given a synonym (1) of *pṛithivī*, the earth; (2) of *vāch*, voice; (3) of *go*, cow;[63] and (4) in the dual, of *dyāvā-pṛithivyau*, heaven and earth (Nigh. i. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 30). In the Nirukta (iv. 22) she is defined as the mighty mother of the gods (*adīnā deva-mātā*).[64] In another part

[61] Before commencing the revision of this section, I had received the first vol. of Prof. Müller's translation of the Rig-veda, which contains, pp. 230–251, an able dissertation on Aditi. See the same author's Lectures on Language, ii. 500.

[62] See note in p. 13.

[63] Compare R.V. viii. 90, 15, *gām anāgām aditim*; and Vāj. Sanh. xiii. 43, where Agni is supplicated not to injure her (*gām mā himsīr Aditiṁ virājam*), and 49 (*ghṛitaṁ duhānām aditiṁ janāya*).

[64] In R.V. i. 113, 19, Ushas (the dawn) is styled "the mother of the gods, and the manifestation of Aditi" (*mātā devānām Aditer anīkam*); or, as Sāyaṇa explains, the rival of Aditi, from her appearing to call all the gods into existence when they are worshipped in the morning, as Aditi really gave them birth. Compare i. 115, 1. Müller, Transl. of R.V. i. 231, renders *Aditer anīkam*, "the face of Aditi."

(xi. 22) of the same work (where the different gods are taken up in the order in which they are found in the list in the Nighaṇṭu, chap. 5) she is placed at the head of the female divinities of the intermediate region (*atha ato madhya-stānāḥ striyaḥ | tāsām Aditiḥ prathamāgāminī bhavati*). In numerous texts of the R.V. Aditi is styled the "goddess," or the "divine" (*devī*) (as in iv. 55, 3, 7; v. 51, 11; vi. 50, 1; vii. 38, 4; vii. 40, 2; viii. 25, 10; viii. 27, 5; viii. 56, 10), the "irresistible goddess" (*devī Aditir anarvā*, ii. 40, 6; vii. 40, 4; x. 92, 14), "the luminous,[65] the supporter of creatures, the celestial" (*jyotishmatīm Aditiṁ dhārayat-kshitiṁ*[66] *svarvatīm*, i. 136, 3), the "widely expanded" (*uru-vyachāḥ*,[67] v. 46, 6), the friend of all men" (*viśvajanyām*, vii. 10, 4). In v. 69, 3, the rishi exclaims: "In the morning I continually invoke the divine Aditi, at mid-day, at the setting[68] of the sun" (*prātar devim Aditiṁ johavīmi madhyandine uditā sūryasya.*) In i. 185, 3, her gifts—pure, unassailable, celestial, imperishable, and inspiring veneration,—are supplicated (*aneho dātram Aditer anarvam huve svarvad avadhaṁ namasvat*); and in another place (i. 166, 12) the large blessings conferred by the Maruts are compared to the beneficent deeds of Aditi (*dīrghaṁ vo dātram Aditer iva vratam*).[69] In iv. 55, 3, she is styled Pastyā, which Professor Roth understands to mean a household goddess (comp. Müller, p. 248). In the Vāj. S. she is thus celebrated, 21, 5 (=A.V. vii. 6, 2): "Let us invoke to aid us the great mother of the devout, the mistress of the ceremonial, the strong in might, the undecaying, the widely-extended, the protecting, the skilfully guiding Aditi" (*mahīm ū shu mātaraṁ suvratānām ṛitasya patnīm avase huvema | tuvikshatrām ajarantīm urūchiṁ suśarmāṇam Aditiṁ supraṇītim.*

[65] See Roth in Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69; and compare R.V. vii. 82, 10: "We celebrate the beneficent light of Aditi," etc. (*avadhraṁ jyotiḥ*).

[66] The same epithet, *dhārayat-kshiti*, is, in R.V. x. 132, 2, applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, the sons of Aditi.

[67] Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7: *Senā ha nāma pṛithivī dhananjayā viśvavyachāḥ Aditiḥ sūryatvak.*

[68] The word *uditi* here is understood both by Roth (*s.v.*), by Kuhn (in his review of this essay), and Müller (Transl. R.V. i. 231, 232), to signify the setting of the sun.

[69] Müller, p. 199, translates this: "your bounty extends as far as the sway of Aditi." See his note on the different senses of *vrata*, pp. 225 ff.

(2) *Origin of the conception of Aditi according to Professors Roth and Müller.*

In the Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth the word *aditi* is taken (in addition to other senses which are also assigned) to signify "infinity, especially the boundlessness of heaven in opposition to the finiteness of the earth, and its spaces;" and this signification is considered to be personified in the goddess Aditi. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 150 f. Professor Roth had understood the word to mean "inviolability," "imperishableness;" and when personified as a goddess, to denote eternity, her sons the Âdityas being the sons of eternity, and the solar and luminous gods Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, etc., being pre-eminently the eternal deities, as light was regarded as the immaterial and eternal principle. In his essay on the highest gods of the Arian nations (Journ. of the German Or. Society, vi. 68 f.) the same writer says: "Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains, and is sustained by, the Âdityas. This conception, owing to the character of what it embraces, had not in the Vedas been carried out into a definite personification, though the beginings of such are not wanting. . . . . This eternal and inviolable principle, in which the Âdityas live, and which constitutes their essence, is the celestial light."

In a note on R.V. i. 166, 12 (Trans. of the Rig-veda, i. 230), Professor Müller says that "Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky." And in the next page he goes on to remark that "if we keep this original conception (the conception which he has explained in these two pages) of Aditi clearly before us, the various forms which Aditi assumes, even in the hymns of the Veda, will not seem incoherent.

(3) *Aditi as the mother of the Adityas.*

I proceed to adduce some of the other texts in which Aditi is described and characterized, and begin with those in which she is represented as the mother of Varuṇa and the other kindred gods:

viii. 25, 3. *Tā mātā viśvavedasā asuryāya pramahasā | mahī jajāna Aditir ṛitāvarī* | "The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power."

viii. 47, 9. *Aditir naḥ urushyatu Aditir śarma yachhatu | mātā Mitrasya revato Aryamṇo Varuṇasya cha anehasaḥ* | "May Aditi defend us, may Aditi grant us protection, she who is the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuṇa. See also x. 36, 3, and x. 132, 6; and A.V. v. 1, 9.

In R.V. ii. 27, 7, she is styled *rāja-putrā*,[70] "the mother of kings;" in iii. 4, 11, *su-putrā*, "the mother of excellent sons;" in viii. 56, 11, as *ugra-putrā*, "the mother of powerful sons;" and in Atharva-veda, iii. 8, 2; xi. 1, 11, "the divine Aditi, mother of heroes" (*śūra-putrā*). All these epithets have obviously reference to Varuṇa and the other Ādityas as her offspring. In A.V. viii. 9, 21, she is called Aditi, who had an eight-fold parturition, who had eight sons" (*ashṭa-yonir Aditir ashṭaputrā*). In viii. 90, 15, (referred to by Professor Müller in his Lectures ii. 501, and in his Trans. of the R.V. i. p. 237), Aditi appears to be described as the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, and the mother of Rudras (*mātā rudrāṇām duhitā vasūnām svasā 'dityānām amṛitasya nābhiḥ | pra nu vocham chikitushe janāya mā gām anāgām Aditim vadhishṭa*).

In the Sāma-veda (=A.V. vi. 4, 1) the brothers as well as the sons of Aditi appear to be mentioned, i. 299: "May Tvashṭṛi, Parjanya, and Brahmaṇaspati [preserve] our divine utterance. May Aditi with (her) sons and brothers preserve our invincible and protecting utterance"[71] (*Tvashṭā no daivyam vachaḥ Parjanyo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ | putrair bhrātṛibhir Aditir nu pātu no dushṭaram trāmaṇam vachaḥ*). Who her brothers may be, does not appear.

(4) *Is Aditi ever identified with the sky?*

In another passage of the R.V. x. 63, 2, Aditi is thus mentioned, along with the waters, and the earth, as one of the sources from which

[70] In ii. 27, 1, the epithet *rājabhyaḥ*, "kings," is applied to all the six Ādityas there named.

[71] Benfey, however, understands the sons and brothers to be those of the worshipper. For *trāmaṇam vachaḥ* the A.V. reads *trāyamāṇam sahaḥ*, "delivering force."

the gods had been generated: "All your names, ye gods, are to be revered, adored, and worshipped; ye who were born from Aditi,[72] from the waters, ye who are born from the earth, listen here to my invocation" (*Viśvā hi vo namasyāni vandyā nāmāni devāḥ uta yajniyāni vaḥ | ye stha jātāḥ Aditer adbhyas pari ye prithivyās te me iha śruta havam* |). In this passage we appear to find the same triple classification of gods as celestial, intermediate, and terrestrial (comp. A.V. x. 9, 12), which we have already met with in R.V. i. 139, 11,[73] and in the Nirukta. The gods mentioned in the verse before us as sprung from Aditi, might thus correspond to the celestial gods, among whom the Ādityas are specified by Yāska as the first class, or to the Ādityas alone.[74]

The hymn before us proceeds in the next verse (x. 63, 3): "Gladden, in order to promote our well-being, those Ādityas, who are invigorated by hymns, the bringers of vigour, the energetic, to whom their mother the sky, Aditi, (or the infinite sky),[75] towering to the empyrean,

[72] Roth, in his Lexicon, understands the word Aditi in this passage to mean "infinity," the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the limitation of earth.

[73] The same threefold origin of the gods, together with the use of the word "waters," to denote the intermediate region, is found also in x. 49, 2, where it is said: *mām dhur Indram nāma devatāḥ divaś cha gmaś cha apām cha jantavaḥ* | "The gods, both those who are the offspring of the sky, of the earth, and of the [aerial] waters, have assigned to me the name of Indra;" and in x. 65, 9, the poet says: *Parjanya-Vātā vrishabhā purīshiṇā Indra-Vāyū Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā* | *devān Ādityān Aditim havāmahe ye pārthivāso divyāso apsu ye* | "Parjanya, Vāta, vigorous and shedders of moisture, Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman: We invoke the divine Ādityas, Aditi, those (gods) who are terrestrial, celestial, who (exist) in the aerial waters." The word "waters" seems to be used in the sense of air, in ii. 38, 11, and x. 45, 1. Compare also vii. 35, 11, where the gods are classed as *divya*, *pārthiva*, and *apya* (celestial, earthly, and aerial, *apsu antarikshe bhavāḥ*: Sāyaṇa), v. 14 of the same hymn where they are divided into *divya*, *pārthiva*, (celestial, earthly), and *gojāta*; and vi. 50, 11, where they are distinguished as *divya*, *pārthiva*, *gojāta*, and *apya* (celestial, earthly, *gojāta*, and aerial. Sāyaṇa on R.V. vii. 35, 14, explains *gojāta* as *Priśner jātāḥ* "born of Priśni." On vi. 50, 11, he characterizes Priśni as *mādhyamikā vāk*, "the Vāch of the middle region." In the former of these two passages, if the threefold division of gods is maintained *gojāta* ought to be = *apya*: but in the latter passage we have a fourfold division, and as the *apya* gods are one of the four classes, *gojāta* ought to designate a different class. Roth so explains the last word as meaning the gods of the starry heaven.

[74] Nirukta xii. 35: *Athāto dyusthānāḥ devagaṇāḥ* | *teshām Ādityāḥ prathamāgāmino bhavanti* |

[75] The word for "sky" here is *Dyaus*, which, if my rendering is correct, must in this passage be regarded as feminine, though, as we have seen, it is generally masculine, and designated as *father*. In v. 59, 8, the words *dyaus* and *aditi* are similarly

supplies the sweet ambrosial fluid" (*Yebhyo mātā madhumat pinvate payaḥ pīyūshaṁ dyaur aditir adri-barhāḥ | uktha-śushmān vṛishabharān svapnasas tān Ādityān anu mada svastaye*). This verse, in which it may seem that Aditi is either identified with, or regarded as an epithet of, the sky, appears rather to confirm the view I have taken of the one which precedes. The tenor of R.V. x. 65, 9, quoted in a preceding foot-note ([73]), seems, however, opposed to this identification of Aditi with the sky, as she and her sons the Ādityas are there mentioned separately from the other gods who are the inhabitants of the three different spheres; though possibly the last named classification may be meant to sum up all the gods before enumerated, and so to comprehend the Ādityas also.

(5) *Aditi seems to be distinguished from the Earth.*

But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages it is intended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a constant synonym of the Earth. For although, as we have seen, Aditi is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the names of the Earth, and in the dual as equivalent to Heaven and Earth, and though in the obscure verse R.V. i. 72, 9, and in Atharva-veda, xiii. 1, 38, she may appear to be identified with the Earth,[76] we find her in many passages of the Rig-veda mentioned separately, and as if she were distinct from both the one and the other. Thus, in iii. 54, 19, 20, it is said: "*S'ṛiṇotu naḥ pṛithivī dyaur utāpaḥ sūryo nakshattrair uru antariksham | 20 . . . Ādityair no Aditiḥ śṛiṇotu* | "May the Earth and the Heaven hear us, the Water, the Sun with the stars, the wide Atmosphere . . . . 20 May Aditi with the Ādityas hear us;"

united: *mimātu dyaur aditiḥ*, etc. Professor Müller takes *aditi* in x. 63, 3, as well as in v. 59, 8, for an adjective, and renders the first half of the former verse thus: "The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food" (pp. 243 and 249). But we should thus have to take Aditi in different senses in two adjoining verses. In v. 2 of this hymn Prof. Müller himself takes Aditi as signifying the goddess (p. 240). For *adribarhas* see Roth, *s.v.*, and under *barhas.*

[76] R.V. i. 72, 9. *Mahnā mahadbhiḥ Pṛithivī vi tasthe mātā putrair Aditir dhāyase veḥ* | "The earth, the mother, Aditi stood in power with her mighty sons for the support of the bird." The word *pṛithivī* may, however, as Professor Müller supposes, p. 243, be here an epithet. A.V. xiii. 1. 38: *Yasāḥ pṛithivyā Ādityā upasthe*, etc.

in v. 46, 3: *Indrāgnī Mitrāvaruṇa Aditiṁ svāḥ prithivīm dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve |* "I invoke Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, etc.; in vi. 51, 5: *Dyaush pitaḥ Prithivī mātar adhrug Agne bhrātar Vasavo mṛilata naḥ | viśve Ādityāḥ Adite sajoshā asmabhyaṁ śarma bahulaṁ viyanta |* "Father Heaven, benificent mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us; all ye Ādityas, Aditi, united, grant us mighty protection;" in ix. 97, 58: *Tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ Sindhuḥ Prithivī uta Dyauḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Ocean, Earth, and Heaven gladden us;" in x. 36, 2: *Dyauś cha naḥ Prithivī cha prachetasā ṛitāvarī rakshatām aṁhaso rishaḥ | . . . .* 3. *Viśvasmān no Aditiḥ pātu aṁhaso mātā mitrasya Varuṇasya revataḥ |* 2. "Heaven and Earth, the wise and holy, protect us," etc.; . . . . 3: "May Aditi, the mother of Mitra and the opulent Varuṇa, preserve us from every calamity." See also x. 92, 11. Perhaps the most distinct text of all, however, is x. 63, 10: *Sutrāmāṇam Prithivīṁ Dyām anehasaṁ suśarmāṇam Aditiṁ supraṇītim | daivīṁ nāvāṁ svaritrām anāgasam asravantīm ā ruhema svastaye |* 10: "(We invoke) the excellent protectress the Earth, the faultless Heaven, the sheltering and guiding Aditi: let us ascend for our well-being the divine bark, well rowed, free from imperfection, which never leaks."[77] Vāj. S. xviii. 22: "May Earth, and Aditi, and Diti, and Heaven, etc., etc., satisfy me through my sacrifice," etc. (. . . . *prithivī cha me Aditiś cha me Ditiś cha me Dyauś cha me . . . yajnena kalpantām*).

In A.V. vi. 120, 2: the Earth seems to be distinguished from Aditi: *Bhūmir mātā Aditir no janitram bhrātā 'ntariksham ityādi |* "The Earth our Mother, Aditi the place of our production, the air our brother, etc.

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, indeed, it is said (ii. 2, 1, 19): "Aditi is this earth; she is this supporter," (*iyaṁ vai Prithivī Aditiḥ sā iyam pratishṭhā*), etc.; and in another passage (v. 3, 1, 4): "Aditi is this earth; she is the wife of the gods," (*iyaṁ vai Prithivī Aditiḥ sā iyaṁ devānām patnī*). (See also viii. 2, 1, 10; xi. 1, 3, 3). But these identifications of the Brāhmaṇas are very arbitrary and frequently fanciful.

I have already mentioned that Aditi is placed by Yāska at the head

[77] This verse occurs also in the Vāj. S. xxi. 6; and Ath. V. vii. 6, 3. See Müller, p. 238.

of the goddesses of the intermediate region. If, however, the same ancient writer has done rightly in placing the Âdityas among the deities of the celestial sphere (Nir. xii. 35), Aditi their mother ought surely to have found her place in the same class, as it is scarcely conceivable that the composers of the hymns should have thought of thus separating the parent from her offspring. But Yâska is here merely following the order of the list of words (for it can hardly be called a classification) which he found in the fifth chapter of the Nighaṇṭu; and in following this list (to which he no doubt attached a certain authority) he has had to specify Varuṇa, who is twice named in it, not only among the celestial gods (xii. 21), among whom as an Âditya he was properly ranked, but also among the gods of the intermediate region[78] (x. 3).

(6) *Aditi and Diti.*

In the following verse Aditi is named along with another goddess or personification, Diti, who, from the formation of her name, appears to be intended as an antithesis, or as a complement, to Aditi (v. 62, 8. *Hiraṇyarûpam ushaso vyushṭāv ayaḥ-sthûṇam uditā sûryasya | ārohatho Varuṇa Mitra gartiam ataś chakshāthe Aditiṁ Ditiṁ cha* | "Ye, Mitra and Varuṇa, ascend your car, of golden form at the break of dawn, (your car) with iron supports at the setting[79] of the sun, and thence ye behold Aditi and Diti."[80] Sâyaṇa here understands Aditi of the earth as an invisible whole, and Diti as representing the separate creatures on its surface (*Aditim akhaṇḍanîyām bhûmim Ditiṁ khaṇḍitām pra-*

[78] Roth, in his remarks on Nir. x. 4, offers the following explanation of this circumstance: "Varuṇa who, of all the gods, ought to have been assigned to the highest sphere, appears here in the middle rank, because among his creative and regulative functions, the direction of the waters in the heavens is one.

[79] I here follow Roth, who, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71, and in his Lexicon, renders the word *uditā sûryasya* here by "setting of the sun." Sâyaṇa goes the length of explaining this phrase by *aparāhṇa* "afternoon," in his note on v. 76, 3, though not in the passage before us.

[80] These two words, *aditi* and *diti*, occur also in a passage of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (x. 16), which is partly the same as the present. The concluding clause (*tataś chakshātām aditiṁ ditiṁ cha*) is thus explained by the commentator there as signifying in the *adhidaiva* sense: "Thence behold [o Varuṇa and Mitra] the man who is not poor (*aditi=adîna*), *i.e.* who observes the prescribed ordinances (*vihitānushṭhātāram*), and him who is poor (*diti=dîna*), who follows the practices of the atheists (*nâstika-vrittam*)."

jādikām). In his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races" (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71), Professor Roth translates these two words by "the eternal," and "the perishable." In his Lexicon, however, the same author (*s.v.*) describes Diti "as a goddess associated with Aditi, without any distinct conception, and merely, as it appears, as a contrast to her." Aditi may, however, here represent the sky, and Diti the earth; or, if we are right in understanding the verse before us to describe two distinct appearances of Mitra and Varuṇa, one at the rising and the other at the setting of the sun, Aditi might possibly stand for the whole of nature as seen by day, and Diti for the creation as seen by night. At all events the two together appear to be put by the poet for the entire aggregate of visible nature.[81] Diti occurs again as a goddess, but without Aditi, in another place (vii. 15, 12, *Tvam Agne vīravad yaśo devaś cha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Ditiś cha dāti vāryam* | "You, Agni, and the divine Savitṛi and Bhaga, (bestow) renown with descendants; and Diti confers what is desirable." Sāyaṇa here explains Diti as meaning a particular goddess (*Ditir api devī*). Roth (*s.v.*) considers her to be a personification of liberality or opulence. Professor Müller, Trans. i. 244, considers that the original reading in this passage was Aditi, and that Diti has been substituted by later reciters. Diti is also named along with Aditi as a goddess, A.V. xv. 6, 7, and xv. 18, 4; Vāj. S. xviii. 22; and in A.V. vii. 7. 1, her sons are mentioned. These sons, the Daityas, as is well known, were regarded in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the gods.

(7) *Aditi may be a personification of Universal Nature.*

Perhaps Aditi may best be regarded as a personification of universal, all-embracing Nature, or Being, with which she is in fact identified in the following remarkable verse. She is the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future (i. 89, 10): "Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the air (or intermediate firmament); Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes;[82] Aditi is whatever has been

[81] The words *aditi* and *diti* occur together in another passage, iv. 2, 11 (*ditiṁ cha rāsva aditim urushya*), where Sāyaṇa takes *diti* for "the liberal man," and *aditi* for the "illiberal," and translates "grant us a liberal giver, and preserve us from the illiberal," while Roth renders them by "wealth" and "penury" respectively.

[82] In another place, vi. 51, 11, Aditi is invoked, along with Indra, the earth, the

born; Aditi is whatever shall be born"[83] (*Aditir dyaur Aditir antariksham Aditir mātā sa pitā sa putraḥ | viśve devāḥ Aditiḥ panchajanāḥ Aditir jātam Aditir janitvam* |).

Sāyaṇa states that here Aditi is either the earth, or the mother of the gods, and that she is lauded under the character of universal nature[84] (*Aditir ādīnā akhaṇḍanīyā vā pṛithivī devamātā vā | . . . evaṁ sakala-jagad-ātmanā Aditiḥ stūyate*). Yāska says (Nir. iv. 22 f.), that Aditi means "not poor, the mother of the gods" (*Aditir adīnā devamātā*), and that the variety of her manifestations is set forth in this verse, or that the objects which are there characterized as *aditi* are *adīna*, the reverse of *dīna*, "poor" (*ity Aditer vibhūtim āchashṭe | enāny adīnāni vā*). This text occurs at the end of a hymn addressed to all the gods, and does not appear to have any connexion with the verses which precede, from which it derives no elucidation."[85]

Compare with it Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, where it is similarly said "that the self-existent Brahma, who is the highest austere-fervour, is son, father, and mother (*Svayambhu Brahma paramaṁ tapo yat | sa eva putraḥ sa pitā sa mātā*).

With this may be compared Æschylus, Fragment 443:

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός·
Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤ τι τῶν δ' ὑπέρτερον.

ground (*kshāma*), Pūshan, Bhaga, and the five tribes (*pañchajanāḥ*), to bestow blessings. Are the "five tribes" to be understood here, with some old commentators (see Nir. iii. 8) of the Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras, and Rākshasas; or with the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa on i. 89, 10, of gods, men, Gandharvas, Apsarases, serpents, and Pitṛis (the Gandharvas and Apsarases being taken as one class)? Perhaps we should rather understand the term, as in x. 53, 4, 5 (*panchajanāḥ mama hotraṁ jushadhvam*, "ye five tribes, welcome my offering"), as denoting the whole pantheon, or a particular portion of it. In R.V. x. 55, 3, *pancha devāḥ*, the five gods, or classes of gods, are mentioned, and in x. 60, 4, "the five tribes in the sky" (*divīva pancha kṛishṭayaḥ*). See the 1st vol. of this work, p. 177.

[83] In a note on this verse (Orient und Occident, ii. p. 253) Professor Benfey remarks "The conception of this goddess is still dark."

[84] M. Ad. Regnier, E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas, p. 28. remarks: Aditi is the name of a divinity, a personification of *the All*, the mother of the gods."

[85] There is a hymn (x. 100)—addressed to different gods, and where they are invoked in succession—in which the words *ā sarvatātim aditiṁ vṛiṇīmahe* form the conclusion of all the verses except the last. The precise meaning of these words was not very clear to me, especially as they have no necessary connection with the preceding portions of the different stanzas in which they occur. But Professor Aufrecht suggests that the verb *vṛiṇīmahe* governs a double accusative, and that the words

"Zeus is the Æther, Zeus is the Earth, Zeus is the Heaven. Zeus is all things, and whatever is above them." See Müller, Lectures on Language, ii. 441.

The signification, "earth" or "nature," may be that in which the word Aditi is employed in R.V. i. 24, 1: *Kasya nūnaṁ katamasya amṛitānām manāmahe chāru devasya nāma | ko no mahyai Aditaye punar dāt pitaraṁ cha dṛiśeyam mātaraṁ cha* | 2. *Agner vayaṁ prathamasya amṛitānām manāmahe chāru devasya nāma | sa no mahyai Aditaye punar dāt pitaraṁ cha dṛiśeyam mātaraṁ cha* | "of which god, now, of which all the immortals, shall we invoke the amiable name? who shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother? 2. Let us invoke the amiable name of the divine Agni, the first of the immortals; he shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother." These words are declared in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to have been uttered by S'unaśśepa when he was about to be immolated (see Professor Wilson's Essay in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. 100; Professor Roth's paper in Weber's Indische Studien, i. 46; Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 408 ff.; Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 460 ff., and the First Vol. of this work, pp. 355 ff. In regard to the passage immediately before us, Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 500, and his Translation of the Rig-veda, i. 243, may also be consulted). Whether this account be correct or not, the words may be understood as spoken by some one in danger of death from sickness or otherwise, who prayed to be permitted again to behold the face of nature. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *mahī*, "great," applied in this verse to Aditi, which would not be so suitable if, with Roth (*s.v.*), we should take the word here in the sense of "freedom" or "security." If we should understand the father and mother whom the suppliant is anxious to behold, as meaning heaven

mean "We ask Aditi for *sarvatāti*," (whatever that may mean). In an ingenious excursus on R.V. i. 94, 15 (Orient und Occident, ii. 519 ff.), Professor Benfey regards the word as coming originally from the same root as the Latin *sălūt*, of which he supposes the primitive form to have been *salvotāt*, and to have the same signification. This sense certainly suits the context of the four passages on which principally he founds it, viz., i. 106, 2; iii. 54, 11; ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14. In a note to his translation of this paper (Orient und Occident, iii. 470) he explains the words under consideration, "we supplicate Aditi for welfare." In his transl. of R.V. i. 247, Müller similarly renders them: We implore Aditi for health and wealth."

and earth (see above), it would become still more probable that Aditi is to be understood as meaning "nature." Sāyaṇa (in loco) understands the word of the Earth (*pṛithivyai*).

(8) *Aditi as a forgiver of sin.*

Benfey in his translation of the hymn just referred to i. 24 (Orient und Occident, i. 33), treats Aditi as a proper name, and explains it as denoting "sinlessness." Whatever may be thought of this interpretation, the goddess Aditi is undoubtedly in many other texts connected with the idea of deliverance from sin. Thus at the end of this same hymn (i. 24, 15), it is said: *Ud uttamaṁ Varuṇa pāśam asmad ava adhamaṁ vi madhyamaṁ śrathaya | atha vayam Āditya vrate*[86] *tava anāgasaḥ Aditaye syāma* | "Varuṇa, loose from us the uppermost, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, o Āditya, by thy ordination, be without sin against Aditi."[87]

The same reference is also found in the following texts:

i. 162, 22. "May Aditi make us sinless" (*anāgastvaṁ no Aditiḥ kṛiṇotu*).

ii. 27, 14. "Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, be gracious if we have committed any sin against you" (*Adite Mitra Varuṇauta mṛiḷa yad vo vayaṁ chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ*).

iv. 12, 4. "Whatever offence we have, through our folly, committed against thee, after the manner of men, o most youthful god, make us free from sin against Aditi; loosen our sins altogether away, o Agni"

[86] On the different senses of the word *vrata* see Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 225 ff. Here he renders "under thy auspices," p. 228.

[87] The abstract noun *adititva* occurs along with *anāgāstva*, "sinlessness," in the following line (vii. 51, 1): *anāgāstve aditive turāsa imam yajnam dadhatu śroshamāṇāḥ*, "May the mighty gods, listening to us, preserve this ceremony in sinlessness, and prosperity." Though *adititva* is joined with *anāgāstva*, it does not follow that it must have the same sense.—In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 6, 5, 5 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 53 ff.,) the name of Aditi is explained from the root *ad*, to eat: "Whatever he created, he began to eat: for Aditi derives her (or his) name from this, that she (or he) eats every thing" (*yad yad eva asṛijata tad attum adhriyata | sarvaṁ vai atti iti tad Aditer adititvam*). Aditi is an epithet of Agni in R.V. iv. 1, 20; vii. 9, 3; and of Aryaman in ix. 81, 5. Yāska tells us that Agni also is called Aditi (*Agnir apy aditir uchyate*, Nir. xi. 23), and quotes in proof of this the 15th verse of a hymn to Agni, R.V. i. 94. In vii. 52, 1, the worshippers ask that they may be *aditayaḥ*, which Sāyaṇa renders by *akhaṇḍanīyāḥ*, "invincible."

(*Yach chid hi te purushatra yavishṭha achittibhiḥ chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ | kṛidhi su asmān Aditer anāgān vi enāṁsi śiśratho vishvag Agne*).

v. 82, 6. "May we be free from sin against Aditi through the help of the divine Savitṛi" (*anāgasaḥ Aditaye devasya Savituḥ save*).

vii. 87, 7. "May we, fulfilling the ordinances of Aditi, be without sin towards Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin" (*yo mṛilayāti chakrushe chid āgo vayaṁ syāma Varuṇe anāgāḥ | anu vratāni Aditer ṛidhantaḥ*).

vii. 93, 7. "Whatever sin we have committed, be thou (Agni) compassionate: may Aryaman and Aditi sever it from us" (*yat sīm āgaś chakṛima tat su mṛiḷa tad Aryamā Aditiḥ śiśrathantu*).

x. 12, 8. "May Mitra here, may Aditi, may the divine Savitṛi declare us sinless to Varuṇa" (*Mitro no atra Aditir anāgān Savitā devo Varuṇāya vochat*).

A consideration of these passages, where Aditi is supplicated for forgiveness of sin, might lead us to suppose that she was regarded as the great power which wields the forces of the universe, and controls the destinies of men by moral laws; and the idea derives some support from her connection with Varuṇa, whose bonds are so often referred to as afflicting sinners.[88] But this supposition is weakened by the fact that many others of the gods are in the same way petitioned for pardon, as Savitṛi (iv. 54, 3) and other deities, as the Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (x. 35, 2, 3), Agni (iii. 54, 19).

(9) *Aditi's position sometimes subordinate.*

Though, as we have seen, Aditi is regarded as the mother of some of the principal Vedic deities, she is yet, in other texts, represented as playing a subordinate part.

Thus, in vii. 38, 4, she is mentioned as celebrating the praises of Savitṛi, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, and welcoming his aid (*abhi yaṁ devī Aditir gṛiṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur jushāṇā | abhi samrājo Varuṇo gṛiṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ*); and in viii. 12, 14, she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra (*uta svarāje Aditiḥ stomam Indrāya jījanat | purupraśastam ūtaye ṛitasya yat*).

[88] See on this subject Müller's transl. of the R.V. i. 244 ff.

(10) *Creation as described in Rig-veda* x. 72; *birth of Aditi, Daksha, the gods, and the Ādityas.*

In a hymn of the tenth book (the 72nd), supposed from its contents to be of a comparatively late date, the process of creation is described at greater length than in any earlier passage, and the share which Aditi took in it is not very intelligibly set forth:[89]

x. 72, 1. *Devānām nu vayam jānā pra vochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śasyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge* | 2. *Brahmaṇaspatir etā sam karmāraḥ ivādhamat | devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata* | 3. *Devānām yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajne Uttānapado bhuvaḥ āśāḥ ajāyanta | Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari* | 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daksha yā duhitā tava | tām devāḥ anv ajāyanta bhadrāḥ amṛitabandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devāḥ adaḥ salile susamrabdhāḥ atishṭhata | attra vo nṛityatām iva tīvro reṇur apāyata* | 7. *Yad devāḥ yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata | attra samudre ā gūḷham ā sūryam ajabharttana* | 8. *Ashṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa pra ait saptabhiḥ parā mārttāṇḍam āsyat* | 9. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditiḥ upa prait pūrvyam yugam | prajāyai mṛityave tvat punar mārttāṇḍam ābharat* |

"1. Let us, in chaunted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them. 2. Brahmaṇaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith.[90] In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daksha. After her

[89] I have already given this translation in vol. iv. of this work, pp. 10, 11, but repeat it here, with some variations, for the sake of completeness. Prof. Müller in his transl. of the R.V. pp. 234 f. gives a version of the first four verses. In the first verse, second line, he proposes to read *yat* for *yaḥ* and to translate "that a man may see them," etc. In the third verse he takes Uttānapadas, where it first occurs, for a nominative, and in the fourth verse for a genitive. Whichever way we take the words, there is a double production of the regions; first, either (a) from Uttānapad, or (b) after the non-existent, but before Uttānapad, to which they gave birth, and, second, from the earth, which itself sprang from Uttānapad.

[90] Compare R.V. iv. 2, 17; and x. 81, 3.

the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality. 6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated, upon those waters, then a violent dust[91] issued from you, as from dancers. 7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men,[92] replenished the worlds, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (aerial ?) ocean. 8. Of the eight sons[93] of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa (the eighth). 9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation (of gods): she again produced Mārttāṇḍa for birth as well as for death.[94]

[91] Compare R.V. iv. 42, 5. . . . *Indraḥ iyarmi reṇum abhibhūtyojāḥ.*

[92] *Yatayaḥ.*—This word is taken by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* as the name of as ancient family connected with the Bhṛigus, R.V. viii. 3, 9; viii. 6, 18, to whom some connection with the formation of the world is ascribed in x. 72, 7 (the verse before us). The word also occurs in R.V. vii. 13, 1, where it is applied to Agni (*Vaiśvanarāya yataye matīnām*). The second of the verses quoted by B. and R. (viii. 6, 18) is as follows: *ye Indra yatayas tvā Bhṛigavo ye cha tushṭuvuḥ | mama id ugra śrudhi havam* | "Indra, the Yatis, and the Bhṛigus, who praised thee:—hear, o fiery god, my invocation." Here a family of men may be meant, as also in viii. 3, 9 (*yena yatibhyo Bhṛigave dhane hite*). In one of the few verses of the Sāma-veda which are not found in the R.V., viz. ii. 304, (but which is not referred to in B. and R.'s Lexicon, although the parallel passage in the A.V. ii. 5, 3, which has some different readings, is cited) the words Yati and Bhrigu both occur: *Indras turāshāṇ Mitro na jaghāna Vṛittraṁ Yatir na | bibheda Balam Bhṛigur na sasāhe śatrūn made somasya* | "The impetuous Indra slew Vṛittra as (did) Mitra, as (did) the Yati; he pierced Bala as (did) Bhṛigu; he overcame his enemies in the exhilaration of the soma-juice." The parallel passage of the A.V. (in Roth and Whitney's ed.) reads *yatīr na*, the accusative feminine, instead of *yatir na*, the nom. masc. The Lexicon also refers to the Ait. Br. vii. 28 (quoted in the 1st vol. of this work (2nd ed.) pp. 437 f.), where Indra is said to have abandoned the Yatis to wolves; and to other passages in which the same legend in noticed.

[93] Compare A.V. viii. 9, 21: *ashṭa-yonir Aditir ashṭa-putrā* | In the Taitt. Araṇyaka i. 13, 1, the Earth is said to have had eight births, eight sons, and eight husbands (*ashṭayonīm ashṭaputrām ashṭapatnīm imām mahīm*).

[94] The 8th and 9th verses are quoted in the Taittirīya Araṇyaka i. 13, 2, 3; where the reading of the last line of verse 9, is as follows: *prajāyai mṛityave tat parā mārttāṇḍam ābharat* | The commentator explains the last verse thus: "Aditi approached her husband preparatory to the procreation of her sons, and with a view to their birth; and she abandoned Mārttāṇḍa that he might die" (*tad-utpādanārtham "pūrvyaṁ yugam" tad utpatti-pūrva-kālīnam pati-saṁyogam "prajāyai" prajotpatty-artham "upaprait" prīti-pūrvakam prāptavatī | . . . Mārttāṇḍākhyam ashṭamam putram "parābharat" parityaktavatī iti yat tat "mṛityave" mṛityu-nimittam | Mārttāṇḍo hi mṛityor eva hetur na prajābhivṛiddhiḥ* |), and he adds that "Mārttāṇḍa means one in consequence of whose birth the egg has become dead" (*mṛitam aṇḍaṁ yadīya-janmanā sa Mārttāṇḍaḥ*); according to the Smṛiti: *mṛite 'ṇḍe jāyate yasmād Mārttāṇḍaḥ sa udāhṛitaḥ* | "He is called Mārttāṇḍa because he was

4

Yāska has the following remarks on verse 4 of this hymn in the Nirukta, xi. 23:

Āditya Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Dākshāyaṇī "Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām iti | api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī |

"Daksha is, they say, an Āditya (or son of Aditi), and is praised among the Ādityas. And Aditi is, on the other hand, the daughter of Daksha (according to this text), 'Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.' How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other, and have derived their substance from each other.".[96]

Another instance of the same reciprocal generation is found in R.V. x. 90, 5: *Tasmād Virāḍ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ* | "From him (Purusha) sprang Virāj; and from Virāj (sprang) Purusha."

born when the egg was dead." See also the 549th line of the Harivaṁsa quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 11, note. The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 1, 3, 3 (already quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 12), has the following explanation of the 8th verse: *Ashṭau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeḥ | yāṁs tv etad devāḥ Ādityāḥ ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te | avikṛitaṁ ha ashṭamaṁ janayānchakāra Mārttāṇḍam | sandegho ha eva āsa yāvān eva ūrdhvas tāvāṁs tiryañ purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete ūchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ "yad asmān anu ajanimā tad amuyā iva bhūd hanta imaṁ vikaravāma" iti taṁ vichakrur yathā ayam purusho vikṛitaḥ | tasya yāni māṁsāni sankṛitya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhavat | . . . Yam u ha tad vichakrus sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |* "Aditi had eight sons. But there were only seven (of them) whom men call the Āditya deities. For she bore the eighth, Mārttāṇḍa, undeveloped into any distinctions of shape (without hands, feet, etc.—Comm.), and quite smooth and uniform, as broad as he was long, or of the size of a man, according to some. The Āditya gods said 'If in his nature he does not resemble us, it will be fatal; come let us shape him.' They did so as this man is shaped. The flesh which they cut off him, and threw away, became an elephant. . . . He whom they so shaped was the Āditya Vivasvat, of whom come these creatures." The passage of the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 6, 1, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work p. 26, also alludes to Aditi's second parturition having resulted in an abortive egg (*vyṛiddham āṇḍam*).

[96] In his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151) Professor Roth thus translates the 4th and 5th verses of this hymn: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb sprang the Regions; from Aditi (Eternity) was born Daksha (spiritual power), and from Daksha again Aditi. 5. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her sprang forth the gods, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds: "Daksha, (spiritual power) is the male energy, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the world, or being) and space are the principles of the finite, so both of these are the originators of divine life."

Daksha and Aditi are connected in two other texts:

x. 5, 7. *Asach cha sach cha parame vyoman Dakshasya janmann Aditer upasthe | Agnir naḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya pūrve āyuni vṛishabhaś cha dhenuḥ* | "(A principle) not existing (actually), but existing (potentially) in the highest heaven, in the creative potency of Daksha and in the womb of Aditi,—Agni (became) in a former age the first born of our ritual, and is both a vigorous bull and a cow."[96]

x. 64, 5. *Dakshasya vā Adite janmani vrate rājānā Mitrā-varuṇā ā vivāsasi* | "Thou, o Aditi, dost tend the two kings Mitra and Varuṇa after the production and by the will of Daksha."[97]

Though the above passage, x. 72, 4, 5, represents Daksha as at once the father and the son of Aditi, the older Vedic mythology, as we shall see from R.V. ii. 27, 1, in the next section, describes him as one of the Ādityas, and consequently as her son. There are, however, two other passages, vi. 50, 2, and vii. 66, 2, in which the epithet *Daksha-pitṛi* is applied to the gods, and a third, viii. 25, 5, in which two of the Ādityas are styled *sūnū dakshasya sukratū*. What is the signification of these epithets? The first of the passages, vi. 50, 2, is as follows:

Sujyotishaḥ sūrya Daksha-pitṛīn anāgastve sumaho vīhi devān | dvijanmāno ye ṛitasāpaḥ satyāḥ svarvanto yajatāḥ Agni-jihvāḥ | "O mighty Sūrya, visit in sinlessness the resplendent gods, the sons of Daksha, [or possessors of powers], who have two births, are holy, true, celestial, adorable, and have Agni on their tongues."

vii. 66, 2. *Yā dhārayanta devāḥ sudakshā Daksha-pitarā | asuryāya pramahasā* | "Which two wise gods (*i.e.* Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty sons of Daksha,—[or possessors of powers],—the deities have established to exercise divine rule."

In the Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 2, 3, 1 (p. 309 in Bibl. Ind.), the same epithet is applied to the gods: *Ye devāḥ manojātāḥ manoyujaḥ sudakshāḥ Dakshapitaras te naḥ pāntu* | "May those deities who are mind-born, mind-exerting, intelligent, who have Daksha for their father,[98] protect and deliver us," etc.

[96] See Langlois' version. Müller (Trans. of the R.V. i. 234) renders the first line only, and does not advert to the second.

[97] See Müller's version in his Trans. of the R.V. i. p. 234. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 151, Roth translates the line "And thou, o Aditi, who after their production by Daksha, and by his command, servest the two kings Mitra and Varuṇa," etc.

[98] The commentator explains the word *Daksha-pitaraḥ* as = *Dakshaḥ prajāpatir utpādako yeshām te.* "those of whom the Prajāpati Daksha is the generator."

Doubt may be thrown on the propriety of taking Daksha in the preceding passages to represent a person, from the fact that in R.V. viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are not only called the "strong sons of Daksha" (*sūnū Dakshasya sukratū*), but also the "grandsons of mighty strength" (*napātā śavaso mahaḥ*). In his interpretation of vi. 50, 2, Sāyaṇa explains *Daksha-pitṛīn* as *Dakshaḥ pitāmaho yeshām te* | "they of whom Daksha is the progenitor." In the second passage vii. 66, 2, however, he takes the same compound to signify the preservers, or lords of strength" (*balasya pālakau svāminau vā*). The epithet "son of strength" (*sahasasputra, sahasaḥ sūnu*) is applied to Agni viii. 49, 2; viii. 60, 11; viii. 64, 3; and *śavasaḥ putra* "son of might" to Indra in viii. 79, 3, and viii. 81, 14. In viii. 58, 4, Indra is called the "son of truth" (*sūnum satyasya*); and the gods are called "sons of immortality" in vi. 52, 9 (*sūnavaḥ amṛitasya*), and in x. 13, 1 (*amṛitasya putrāḥ*). Professor Roth in his Lexicon assigns to *dakshapitaraḥ* the sense of "preserving, possessing, bestowing powers;" and supports his view by quoting various other texts of the R.V. This signification is approved by Dr. Kuhn in his review of this article. Professor Müller translates the word by "fathers of strength," Trans. of R.V. i. 235 f.

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 2, Daksha is identified with Prajāpati, or the creator."[90]

The part which he plays in the later mythology, founded, no doubt, on the Vedic texts which I have quoted, may be seen by consulting Professor Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's edition, vol. i. pp. 100, 108 ff.: vol. ii. pp. 9–26, and vol. iii. p. 230. According to the first account he is one of Brahmā's mind-born sons (p. 100), and marries Prasūti (p. 108), who bears him twenty-four daughters, among whom Aditi is not specified. In the second account, however (vol. ii. p. 26), Aditi is mentioned as one of his sixty daughters who, along with Diti, Danu, and ten others, is said to have been given in marriage to Kaśyapa, to whom she (Aditi) bore the twelve Adityas (p. 27. See also the M. Bh. Ādi-parva, 3135.) According to the third account (vol. iii. p. 230), Aditi is said to be the daughter of Daksha, and the mother of Vivasvat, the Sun. In a passage in one of the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel, i. 31, Calc. ed. i. 29), in the Mahābhārata,

[90] See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 24. In the sequel of the passage in the S'. P. Br., ii. 4, 4, 6, a person named Daksha, the son of Parvata, is mentioned.

and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 16, 1 ff., Aditi is described as the wife of Kaśyapa, and the mother of Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation. (See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 116 ff.)

An older authority, however, the Vāj. Sanhitā, gives quite a different account of the relation of Aditi to Vishṇu, as it (xxix. 60 = Taitt. S. vii. 5, 14, 1) represents her to be his wife (*Adityai Vishṇu-patnyai charuḥ*.[100] In the following passage of the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. (p. 34*a* of the India Office MS.) also she is similarly described: *Vishṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛithivyā asyeśānā jagato Vishṇu-patnī* | *viśva-vyachāḥ ishayantī subhūtiḥ śivā no astu Aditir upasthe* | "Supporter of the sky, sustainer of the earth, sovereign of this world, wife of Vishṇu, may the all-embracing and powerful Aditi, filling us with vigour, be auspicious to us (abiding) in her lap."

[100] In A.V. vii. 46, 3, Sinīvālī seems to be called the wife of Vishṇu (*Vishṇoḥ patnī*). Another goddess is said in Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 6, to be the wife of the same god (*Mahīm devīm Vishṇupatnīm*).

SECTION IV.

THE ÂDITYAS.

The sons of Aditi specified in R.V. ii. 27, 1, are these six: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Daksha, and Aṁśa (*Imāḥ giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi* | *śṛiṇotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṇo Daksho Aṁśaḥ* |). In ix. 114, 3, the Âdityas are spoken of as seven in number, but their names are not mentioned (*devāḥ ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ somābhiraksha naḥ*).[101] In x. 72, 8, 9, as we have already seen, it is declared that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she only presented seven to the gods, casting out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth, though she is said to have afterwards brought him forward. Here, again, the names of the rest are omitted. In A.V. viii. 9, 21, also, as quoted above, p. 38, Aditi is said to have had eight sons. Sūrya is, in a few places, spoken of as an Âditya, viz. in R.V. i. 50, 12 (*ud agād ayam Ādityaḥ*); i. 191, 9 (*ud apaptad asau sūryaḥ . . . Ādityaḥ*); viii. 90, 11;[102] and as an Âditeya (this word equally means 'son of Aditi'), identified with Agni, he is said (x. 88, 11),[103] to have been placed by the gods in the sky. In viii. 18, 3, Savitṛi is named along with Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, four of the Âdityas, after that class of deities had been celebrated generally in the preceding verse. Sūrya or Savitṛi therefore appears to have a certain claim to be considered the seventh Âditya (compare A.V. xiii. 2, 9, and 37, where the sun is called the son of Aditi, *Aditeḥ putraḥ* and *Adityāḥ putram*). We have seen above (pp. 13 f., note 19) that Indra also is in one passage (R.V. vii. 85, 4),

101 See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 101 ff., where these and many other passages relating to the Âdityas are quoted.

102 The last-mentioned text is as follows: *Baṇ mahān asi Sūrya baṭ Āditya mahān asi* | . . . . *Baṭ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi* | "O great art thou, Sūrya! O son of Aditi, thou art great! . . . . O Sūrya, in renown thou art great," etc.

103 *Yaded enam adadhur yajniyāso divi devāḥ Sūryam Āditeyam.* See Nirukta ii. 13; vii. 29. In x. 37, 1, however, the Sun is called the Son of the Heaven (*divas putrāya sūryāya*); and there as well as elsewhere he is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa.

addressed as an Āditya along with Varuṇa.[104] In A.V. viii. 2, 15, the Sun and Moon are called Ādityas (*tattra tvā ''dityau rakshatāṁ sūrya-chandramasāv ubhau* |). In A.V. ix. 1, 4, the golden-hued Madhukaśā is said to be the mother of the Ādityas, and the daughter of the Vasus (*Mātā'' dityānāṁ duhitā Vasūnām . . . . hiraṇya-varṇā Madhukaśā*).

In the Taittirīya Veda (quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. ii. 27, 1) the Ādityas are said to be eight in number: Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Aṁśu, (*sic*) Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat. Here five names correspond with those given in R.V. ii. 27, 1, while Daksha is omitted, and three names are added, Dhātṛi, Vivasvat (who may be identified with Sūrya), and Indra.

The same names are given in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 9, 1 (a passage already cited in the 1st. vol. of this work, p. 27, but repeated here for facility of reference):

Aditiḥ putrakāmā Sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sā dvitīyam apachat | 2. *Tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha ajāyetām | sā tṛitīyam apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Aṁśaś cha Bhagaś cha ajāyetām | sā chaturtham apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Indraś cha Vivasvāṁś cha ajāyetām |*

"Aditi, being desirous of sons, cooked a brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remains of it, which she ate. She conceived, and Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." The same thing is done a second time, when she brings forth Mitra and Varuṇa, —a third time, when she bears Aṁśa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she gives birth to Indra and Vivasvat. (Comp. the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 6, 1, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 26 f.) In one place (iii. 1, 3, 3), already quoted in p. 50, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Ādityas as becoming eight by the addition of Marttāṇḍa; but in two other passages (vi. 1, 2, 8; xi. 6, 3, 8), quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 102, as being twelve in number. In the first of these two latter texts they are said to have sprung from twelve drops generated by Prajāpati (in which case they could not have been

[104] Although in their Sanhitā text both Müller and Aufrecht read Ādityă, they both give Ādityā the dual as the reading of the Pada text.

sons of Aditi), and in the second they are identified with the twelve months.[105] In the later Indian literature they are always said to be twelve (see the passages quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 101–106).

Professor Roth (in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 68 f.) has the following observations on the Âdityas: "There (in the highest heaven) dwell and reign those gods who bear in common the name of Âdityas. We must, however, if we would discover their earliest character, abandon the conceptions which in a later age, and even in that of the heroic poems, were entertained regarding these deities. According to this conception they were twelve sun-gods, bearing evident reference to the twelve months. But for the most ancient period we must hold fast the primary signification of their name. They are the inviolable, imperishable, eternal beings. Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains them and is sustained by them." See above, (p. 37). Further on he adds: "The eternal and inviolable element in which the Âdityas dwell, and which forms their essence, is the celestial light. The Âdityas, the gods of this light, do not therefore by any means coincide with any of the forms in which light is manifested in the universe. They are neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor dawn, but the eternal sustainers of this luminous life, which exists, as it were, behind all these phenomena."

In some of the hymns were the Âdityas (under which name Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman seem chiefly, if not exclusively, to be intended), are celebrated (see especially ii. 27), they are characterized by the epithets "bright" (*śuchayaḥ*), "golden" (*hiraṇyayāḥ*), "pure" (*dhārapūtāḥ*), "sinless" (*avṛijinâḥ*), "blameless" (*anavadyāḥ*), "holy," (*ritāvānaḥ*) "strong" (*kshattriyāḥ*, viii. 56, 1), "kings," "resistless" (*arishṭāḥ*), "vast" (*uravaḥ*), "deep" (*gabhīrāḥ*), sleepless" (*asvapnajaḥ*), "unwinking" (*animishāḥ*),[106] "many-eyed" (*bhūryakshāḥ*, ii. 27, 3), "far-observing" (*dīrghadhiyaḥ*), "fixed in their purpose" (*dhṛitavratāḥ*). Distant things are near to them, ii. 27, 3 (*sarvaṁ rājabhyaḥ paramā*

[105] In the S'. P. Br. iii. 5, 1, 13, a dispute between the Âdityas and Angirases regarding a sacrifice is mentioned. (Comp. Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 21, 1). In the same work, (the S'p. Br.) xii. 2, 2, 9, it is said that these two classes of beings (the Âdityas and Angirases) were both descendants of Prajâpati, and that they strove together for the priority in ascending to heaven. In A.V. xii. 3, 43 f., and xix. 39, 5 also they are connected with one another.

[106] This is a characteristic of the gods in general.

chid anti), they uphold and preserve things both moving and stationary (*dhārantayaḥ ādityāso jagat sthāḥ devāḥ viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* | ibid.), they see the good and evil in men's hearts, and distinguish the honest man from the deceitful, ii. 27, 3 (*antaḥ paśyanti vṛijanā uta sādhu* | viii. 18, 15, *pākatrā sthana devāḥ hṛitsu jānītha martyam* | *upa dvayuṁ cha advayuṁ cha*), they are holy and awful, and haters of falsehood and punish sin, ii. 27, 4 (*ṛitāvānaś chayamānāḥ ṛiṇāni*), vii. 60, 5 (*ime chetāro anṛitasya bhūreḥ*), vii. 52, 2; vii. 66, 13, which they are entreated to forgive, ii. 27, 14; ii. 29, 5; averting from the worshipper the consequences of the transgressions of others as well as of his own, vii. 52, 2; viii. 47, 8; or transferring those penalties of sin, whether open or secret, to the head of Trita Āptya, viii. 47, 13 (*yad āvir yad apīchyaṁ devāso asti dushkṛitam* | *Trite tad viśvam Āptye āre asmad dadhātana*);[107] and they spread nooses for their enemies, ii. 27, 16 (*yāḥ vo māyāḥ abhidruhe yajatrāḥ pāśāḥ ādityāḥ ripave vichṛittāḥ*). They are supplicated for various boons, for protection, offspring, guidance, light, long life, etc. (see R.V. ii. 27, 5–7, 10, 11, 14; viii. 18, 22. In viii. 47, 2, they are said to know how to remove transgressions, and are besought to extend their protection to their worshipper, as birds spread their wings over their young (*vida devāḥ aghānām Ādityāso apākṛitim* | *pakshā vayo yathā upari vi asme śarma yachhata* | 3. *Vi asme adhi śarma tat pakshā vayo na yantana*).[108] Their servants are protected by them as a warrior is when encased in his armour, viii. 47, 8 (*yushme devāḥ api smasi yudhyantaḥ iva varmasu*), and then no shaft, however sharp or heavy, can strike them (ibid. 7: *na taṁ tigmaṁ chana tyajo na drāsad abhi taṁ guru* | *yasmai u śarma arādhvam* | See Müller, Trans. p. 255).

The Ādityas regarded as a class of gods are not, however, characterized so specifically in the hymns, as two of the individual deities who bear that general designation, I mean Varuṇa and Mitra; and I shall, therefore, proceed to give a fuller account of the two latter, (with whose names that of Aryaman is sometimes associated), omitting any further reference to Bhaga and Aṁśa, who are rarely mentioned, and to Daksha, of whom something has been already said. Sūrya and Savitṛi will be treated separately.

[107] Roth, *s.v.* Trita Āptya, says this god is conceived as dwelling in the remote distance, removed from view, and that it is in consequence of this that evil is sought to be transferred to him.

[108] Compare Psalms, xvii. 8; xxxvi. 7; lxi. 4; lxiii. 7; xci. 4.

SECTION V.

MITRA AND VARUṆA.

(1) *General idea of these two gods.*

These two deities are very frequently found in conjunction. Varuṇa is also often separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Their frequent association is easily explained if the commentators are right in understanding Mitra to represent the day, and Varuṇa the night. Thus Śāyaṇa says on R.V. i. 89, 3: "Mitra is the god who presides over the day, according to the Vedic text, 'the day is Mitra's'" (*ahar-abhimāninaṁ devam* | "*Maitraṁ vai ahar*" *iti śruteḥ*); and again, "Varuṇa is derived from the root *vṛi*, to cover; he envelops the wicked in his snares; and is the god who rules over the night, according to the text, 'the night is Varuṇa's[109]'" (*vṛiṇoti* | *pāpakṛitaḥ svakīyaiḥ pāśair āvṛiṇoti iti rātry-abhimāni-devo Varuṇaḥ* | *śrūyate cha* "*Vāruṇī rātrir*" [Taitt. Br. i. 7, 10, 1] *iti* |). In the same way the commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 8, 16, 1 (Bibl. Ind. vol. ii. p. 164), affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun" (*Mitra-śabdasya sūrya-vāchitvāt*), and that the "word Varuṇa signifies one who envelops like

[109] See also his note on i. 141, 9, where he gives the same explanation regarding Mitra and Varuṇa, and adds that Aryaman is the god who goes between the other two (*Aryamā ubhayor madhya-vartī devaḥ*). According to his note on i. 90, 1, Aryaman is the sun who makes the division of day and night (*Aryamā aho-rātra-vibhāgasya karttā sūryaḥ*). Compare also his note on ii. 38, 8, where he says that Varuṇa is represented as giving resting-places to creatures after sunset, because he carries on the affairs of the night (*Yoniṁ sthānaṁ nimishi nimeshe Savitur asta-samaye sati viśramārtham prāṇibhyaḥ prayachhati* | *Varuṇasya rātrer nirvāhakatvāt*). In i. 35, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked along with Agni, Night and Savitṛi: "I invoke first Agni for our welfare; I invoke hither Mitra and Varuṇa to our aid; I invoke Night who gives rest to the world; I invoke the divine Savitṛi to our assistance" (*hvayāmi Agnim prathamaṁ svastaye hvayāmi Mitrā-varuṇāv ihāvase* | *hvayāmi rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīm hvayāmi devaṁ Savitāram ūtaye*).

darkness" (*Varuṇa-śabdasya andhakāra-vad āvaraka-vāchitvāt*), according to the text (above given, in p. 58, of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 10, 1), "the day is Mitra's and the night is Varuṇa's." In another part of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 4, 8, we read: *Na vai idaṁ divā na naktam āsīd avyākṛitam | te devāḥ Mitrā-varuṇāv abruvan "idaṁ no vivāsayatam" iti | .... Mitro 'har ajanayad Varuṇo rātrim |* "This world had neither day nor night, but was (in that respect) undistinguished. The gods said to Mitra and Varuṇa, 'Make a separation.' .... Mitra produced the day, and Varuṇa the night." (See the same Sanhitā ii. 1, 7, 4.) In R.V. viii. 41, 3, it is said of Varuṇa, "The conspicuous god has embraced the nights, by his wisdom he has established the days, and everything perfectly" (*sa kshapaḥ parishasvaje ni usro māyayā dadhe sa viśvam pari darśataḥ |*). In his note on another passage (R.V. vii. 87, 1) Sāyaṇa says that it is the setting sun which is called Varuṇa, who by his departure creates the nights (*Astaṁ gachhan sūryaḥ eva Varuṇaḥ ity uchyate | sa hi sva-gamanena rātrīr janayati |*). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 2, 12, says: "This (terrestrial) world is Mitra; the other (the celestial) world is Varuṇa" (*ayaṁ vai loko Mitraḥ | asau Varuṇaḥ |*)

(2) *Their chief characteristics.*

The following are some of the principal characteristics of these gods, as represented in the Rig-veda. Varuṇa is, sometimes at least, visible to the mental eye of his worshippers. Thus, in i. 25, 18, the rishi says: *Darśaṁ nu viśva-darśataṁ darśaṁ ratham adhi kshami |* "I beheld him who is visible to all; I beheld his chariot upon the ground." In vii. 88, 2, also, the poet exclaims: *Adha nu asya sandṛiśaṁ jaganvān Agner anīkaṁ Varuṇasya maṁsi |* "When I have obtained a vision of Varuṇa, I have regarded his lustre as resembling that of Agni."[110] Mighty and fixed in purpose, he sits in his abode exercising sovereignty (i. 25, 10: *Ni shasāda dhritavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāsu ā | samrājyāya sukratuḥ |*). He is arrayed in golden mail,[111] and surrounded by his messengers or angels (i. 25, 13: *Bibhrad drāpiṁ hiraṇyayaṁ Varuṇo vasta nirṇijam |*

[110] See Roth's article on "The highest gods of the Arian races," Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71.

[111] Golden mail is also assigned to Savitṛi (iv. 53, 2).

pari spaśo ni shedire). His house, at which the worshippers are said to have arrived, has a thousand doors (vii. 88, 5: *Bṛihantam mānam Varuṇa svadhāvaḥ sahasradvāraṁ jagama gṛihaṁ te*). Again he is described as occupying, along with Mitra, a stable palace supported by a thousand columns[112] (ii. 41, 5: *Rājānā anabhidruhā dhruve sadasi uttame | sahasrasthūṇe āsate* | v. 62, 6: *Rājanā kshattram ahriṇīyamānā sahasrasthūṇam bibhṛithaḥ saha dvau* |). The two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses, and is golden-coloured at the break of day, and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun (v. 62, 8, already quoted in p. 42).[113] Mounted on their car, and soaring in the highest empyrean, they behold all things in heaven and earth (v. 62, 4, 8; v. 63, 1: *Ṛitasya gopāv adhi tishṭhato ratham satyadharmāṇā parame vyomani*). Varuṇa is said to be farsighted (*uruchakshas*, i. 25, 5, 16; viii. 90, 2); and thousand-eyed (*sahasrachakshas*, vii. 34, 10). In one place mention is made of his golden-winged messenger (*hiraṇyapaksham Varuṇasya dūtam*, x. 123, 6), and elsewhere the sun is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (*chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya*, vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1). Along with Aryaman, another of the Ādityas, these two gods are called sun-eyed (*sūrachakshasaḥ*, vii. 66, 10). They are also denominated *supāṇī*, the beautiful or skilful-handed. Varuṇa is frequently spoken of as a king (*rājā Varuṇaḥ*, i. 24, 7, 8; iv. 1, 2; v. 40, 7; vii. 64, 1; x. 103, 9; x. 173, 5); as king of all (x. 132, 4); as king of all, both gods and men (ii. 27, 10: *tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asi rāja ye cha devāḥ asura ye cha marttāḥ* |); as king of the universe (*viśvasya bhuvanasya*, v. 85, 3), and of all that exists (*sato asya*, vii. 87, 6); as an universal monarch (*samrāṭ*, i. 25, 10; ii. 28, 6; v. 85, 1; vi. 68, 9; viii. 42, 1); as a self-dependent ruler *svarāṭ*, ii. 28, 1). The same epithets of king and universal monarch are also applied in other places to Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly (as in i. 71, 9; i. 136, 1, 4; i. 137, 1; v. 62, 6; v. 63, 2, 3, 5; v. 65, 2; v. 68, 2; vii. 64, 2; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 4, 7, 8; viii. 90, 2; x. 65, 5).[114]

[112] Compare Ovid. Met. ii. 1 ff. Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis, etc. His golden house is, according to A.V. vii. 83, 1, built in the waters (*apsu te rājan Varuṇa gṛiho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ*).

[113] I follow Roth here in understanding *uditā sūryasya* not of the *rising* (as the phrase generally means), but of the *setting* of the sun. It is thus only that the iron colour of the chariot becomes intelligible.

[114] The same deities with Aryaman are called kings in i. 41, 3; and kings of men

Power, martial strength, or sovereign authority, *kshattra*, is also constantly predicated of one or both of these deities; and they as well as the Âdityas generally are denominated the strong, or martial, gods, *kshattriyāḥ* (as in i. 24, 6; i. 25, 5; i. 136, 1; v. 66, 2; v. 67, 1; v. 68, 1, 3; vi. 49, 1; vi. 51, 10;[115] vi. 67, 5, 6; vii. 34, 11; vii. 64, 2; viii. 25, 8; viii. 56, 1; viii. 90, 2). They are also designated as *rudrā*, the terrible (v. 70, 2, 3); as *asurā*, the divine (vii. 36, 2; viii. 25, 4; viii. 27, 20); as the divine and lordly deities (*asurā tāv aryā*) among the gods (vii. 65, 2). The epithet *asura*, divine, is frequently applied to Varuṇa in particular (as in i. 24, 14; ii. 27, 10; v. 85, 5, 6; viii. 42, 1), though it is also given to other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

Another word employed to express their divine power, or wisdom, is *māyā*;[116] and Varuṇa is sometimes called the *māyin*, the possessor of this attribute (vi. 48, 14; vii. 28, 4; x. 99, 10; x. 147, 5). While in some places (iii. 61, 7; v. 63, 4) this quality (*māyā*) is ascribed to the two deities themselves, in other verses of the last quoted hymn (v. 63, 3, 7) they are said to cause the heaven to rain, and to uphold their ordinances, through the power (*māyayā*) of the divine being (*asurasya*). It might appear as if the word *asura* denoted here some great deity distinct from, and superior to, Mitra and Varuṇa, through whose strength they acted; but in other places, as we have already seen, the term *asura* is distinctly used as an epithet of Varuṇa and the other Âdityas.

(3) *Functions and attributes of Varuṇa.*

The grandest cosmical functions are ascribed to Varuṇa. Possessed of illimitable resources (or knowledge), this divine being has meted out, (or fashioned), and upholds, heaven and earth; he dwells in all worlds as sovereign ruler (viii.42, 1: *Astabhnād dyām asuro viśvavedāḥ amimīta varimāṇam pṛithivyāḥ | āsīdad viśvā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni*), indeed, the three worlds are em-

(*rājānaí charshaṇīnām*) in x. 26, 6. In vii. 66, 11, it is said: "The kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, who established the year, the month, and the day, etc., enjoy unrivalled dominion (*ye vi dadhuḥ śaradam māsam ād ahar yajnam aktum cha ād ṛicham | anāpyaṁ Varuṇo M[illegible] Aryamā kshatraṁ rājānaḥ āśata*).

115 In these two last passages Agni shares with Mitra and Varuṇa the epithet of *sukshatra*.

116 It is also ascribed to other deities: see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

braced within him (vii. 87, 5: *tisro dyāvo nihitāḥ antar asmin tisro bhūmīḥ*); he made the golden and revolving sun to shine in the firmament (ibid. *gritso rājā Varuṇaś chakre etaṁ divi prenkhaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ śubhe kam* | comp. v. 85, 2). See also vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; vii. 87, 6; viii. 41, 4, 5, 10. The wind which resounds through the atmosphere is his breath (vii. 87, 2: *ātmā te vāto rajaḥ ā navīnot*). He has opened boundless paths for the sun,[117] and has hollowed out channels for the rivers, which flow by his command (i. 24, 8: *Uruṁ hi rājā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anu etave u* | ii. 28, 4: *Pra sīm Ādityo asṛijad vidharttā ṛitaṁ sindhavo Varuṇasya yanti* | vii. 87, 1: *Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṁsi samudriyā nadīnām*). By his wonderful contrivance the rivers pour their waters into the one ocean, but never fill it[118] (v. 85, 6: *imām u nu kavitamasya māyām mahīṁ devasya nakir ādadharsha | ekaṁ yad udnā na priṇanti enīr āsinchantīr avanayaḥ samudram*). His ordinances are fixed and unassailable[119] (iii. 54, 18: *Adabdhāni Varuṇasya vratāni*). They rest on him, unshaken, as upon a mountain (ii. 28, 8: *Tve hi kam parvate na śritāni aprachyutāni dūḷabha vratāni* | See also i. 25, 6, 10; i. 44, 14; i. 141, 9; ii. 1, 4; viii. 25, 2, where the word *dhṛita-vrata*, "he whose laws are fixed," is found); through their operation, the moon walks in brightness, and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight (i. 24, 10: *Amī ye ṛikshāḥ nihitāsaḥ uchchā naktaṁ dadṛiśre kuha chid divā īyuḥ | adabdhāni Varuṇasya vratāni vichākaśach chandramā naktam eti*). Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath (i. 24, 6: *Na hi te kshatraṁ na saho na manyuṁ vayaś chana amī patayantaḥ āpuḥ | na imāḥ āpo animishaṁ charantīḥ*). His messengers behold both worlds (vii. 87, 3: *Pari spaśo Varuṇasya smadishṭāḥ ubhe paśyanti rodasī sumeke* | See also i. 24, 13; vi. 67, 5). He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the

[117] In vii. 60, 4, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to open out paths for the sun (*yasmai ādityāḥ adhvano radanti ityādi*).

[118] See Roth on "The highest gods of the Arian races," p. 71. Compare Ecclesiastes, i. 7: "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

[119] See Roth in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 341; and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 534, note 2.

secret things that have been, or shall be done (i. 25, 7: *Veda yo vinām padam antarikshena patatām | veda nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ* | 9. *Veda vātasya varttanim uror ṛishvasya bṛihataḥ* | 11. *Yo viśvāni adbhutā chikitvān abhi paśyati | kṛitāni yā cha kartvā*). No creature can even wink without him (ii. 28, 6: *Na hi tvad āre nimishaś chana īśe*). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (vii. 49, 3: *Yāsām rājā Varuṇo yāti madhye satyānṛite avapaśyan janānām*). He instructs the rishi Vasishṭha in mysteries (vii. 87, 4: *Uvācha me Varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāmā aghnyā bibhartti*). But his secrets and those of Mitra are not to be revealed to the foolish (*na vām niṇyāni achite abhūvan*).

In the sixteenth hymn of the fourth book of the Atharva-veda, his power and omniscience are thus celebrated:

1. *Bṛihann eshām adhishṭhātā antikād iva paśyati | yaḥ stāyan manyate charan sarvam devāḥ idam viduḥ* | 2. *Yas tishṭhati charati yaś cha vanchati yo nilāyam charati yaḥ pratankam | dvau sannishadya yad mantrayete rājā tad veda Varuṇas tṛitīyaḥ* | 3. *Uteyam bhūmir Varuṇasya rājnaḥ utāsau dyaur bṛihatī dūre-antā | uto samudrau Varuṇasya kukshī utāsminn alpe udake nilīnaḥ* | 4. *Uta yo dyām atisarpāt parastād na sa muchyātai Varuṇasya rājnaḥ | divaḥ spaśaḥ pracharantīdam asya sahasrākshāḥ ati paśyanti bhūmim* | 5. *Sarvam tad rājā Varuṇo vi chashṭe yad antarā rodasī yat parastāt | sankhyātāḥ asya nimisho janānām akshān iva śvaghnī ni minoti tāni* | 6. *Ye te pāśāḥ Varuṇa sapta sapta tredhā tishṭhanti vishitāḥ rushantaḥ | sinantu sarve anṛitam vadantam yaḥ satyavādī ati tam sṛijantu* |

"1. The great One who rules over these worlds beholds as if he were close at hand. When any man thinks he is doing aught by stealth, the gods know it all; 2. (and they perceive) every one who stands, or walks, or glides along secretly, or withdraws into his house, or into any lurking-place.[120] Whatever two persons, sitting together, devise, Varuṇa the king knows it, (being present there as) a third.[121] 3. This earth, too, belongs to the king Varuṇa, and that vast sky whose ends are so remote. The two oceans [the aerial and terrestrial][122] are Varuṇa's stomachs; he resides in this small pool of water. 4. He

[120] The general sense is clear; but the meaning of some of the words is uncertain.

[121] In R.V. x. 11, 1, Agni is compared to Varuṇa in omniscience; which seems to show that this is an attribute in which Varuṇa was regarded as pre-eminent. With verses 1 and 2, compare Psalm cxxxix. 1-4, and St. Matthew xviii. 20.

[122] Compare Genesis, i. 7, and Psalm cxlviii. 4.

who should flee far beyond the sky, would not there escape from Varuṇa the king.[123] His messengers, descending from heaven, traverse this world; thousand-eyed, they look across the whole earth. 5. King Varuṇa perceives all that exists within heaven and earth and all that is beyond. The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by him.[124] He handles[125] (all) these (things) as a gamester throws his dice. 6. May thy destructive nooses, o Varuṇa, which are cast seven-fold, and three-fold, ensnare the man who speaks lies, and pass by him who speaks truth."[126]

Varuṇa is represented as having unlimited control over the destinies of mankind. He is said to have a hundred, a thousand remedies, and is supplicated to shew his wide and deep benevolence, and drive away

[123] With this verse compare verses 7–10 of the Psalm cxxxix.

[124] Compare St. Matthew x. 30.

[125] Roth, *s.v.* thinks *ni minoti* here may mean "observes." See also his remarks in Jour. Germ. Or. Society, vii. 607, where the sense of superintending is assigned.

[126] The hymn is concluded by two verses, containing imprecations. After giving a German translation of the whole in his Dissertation on the Atharva-veda, p. 19 f. (Tübingen, 1856) Professor Roth remarks as follows: "There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which expresses the divine omniscience in such forcible terms as this; and yet this beautiful description has been degraded into an introduction to an imprecation. But in this, as in many other passages of this Veda, it is natural to conjecture that existing fragments of older hymns have been used to deck out magical formulas. The first five or even six verses of this hymn might be regarded as a fragment of this sort." This hymn has also been translated by Professor Müller, see "Chips," i. 41 f. I have attempted the following paraphrase in English verse:

"The mighty Lord on high, our deeds, as if at hand, espies:
The gods know all men do, though men would fain their deeds disguise.
Whoever stands, whoever moves, or steals from place to place,
Or hides him in his secret cell,—the gods his movements trace.
Wherever two together plot, and deem they are alone,
King Varuṇa is there, a third, and all their schemes are known.
This earth is his, to him belong those vast and boundless skies;
Both seas within him rest, and yet in that small pool he lies.
Whoever far beyond the sky should think his way to wing,
He could not there elude the grasp of Varuṇa the king.
His spies descending from the skies glide all this world around,
Their thousand eyes all-scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound.
Whate'er exists in heaven and earth, whate'er beyond the skies,
Before the eyes of Varuṇa, the king, unfolded lies.
The ceaseless winkings all he counts of every mortal's eyes:
He wields this universal frame, as gamester throws his dice.
Those knotted nooses which thou fling'st, o god, the bad to snare,—
All liars let them overtake, but all the truthful spare."

evil and sin (i. 24, 9: *śataṁ te rājan bhishajaḥ sahasram urvī gabhīrā sumatis te astu | bādhasva dūre nirṛitim parāchaiḥ kṛitaṁ chid enaḥ pra mumugdhi asmat*); to untie, like a rope, and remove sin (ii. 28, 5: *vi mach śrathaya raśanām iva āgaḥ*; v. 85, 7, 8: *yat sīm āgaś chakṛima śiśrathas tat*); he is entreated not to steal away, but to prolong, life (i. 24, 11: *mā naḥ āyuḥ pra moshīḥ* | i. 25, 12: *pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārishat*); and to spare the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (i. 25, 1: *yach chid hi te viśo yathā pra deva Varuṇa vratam minīmasi dyavi dyavi* | *mā no badhāya hatnave jihīḷānasya rīradhaḥ*). In many places mention is made of the bonds, or nooses, with which he seizes and punishes transgressors (i. 24, 15; i. 25, 21; vi. 74, 4; x. 85, 24, and A.V. iv. 16, 6, as quoted above).[127] Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly are spoken of in one passage (vii. 65, 3) as being barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses, which the hostile mortal cannot surmount (*bhūripāśā anṛitasya setū duratyetū ripave martyāya*); and in another place (vii. 84, 2) Indra and Varuṇa are described as binding with bonds not formed of rope (*setṛibhir arajjubhiḥ sinīthaḥ*). On the other hand Varuṇa is said to be gracious even to him who has committed sin (vii. 87, 7: *yo mṛiḷayāti chakrushe chid āgaḥ*). He is the wise guardian of immortality (viii. 42, 2: *dhīram amṛitasya gopām*), and a hope is held out that he and Yama reigning in blessedness shall be beheld in the next world by the righteous (x. 14, 7:[128] *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā Yamam paśyāsi Varuṇaṁ cha devam*).

[127] Agni, however, is also prayed to loose his worshipper's bonds R.V. v. 2, 7 (*evāsmad Agne ni mumugdhi pāśān*); and in vii. 104, 13, Indra's fetters (*Indrasya prasitiḥ*) are mentioned. In A.V. xix. 66, 1, the Asuras, masters of magical arts, who go about with iron nets, iron bonds, and hooks, are referred to (*ayo-jālāḥ Asurāḥ māyino ayasmayaiḥ pāśair ankino ye charanti*).

[128] In the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. 237 ff., Professor Weber communicates from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) a legend regarding Varuṇa and his son Bhṛigu. The latter had esteemed himself superior to his father in wisdom, and was desired by him to visit the four points of the compass, where he witnesses certain visions of retribution in the other world. Prof. Weber accompanies this legend with some very interesting remarks. Among other things, he observes that the legend is shewn to be ancient from the high position which it assigns to Varuṇa, who appears to be conceived as the lord of the universe, seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all round him. Varuṇa, he adds, is represented in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 3, 6, 5, as having the form of a fair, bald, toothless, (with projecting teeth?), and yellow-eyed old man.

The attributes and functions ascribed to Varuṇa impart to his character a moral elevation and sanctity far surpassing that attributed to any other Vedic deity. This appears not only from the passages to which I have already referred, but also from the two hymns (vii. 86, and vii. 89) translated by Professor Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 540 f., and Chips, i. 39 ff.; in which the rishi, who is said to be Vasishṭha, while palliating his sins, implores the god's forgiveness, and entreats that his life may be spared.[129] I shall quote a part of the first and the whole of the second:

R.V. vii. 86, 3. *Pṛichhe tad eno Varuṇa didṛikshu upo emi chikitusho viprichham | samānam it me kavayaś chid āhur ayaṁ ha tubhyaṁ Varuṇo hṛiṇīte* | 4. *Kim āgaḥ āsa Varuṇa jyeshṭhaṁ yat stotāraṁ jighāṁsasi sakhāyam | pra tad me vocho dūḷabha svadhāvo ava tvā anenāḥ namasā turaḥ iyām* | 5. *Ava drugdhāni pitryā sṛija no ava yā vayaṁ chakṛima tanūbhiḥ | ava rājan paśutṛipaṁ na tāyuṁ sṛija vatsaṁ na dāmno Vasishṭham* | 6. *Na sa svo daksho Varuṇa dhrutiḥ sā surā manyur vibhīdako achittiḥ | asti jyāyān kanīyasaḥ upāre svapnaś chana id anṛitasya prayotā* |

"Seeking to perceive that sin, o Varuṇa, I inquire; I resort to the wise to ask. The sages all tell me the same; it is Varuṇa who is angry with thee. 4. What great sin is it, Varuṇa, for which thou seekest to slay thy worshipper and friend? Tell me, o unassailable and self-dependent god; and, freed from sin, I shall speedily come to thee with adoration. 5. Release us from the sins of our fathers,[130] and from those which we have committed in our own persons. O king, release Vasishṭha like a robber who has fed upon cattle; release him like a calf from its tether. 6. It was not our will, Varuṇa, but some seduction, which led us astray,—wine,[131] anger, dice, or thoughtlessness. The stronger perverts the weaker. Even sleep occasions sin."

[129] On the character of Varuṇa as a moral governor, see Roth, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71 ff.; a paper by the same author in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 340 ff.; and his reply to Weber in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vii. 607.

[130] Compare A.V. v. 30, 4, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa iii. 7, 12, 3, 4: *yad mayi mātā garbhe sati enaś chakāra yat pitā | Agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ | yadā pipcsha mātāram pitaram putraḥ pramudito dhayan | ahiṁsitau pitarau mayā tat* | "May Agni (free) me from the sin which my mother or father committed, when I was in the womb. If I bruised my mother or father while sucking, delighted, when an infant, may my parents not have been injured thereby."

[131] We see from this that wine was drunk by the Vedic rishis. Compare viii. 2,

vii. 89, 1. *Mo shu Varuṇa mṛiṇmayaṁ gṛihaṁ rājann ahaṁ gamam* | *mṛiḷa sukshatra mṛiḷaya* | 2. *Yad emi prasphurann iva dṛitir na dhmāto adrivaḥ* | *mṛiḷa ityādi* | 3. *Kratvaḥ samaha dīnatā pratīpaṁ jagama śuche* | 4. *Apām madhye tasthivāṁsam tṛishṇā 'vidaj jaritāram* | 5. *Yat kincha idaṁ Varuṇa daivye jane abhidroham manushyāś charāmasi* | *achittī tat tava dharmā yuyopima mā nas tasmād enaso deva rīrishaḥ* |

"Let me not, o king Varuṇa, go to the house of earth.[132] Be gracious, o mighty god, be gracious. 2. I go along, o thunderer, quivering like an inflated skin; be gracious, etc. 3. O bright and mighty god, I have transgressed through want of power, be gracious, etc. 4. Thirst has overwhelmed thy worshipper when standing even in the midst of the waters; be gracious, etc. 5. Whatever offence this be, o Varuṇa, that we mortals commit against the people of the sky (the gods): in whatever way we have broken thy laws by thoughtlessness, be gracious, o mighty god, be gracious."

In another place (vii. 88, 4 ff.) the same rishi alludes to his previous friendship with Varuṇa, and to the favours the god had formerly conferred upon him, and enquires why they had now ceased:

4. *Vasishṭhaṁ ha Varuṇo nāvi ādhād ṛishim chakāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ* | *stotāraṁ vipraḥ sudinatve ahnām yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ* | 5. *Kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sachāvahe yad avṛikam purā chit* | *bṛihantam mānaṁ Varuṇa svadhāvuḥ sahasradvāraṁ jagama gṛihaṁ te* | 6. *Yaḥ āpir nityo Varuṇa priyaḥ san tvām agāṁsi kṛiṇavat sakhā te* | *mā te enasvanto yakshin bhujema yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvate varūtham* |

"Varuṇa placed Vasishṭha on his boat: by his power the wise and mighty deity made him a rishi to offer praise in an auspicious period of his life, that his days and dawns might be prolonged. 5. Where[133] are those friendships of us two? We seek the harmony which (we enjoyed) of old. I have gone, o self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast and spacious house with a thousand gates. 6. He who was thy friend, intimate, thine own, and beloved, has committed offences against thee. Let not us who are guilty reap the fruits of our sin. Do thou, a wise god, grant protection to him who praises thee."

12, and x. 107, 9, where it is said that the liberal man gains for himself, among other desirable things, a draught of wine (*antaḥpeyam surāyāḥ*).

[132] Compare A.V. v. 30, 14: *mā nu bhūmi-gṛiho bhuvat.*

[133] Compare Psalms lxxxix. 49, and xxv. 6.

(4) *Conjoint functions and attributes of Mitra and Varuṇa.*

The same or nearly the same functions and attributes as are ascribed to Varuṇa are also attributed to him and Mitra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens (v. 62, 3; v. 69, 1, 4: *trī rochanā Varuṇa trīn uta dyūn trīṇi dhārayatho rajāṁsi* | v. 63, 7; vi. 67, 5; vii. 61, 4; x. 132, 2). They are the guardians of the world (*viśvasya bhuvanasya gopā* | *viśvasya gopā* । *yūyaṁ viśvam pari pātha* | ii. 27, 4; v. 62, 9; vii. 51, 2; viii. 25, 1; x. 126, 4). By their ordinance the great sky shines (*yayor dhāma dharmaṇā rochate bṛihat* | x. 65, 5). They discharge the rain (v. 62, 3: *ava vṛishṭiṁ sṛijataṁ jīradānū* | v. 63, 1–3: *dyāṁ varshayatho asurasya māyayā*). Their godhead is beyond the ken of the skies, or of rivers (i. 151, 9: *na vāṁ dyāvo ahabhir nota sindhavo na devatvam paṇayo nānaśur magham*). They (together with Aryaman) are awful deities, haters and dispellers of falsehood (i. 152, 1; vii. 66, 13: *ṛitāvānaḥ ṛitajātāḥ ṛitāvṛidho ghorāso anṛita-dvishaḥ*). They carry out their fixed purposes, which are unobstructed even by the immortal gods (v. 63, 7; v. 69, 4: *na vāṁ devāḥ amṛitāḥ ā minanti vratāni Mitrā-varuṇā dhruvāṇi*). They make the foolish wise (vii. 60, 6, 7: *achetasaṁ chich chitayanti dakshaiḥ*); they know heaven and earth (vii. 60, 7: *ime divo animishā pṛithivyāś chikitvāṁsaḥ*). They look down from heaven observing men as if herds of cattle (*adhi yā bṛihato divaḥ abhi yūtheva paśyataḥ* | See also verses 9 and 16, and R.V. vii. 60, 3). They are described as righteous, and as promoters of religious rites (or truth or righteousness) *ṛitāvṛidhā*, *ṛitāvānā*, *ṛitajātā*, *ṛitaspṛiśā*, *ṛitasya gopau* (i. 2, 8; i. 23, 5; i. 136, 4; ii. 27, 4; v. 63, 1; v. 65, 2; v. 67, 4; vii. 64, 2; vii. 66, 13; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 8), as the lords of truth and light (*ṛitasya jyotishas patī* | i. 23, 5). They, with the other Ādityas, avenge sin and falsehood (*chayamānāḥ ṛiṇāni* | *chetāro anṛitasya bhūreḥ* | ii. 27, 4; vii. 60, 5): the man who neglects their worship is seized with consumption (i. 122, 9: *jano yo Mitrā-varuṇāv abhidhrug apo na vāṁ sunoti akshṇayādhruk* । *svayaṁ sa yakshmaṁ hṛidaye ni dhatta*). They are besought along with Aditi to remove the trespasses of their worshippers (ii. 27, 14: *Adite Mitra Varuṇota mṛila yad vo vayaṁ*

chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ); and along with Aryam
from evil (x. 126, passim).[134]

(5) Hymn addressed to Mitra o

Mitra alone is celebrated in iii. 59. The foll
verses:

1. Mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇo Mitro dadhā
Mitraḥ kṛishṭīr animishā 'bhi chashṭe Mitrāya h
2. Pra sa Mitra marto astu prayasvān yas te
na hanyate na jīyate tvā-ūto nainam aṁho aśn
Ayam Mitro namasyaḥ suśevo rājā sukshatro
vayam Mitrasya sumatau syāma | 5. Mahān
yātayajjano gṛiṇate suśevaḥ | 7. Abhi yo mah
saprathāḥ | abhi śravobhiḥ pṛithivīm | 8. Mitr
abhishṭi-śavase sa devān viśvān bibhartti |

"1. Mitra, uttering his voice, calls men to
the earth and the sky. Mitra with unwinki
tures. Offer to Mitra the oblation with bu
Aditi, may the mortal who worships thee wit
He who is protected by thee is neither slain n
does not reach him from near or from far.
born adorable, blessed, a king, strong, and wis
favour. 5. This great Āditya, who rouses me
who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be
ence. 7. The vast Mitra who by his greatness
the earth by his glory. 8. The five classes of m
Mitra the powerful helper, who sustains all the

(6) Professor Roth's remarks on Mitra

In his paper on "The highest gods of the
the German Oriental Society, vi. p. 70 f.), Profe

[134] Like other gods, and in particular Indra, they are
soma-juice, i. 136, 4; i. 137, 1 ff.; iv. 41, 3; iv. 42, 6
1–3; vi. 68, 10.

[135] With this verse Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, x.
v. 82, 9, where it is said "Savitṛi, who causes all creatu
impels them." Comp. v. 5 of the present hymn; and vi
in the passage about to be quoted.

lowing ingenious and interesting observations on Mitra and Varuṇa: "Within the circle of the Âdityas there subsists the closest connection between Mitra and Varuṇa, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuṇa is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked by himself (iii. 59). The fact that this dual invocation is preserved in the Zend Avesta, in regard to Ahura and Mithra, though the position of both has become entirely altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands,—this fact proves how close the ancient connection of the two was, when it has been maintained even after the reason for it had ceased. . . . . . The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere distinctly expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision. But the stage of religious culture which lies before us in the Rig-veda, enables us to distinguish this difference as one already existing, viz., that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, while Varuṇa, though the lord of light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vasishṭha (vii. 36, 2) says: 'One of you (Varuṇa) is the lord, and unassailable guide, and he who is called Mitra, (*i.e.* the friend) calls men to activity' (*ino vām anyaḥ padavīr adabdho janaṁ cha Mitro yatati bruvāṇaḥ*). Here so much at least is declared (and the same thing is expressed in nearly the same words in other places), that the light of day, which awakens life, and brings joy and activity into the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power; though, however, Varuṇa is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be the lord and the first.

"Though therefore such representations as are expressed in Indian exegesis, (as for instance, when Sāyaṇa says on R.V. vii. 87, 1, that Varuṇa is the setting sun), are far too narrow and one-sided, they still contain some truth; and we may guess by what process they are to be developed. If Varuṇa is, as his name shews, that one among the lucid Âdityas whose seat and sphere of authority is the bright heaven, in whose bosom is embraced all that lives, and therefore also the remotest boundary, beyond which human thought seeks nothing further, then is he also one who can scarcely be attained either by the eye or by the imagination. By day the power of vision cannot discover this remotest limit, the bright heaven presents to it no resting place. But at night

this veil of the world, in which Varuna is enthroned, appears to approach nearer, and becomes perceptible, for the eye finds a limit. Varuna is closer to men. Besides, the other divine forms which, in the clouds, the atmosphere, the rays of light, filled the space between the earth and yonder immeasurable outermost sphere, have disappeared: no other god now stands between Varuna and the mortal who gazes at him."

(7) *The Indian Mitra and the Zoroastrian Mithra.*

Whatever may be the the success of the attempts made to ide
any other of the Indian and Iranian gods with one another, names
at least be no doubt, from the correspondence of the two original
the Vedic Mitra and the Mithra of the Zend Avesta were in th
same deity. Accordingly, the late Dr. F. Windischmann, the
sertation on the Persian Mithra,[136] regards it as established
god was known, and common, to the old Arian race before the concep
tion of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though the
his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas.
Mithra was worshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of
dotus, is proved, as Windischmann remarks, by the common
such names as Mitradates and Mitrobates. Herodotus himself (i.
speaks of Mitra, not as a god, but as a goddess (Ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ
Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων· καλέουσι δὲ Ἀ
τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἄλιττα, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. See Rawli
note, in loco, in his translation of Herodotus). But Xenophon (C
viii. 5, 53; Œc. iv. 24), and Plutarch (Artax. 4, and Alexand
describes the Persians as swearing by the god Mitra. And Plu
in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, chap. xlvi. tells us that Zor
conceived of Mithra as standing intermediate between the
Oromazes, the representative of light, and Areimanius, the repre
tive of darkness and ignorance.[137] It is unnecessary to say an
further here of the Persian Mithra, the eventual introduction of
worship into the West is matter of history.

[136] Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abha
für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857. See pp. 54 ff.

[137] Ibid, p. 56. This passage is also quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work

(8) *Is there any historical connection between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda?*

Varuṇa also, in the opinion of certain writers, is connected, at least indirectly, with the Ahura Mazda of the old Persian mythology; and in support of this it may be alleged,—(1) that the name of Asura, the divine being, is frequently applied to Varuṇa, as an epithet; (2) that the class of Indian gods called Âdityas, of whom Varuṇa is the most distinguished, bears a certain analogy to the Amshaspands of the Zend mythology, of whom Ahura Mazda is the highest; and (3) that a close connection exists between Varuṇa and Mitra, just as, according to Professor Roth (see above), Ahura and Mithra are frequently associated in the Zendavesta, though the position of the two has otherwise become altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands. Other scholars, however, think that there is not sufficient proof of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda being connected with one another.

I shall state the opinion of Professor Roth in regard to the connection of Varuṇa with Ahura Mazda more fully in the next Section, where reference will be made to the same writer's views regarding the relation of Indra to Varuṇa.

(9) *Varuṇa connected with the element of water even in the Rig-veda.*

Though Varuṇa is not generally regarded in the Rig-veda as the god of the ocean, he is yet in the following passages connected with the element of water, both in the atmosphere and on the earth, in such a way as may have led to the conception of his character and functions which is fully established in the later mythology.

i. 161, 14. *Divā yānti Maruto bhūmyā Agnir ayaṁ Vāto antarikshena yāti | adbhir vāti Varuṇaḥ samudrair yushmān ichhantaḥ śavasaḥ napātaḥ* | "Desiring you, ye sons of strength, the Maruts proceed through the sky, Agni along the earth, this Vāta (wind) through the atmosphere, and Varuṇa along the waters, the ocean" (*adbhiḥ samudraiḥ*).[138]

vii. 49, 2. *Yāḥ āpo divyāḥ uta vā sravanti khanitrimāh uta vā yāḥ svayaṁjāḥ | samudrārthāḥ yāḥ śuchayaḥ pāvakās tāḥ āpo devīr iha mām avantu* | 3. *Yāsāṁ rājā Varuṇo yati madhye satyānṛite avapaśyan*

[138] See Bollensen in Or. and Occid. 2, 467.

janānām | *madhuśchutaḥ śuchayaḥ*—| 4. *Yāsu rājā Varuṇo yāsu Somo viśve devāḥ yāsu ūrjam madanti* | *Vaiśvānaro yāsu Agniḥ pravishṭas tāḥ āpaḥ*—|[139] "May the waters which are celestial, and those which flow, those for which channels are dug, and those which are self-produced, those which are proceeding to the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 3. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men, which drop sweetness and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 4. May those waters in which Varuṇa, Soma, and all the gods are exhilarated by food, into which Agni Vaiśvānara has entered," etc. etc.

vii. 64, 2. *Ā rājānā mahaḥ ṛitasya gopā sindhupatī kshatriyā yātam arvāk* | *iḷām no Mitrāvaruṇā uta vṛishṭim ava divaḥ invatam jīradānū* |[140] "Mitra and Varuṇa, ye two kings, protectors of the great ceremonial, strong lords of the sea (or of rivers) come hither; send us food and rain from the sky," etc.

In the second of these texts, vii. 49, 3, the waters, in the midst of which Varuṇa is said to move, "beholding the truth and falsehood of men," seem to be rather aerial than oceanic, as the former, from their position above the earth, would appear to afford to the god (when anthropomorphically regarded) a more convenient post of observation than the latter. And in vii. 64, 2, the epithet *sindhupatī*, "lords of the sea," (or "of rivers," *nadyāḥ pālayitārau*, Sāyaṇa), is applied not only to Varuṇa but to Mitra also, who is not, that I am aware of, ever connected with the sea, even in later mythology. If we add to this, that these two gods are here solicited to send food and rain from the sky, it may result that they are called *sindhupatī*, as supplying the aerial waters by which terrestrial streams are filled. On the other hand the 2nd verse of the hymn just quoted, vii. 49, 2, with which however Varuṇa is not directly connected, must be understood (as Professor Müller remarks, Transl. of R.V. i. p. 46) of terrestrial waters. Though, as we have seen above, Sāyaṇa does not generally style Varuṇa the god of the sea, but, in conformity with older conceptions, the deity who presides over the night, he does, in his explanation of

[139] See Prof. Müller's remarks on the word *samudra*, Trans. of R.V. i. 44 ff. where this verse is quoted and translated.

[140] Taitt. S. vi. 4, 3, 3, says: *Mitrāvaruṇau vai apām netārau* | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the leaders of the waters."

R.V. i. 161, 14, and viii. 58, 12, call him the *jalābhimānī devaḥ*, "the deity presiding over the waters."

In viii. 41, 8, Varuṇa appears to be called a hidden ocean (*samudro apīchyaḥ*).

viii. 58, 12. *Sudevo asi Varuṇa yasya te sapta sindhavaḥ | anuksharanti kākudaṁ sūrmyaṁ sushirām iva* | "Thou art a glorious god, Varuṇa, into whose jaws the seven rivers flow, as into a surging abyss." [141]

Varuṇa is also connected with the sea or with the rivers, which he is said to inhabit, as soma (the plant) does the woods, in ix. 90, 2 (*vanā vasāno Varuṇo na sindhūn*); and in Vāj. Sanh. x. 7, it is said that "Varuṇa, the child of the waters, made his abode within the most motherly waters as in his home" (*Pastyāsu chakre Varuṇaḥ sadhastham apāṁ śiśur matṛitamāsu antaḥ*). See also the third verse of the sixteenth hymn of the A.V. quoted above.

In the following texts of the Atharva-veda, Varuṇa is connected with the waters:

A.V. iii. 3, 3. *Adbhyas tvā rājā Varuṇo hvayatu somas tvā hvayatu parvatebhyaḥ* | "May king Varuṇa call thee from the waters, and Soma from the mountains."

iv. 15, 12. *Apo nishinchann asuraḥ pitā naḥ śvasantu gargarāḥ apāṁ Varuṇa* | "Our divine father shedding the waters—may the streams of water breathe, o Varuṇa."

v. 24, 4. *Varuṇo 'pām adhipatiḥ* | 5. *Mitrāvaruṇau vṛishṭyāḥ adhipatī* | "Varuṇa the lord of the waters." 5. "Mitra and Varuṇa the lords of rain."

vii. 83. 1. *Apsu te rājan Varuṇa gṛiho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* | "Thy golden house, o Varuṇa, is in the waters." [142]

[141] See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 70 f.

[142] The Taitt. S. v. 5, 4, 1, says: *āpo Varuṇasya patnayaḥ asan | tā Agnir abhyadhyāyat | tāḥ samabhavat | tasya retaḥ parāpatat | tad iyam abhavat | yad dvitīyam parāpatat tad asāv abhavat | iyaṁ vai virāḍ asau svarāṭ* | "The waters are the wives of Varuṇa. Agni regarded them with desire. He consorted with them. His seed fell. It became this (earth). That which fell the second time became that (sky). This (earth) is *virāj*, that (sky) is *svarāj*." The Varāha Purāṇa, sect. 121 (Aufrecht, Catal. p. 59*b*) speaks of Varuṇa being universally known as the guardian of the ocean (*sarve lokāḥ hi jānanti Varuṇaḥ pāti sāgaram*). The Skanda Purāṇa, sect. 12 (Aufrecht, Cat. p. 69*a*), relates that Varuṇa was formerly the son of Kardama, and bore the name of S'uchishmat; and that he is said to have obtained the sovereignty of the sea by worshipping S'iva.

(10) *Explanations by Professors Roth and Westergaard of the process by which Varuṇa came to be regarded as the regent of the sea.*

Professor Roth gives (in a paper read in October, 1851, and published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73) the following statement of the process by which he conceives that Varuṇa came in later times to be regarded as the god of the sea.

"The hymns of the Veda give already indications of this development, since Varuṇa is in one place brought into the same connection with the waves of the sea, as Storm and Wind are with the atmosphere and the heaven, and as Agni is with the earth (i. 161, 14, translated above), and it is elsewhere said of him that he sinks into the sea (vii. 87, 6), while in another passage the rivers are described as streaming towards him (viii. 58, 12). When, on the one hand, the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and, on the other hand, the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom, then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean. Another side of the affinity between the celestial and oceanic Varuṇa may be expressed in the words of Alexander von Humboldt, which perfectly coincide with the ancient Indian view: 'The two envelopments of the solid surface of our planet, viz., the aqueous and the atmospheric, offer many analogies to each other, in their mobility, in the phenomena of their temperature, and in the fact that their parts admit of being displaced: the depth both of the ocean and of the atmosphere is unknown to us.'"

On the same subject Professor Westergaard remarks (in a paper originally published in 1852, and translated by Professor Spiegel from the Danish, and published in Weber's Indische Studien, vol. iii.): "The Zend word Varena corresponds also etymologically, on the one hand, to the Greek οὐρανός, and, on the other, to the Indian Varuṇa, a name which in the Vedas is assigned to the god who reigns in the furthest regions of the heaven, where air and sea are, as it were, blended; on which account he has, in the later Indian mythology, become god of the sea, whilst in the Vedas he appears first as the mystic lord of the evening and the night." And he adds: "Possibly the Iranian Varena, in opposition to Yima's home on the remotest

mountains of the east, denotes, originally, the distant western region of the heaven and the air, where, every evening, the sun and light conceal themselves, and so much the rather as the epithet Varenya, derived from Varena, is in the Zenda-vesta applied only to the evil spirits of darkness" (p. 415 f.).

(11) *Correspondence of Varuṇa with the Greek Οὐρανός.*

We have already seen that Varuṇa corresponds in name to the *Οὐρανός* of the Greeks. "Uranos," as Professor Müller observes,[143] "in the language of Hesiod, is used as a name for the sky; he is made or born that he should 'be a firm place for the blessed gods.'[144] It is said twice that Uranos covers everything (v. 127), and that when he brings the night, he is stretched out everywhere, embracing the earth.[145] This sounds almost as if the Greek mythe had still preserved a recollection of the etymological power of Uranos. For Uranos is in the Sanskrit Varuṇa, and is derived from a root, Var, to cover; Varuṇa being in the Veda also a name of the firmament, but especially connected with the night, and opposed to Mitra, the day."

The parallel between the Greek Uranos and the Indian Varuṇa does not, as we have already seen, hold in all points. There is not in the Vedic mythology any special relation between Varuṇa and Pṛithivī, the Earth, as husband and wife, as there is between Uranos and Gaia in the theogony of Hesiod; nor is Varuṇa represented in the Veda, as Uranos is by the Greek poet, as the progenitor of Dyaus (Zeus), except in the general way in which he is said to have formed and to preserve heaven and earth.

[143] Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 41; Chips, ii. 65.

[144] Hesiod Theog. 126:—

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστεροένθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
Ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

Compare Ait. Br. iv. 27, quoted above.

[145] Ibid, v. 176:—

Ἦλθε δὲ Νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ
Ἱμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο καί ῥ' ἐτανύσθη
Πάντῃ.

(12) *Varuṇa, as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch.*

Lo, reared of old by hands divine,
High towers in heaven a palace fair;
Its roof a thousand columns bear;
A thousand portals round it shine.

Within, enthroned in godlike state,
Sits Varuṇa in golden sheen;
To work his will, with reverent mien,
His angel hosts around him wait.

When I beheld this vision bright,
I deemed the god was clad in flame,—
Such radiance from his presence came,
And overpowered my aching sight.

Each morn, when Ushas starts from sleep,
He mounts his car, which gleams with gold:
All worlds before him lie unrolled,
As o'er the sky his coursers sweep.

He, righteous lord, the sceptre wields,
Supreme, of universal sway,
His law both men and gods obey;
To his degree the haughtiest yields.

He spread the earth and watery waste;
He reared the sky; he bade the sun
His shining circuit daily run;
In him the worlds are all embraced.

By his decree the radiant moon
Moves through the nightly sky serene,
And planets sparkle round their queen;—*
But whither have they fled at noon?

* In Indian mythology the moon is a god, not a goddess; but I have in this line adhered to customary English poetical phraseology.

The rivers flow at his behest,
And yet—admire his wondrous skill—
The ocean-bed they cannot fill,
Although their currents never rest.

The path of ships across the sea,
The soaring eagle's flight, he knows,†
The course of every wind that blows,
And all that was or is to be.

Descending, ceaseless, from the skies,
His angels glide this world around;
As far as earth's remotest bound,
All-scanning, range their thousand eyes.

This mighty lord who rules on high,
Though closely veiled from mortal gaze,
All men's most secret acts surveys;
He, ever far, is ever nigh.

Two think they are not overheard
Who sit and plot, as if alone;
Their fancied secrets all are known,
Unseen, the god is there, a third.

Whoe'er should think his way to wing,
And lurk, unknown, beyond the sky,
Yet could not there elude the eye
And grasp of Varuṇa, the King.

For all within the vast expanse
Of air that heaven and earth divides,
Whate'er above the heaven abides,
Lies open to his piercing glance.

† Compare Proverbs, xxx. 18: "There be three things which are too wonderful for me; yea, four which I know not: 19. The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid."

The ceaseless winkings all he sees,
  And counts, of every mortal's eyes:
  In vain to wink a creature tries,
Unless the god the power decrees.

To thoughtful men who truth discern,
  And deeply things divine explore,
  The god reveals his hidden lore;
But fools his secrets may not learn.

He marks the good and ill within
  The hearts of men—the false and true
  Discerns with never-erring view:
He hates deceit, chastises sin.

His viewless bonds, than cords and gyves
  More hard to burst, the wicked bind;
  In vain, within their folds confined,
To cast them off the sinner strives.

And yet the god will not refuse
  His grace to one who inly moans,
  When fetter-bound, his errors owns,
And for forgiveness meekly sues.

But where is, lord, thy friendship now?
  Thine ancient kindness, o, restore;
  May we, so dear to thee of yore,
No longer dread thy frowning brow.

Thine ire we did not madly brave,
  Nor break thy laws in wanton mood;
  We fell, by wrath, dice, wine, subdued:
Forgive us, gracious lord, and save.

Absolve us from the guilt, we pray,
Of all the sins our fathers wrought, ‡
And sins which we commit by thought, §
And speech, and act, from day to day.

From dire disease preserve us free,
Nor doom us to the house of clay
Before our shrivelling frames decay:
A good old age yet let us see.

In vain shall hostile shafts assail
The man thy shielding arm defends;
Secure, no wrong he apprehends,
Safe, as if cased in iron mail.

As mother birds their pinions spread
To guard from harm their cowering brood,
Do thou, o lord, most great and good,
Preserve from all the ills we dread.

‡ See Exodus, xx. 5, Deuteronomy, v. 9, and Ezekiel, xviii. 1 ff.
§ Rig-veda, x. 37, 12.

SECTION VI.

INDRA.[146]

According to the Greek geographer Strabo, the Indians, as known to him by the report of other writers, "worshipped Jupiter Pluvius, the river Ganges, and the gods of country.[147] This Jupiter Pluvius was, no doubt, Indra. Although at the period to which Strabo's information refers, this god, in all probabilty, no longer occupied the same prominent position as of old; he was, as Professor Roth remarks,[148] the favourite national deity of the Aryan Indians in the Vedic age. More hymns are dedicated to his honour than to the praise of any other divinity.

(1) *His origin and parents; his wife.*

Although, however, his greatness is celebrated in the most magnificent language, he is not regarded as an uncreated being. As I have already noticed, he is distinctly spoken of in various passages as being born, and as having a father and a mother.

Thus it is said of him:

iii. 48, 2. *Yaj jāyathās tad ahar asya kāme aṁśoḥ pīyūsham apibo girishṭhām | taṁ te mātā pari yoshā janitrī mahaḥ pitur dame āsinchad agre* | 3. *Upasthāya mātaram annam aiṭṭa tigmam apaśyad abhi somam ūdhaḥ* |

"On the day that thou wast born, thou didst, from love of it, drink the mountain-grown juice of the soma-plant. Of old, the youthful

146 Strabo, xv. 1, 69, p. 718, quoted by Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. 698: *Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας.*

147 In my account of Varuṇa there is little of importance that had not been previously said by Professor Roth; but in this description of Indra there is a larger collection of particulars than I have noticed to have been brought together elsewhere.

148 In his Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra.

mother who bore thee, satiated thee with it in the house of thy mighty father. 3. Approaching his mother, he desired sustenance; he beheld the sharp-flavoured soma on her breast."

Again in iv. 17, 4. *Suvīras te janitā manyata Dyaur Indrasya karttā svapastamo 'bhūt | yaḥ īm jajāna svaryam suvajram anapachyutam sadaso na bhūma | . . . . 17. Kiyat svid Indro adhi eti mātuḥ kiyat pitur janitur yo jajāna |* "Thy father was, as the Sky thought, a most stalwart being; the maker of Indra, he who produced the celestial thunderer, immovable as the earth,—he was a most skilful workman. 17. How much does Indra regard his mother, how much the father who begat him?"[149]

iv. 18, 1. *Ayam panthāḥ anuvittaḥ purāṇo yato devāḥ udajāyanta viśve | ataś chid ā janishīshṭa pravṛiddho mā mātaram amuyā pattave kaḥ | 5. Avadyam iva manyamānā guhā 'kar Indram mātā vīryeṇa nyṛishṭam | atha ud asthāt svayam atkam vasānaḥ ā rodasī apṛiṇaj jāyamānaḥ | 10. Gṛishṭiḥ sasūva sthaviram tavāgām anādhṛishyam vṛishabham tumram Indram | arīḷham vatsam charathāya mātā svayam gātum tanve ichhamānam | 11. Uta mātā mahisham anvavenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ | athābravīd vṛittram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitaram vi kramasva | 12. Kas te mātaram vidhavām achakrat śayum kaś tvām ajighāṁsat charantam | kas te devo adhi mārḍīke āsīd yat pitaram prākshiṇāḥ pādagṛihya |*

"This has been traversed as the ancient path, through which all the gods were born; through this let the grown (embryo) be produced; let him not vainly cause his mother to perish.[150] 5. Regarding it (his birth) as a fault, the mother concealed Indra, who was full of vigour. Then he himself arose, clothed with a robe, and filled both worlds as soon as he was born. 10. His mother, (like) a cow, bore Indra, an unlicked calf, strong, robust, unassailable, vigorous, and lusty, in order

[149] Professor Müller, Lectures ii. 430, translates the first of these verses thus: Dyu, thy parent, was reputed strong; the maker of Indra was mighty in his works; he (who) begat the heavenly Indra, armed with the thunderbolt, who is immovable as the earth, from his seat:" and the 12th verse as follows: "Indra 'somewhat excels his mother and the father who begat him.'" Of the Maruts also it is said v. 60, 5, that Rudra, their father, was young and an excellent workman (*yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshām*. The next hymn of the same Mandala, iv. 18, makes repeated reference to Indra's birth and parents.

[150] For the Commentator's explanation of this obscure hymn see Professor Wilson's Translation, note 1.

that he might range abroad, and desiring full scope for himself. 11. And his mother affectionately regarded her mighty son, saying, 'those gods forsake thee, my son.' Then said Indra, preparing to slay Vṛittra, 'Friend Vishṇu, stride boldly forward.' 12. Who made thy mother a widow? Who sought to slay thee lying or moving? What god stood by thee in the fray when thou didst crush thy father, seizing him by the foot?"

vii. 20, 5. *Vṛishā jajāna vṛishaṇam raṇāya tam u chin nārī naryaṁ sasūva* | "A vigorous (god) begot him, a vigorous (son) for the battle: a heroic female (nārī) brought him forth, a heroic (son)," etc. Again, vii. 98, 3. *Jajnāna ḥ somaṁ sahase papātha pra te mātā mahimānam uvācha* | "When born, thou didst drink the soma-juice to (gain) strength: thy mother declared thy greatness." x. 73, 1. *Janishṭhāḥ ugraḥ sahase turāya mandraḥ ojishṭho bahulābhimānaḥ* | *avardhann Indram Marutaś chid atra mātā yad vīraṁ dadhanad dhanishṭhā* | "Thou wast born fierce to exercise impetuous strength; exulting, fiery, full of confidence. The Maruts here augmented Indra when his opulent mother brought forth the hero." x. 120, 1. *Tad id āsa bhuvaneshu jyeshṭhaṁ yato jajne ugras tveshanṛimṇaḥ* | "That was the highest (being) in the world from which this fierce and impetuous (god) was born," etc. x. 134, 1. *Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha ushāḥ iva* | *mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ samrājaṁ charshaṇīnāṁ devī janitrī ajījanad bhadrā janitrī ajījanat* | "When thou, Indra, didst fill the two worlds like the Dawn, a divine mother bore thee, a gracious mother bore thee, the great monarch of the great people" (the gods?). In x. 101, 12, as we have already seen, he is called the son of Nishṭigrī. This word, as I have already noticed, p. 13, note 9, is treated by the commentator as a synonym of Aditi; but though Indra is always regarded as an Āditya in the later mythology, and is even addressed in that character, along with Varuṇa, in vii. 85, 4 (*yaḥ ādityā śavasā vāṁ namasvān*), he is not commonly described as such in other parts of the Rig-veda.[181]

In the A.V. iii. 10, 12, we read: *Ekāshṭakā tapasā tapyamānā jajāna garbhaṁ mahimānam Indram* | *tena devāḥ ashahanta śatrūn hantā dasyūnām abhavat S'achīpatiḥ* | "Ekāshṭakā, practising austere-fervour, bore

[181] In iv. 26, 1, he appears to be identified with Manu and Sūrya, and in viii. 82, 1, 4, and x. 89, 2, with Sūrya. In ii. 30, 1, he receives the epithet of *Savitṛi*.

as a child the glorious Indra. By him the gods conquered their enemies; the lord of Sachi (or of might) became the slayer of the Dasyus."

In the next verse Ekāshṭakā is called the mother of Soma, as well as of Indra, and the daughter of Prajāpati. In A.V. vi. 38, the mother of Indra is invoked, but her name is not given. According to the M. Bh. Adip. 3136, Indra is one of the sons of Kaśyapa and Dākshāyaṇī, *i.e.* the daughter of Daksha, or Aditi. See also viii. 45, 4, 5; viii. 66, 1, 2, which will be quoted further on. In viii. 58, 4, he is called the son of truth (*sūnuṁ satyasya*).

In another place (iii. 49, 1) he is said to have been produced by the gods, as a destroyer of enemies (*ghanaṁ vṛitrāṇāṁ janayanta devāḥ* | See also ii. 13, 5, and iii. 51, 8).

In the Purusha Sūkta (R.V. x. 90, 13) Indra is said to have sprung, along with Agni, from the mouth of Purusha (*mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha*); and he is one of several gods said, in ix. 96, 5 (*Somaḥ . . . janitā Indrasya*), to have been generated by Soma. In one of the latest hymns (x. 167, 1) he is declared to have conquered heaven by austerity (*tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapya ajayaḥ svaḥ*).[153]

[153] In one of the short stories about the gods, of which it and the other Brāhmaṇas are full, the S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 6, 14, says of Indra: *Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prājāpatyaḥ* | 15. *Tāḥ sahatrāyusho jajnire* | *tāḥ yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evaṁ svasya āyushaḥ pāram parāchakhyuḥ* | 14. "These gods were created from Prajāpati, viz. Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin Prājāpatya. 15. These were born with a life of a thousand (years). Just as a man can look across to the other bank of a river, they looked across to the end of their life" Again the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 3, 3, says of Indra: *Prajāpatir devāsurān asṛijata* | *sa Indram api na asṛijata* | *taṁ devāḥ abruvann "Indraṁ no janaya" iti* | *so 'bravīd "yathā 'haṁ yushmāṁs tapasā 'sṛikshi evam Indraṁ janayadhvam" iti* | *te tapo 'tapyanta* | *te ātmann Indram apaśyan* | *tam abruvan "jāyasva" iti* | *so 'bravīt "kim bhāgadheyam abhi janishye" iti* | *"ṛitūn saṁvatsarān prajāḥ paśūn imān lokān" ity abruvan* | *ityādi* | "Prajāpati created gods and Asuras, but he did not also create Indra. The gods said to him: 'Create Indra for us.' He replied: 'As I have created you through austere-fervour (*tapas*), so do you generate Indra.' They practised austere-fervour. They saw Indra within themselves. They said to him, 'Be born.' He said, 'To what lot shall I be born?' They said to him, 'To the seasons, the years, the creatures, the beasts, these worlds," etc. The same Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 10, 1, tells us that Prajāpati created Indra last of the gods, and sent him to be the lord of the other deities. The gods said to him, 'Who art thou?' 'We are superior to thee.' He reported their reply to Prajāpati, and asked for the splendour which resided in Prajāpati, in order that he might become the chief of the gods, etc."

In vi. 59, 2, Indra and Agni, as we have already seen, p. 14, are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and whose mothers are, the one here, the other there. (The sense of this is not very evident, unless it simply mean that the mothers are different.) In x. 55, 1, his brother's children are mentioned (*ud astabhnāḥ Pṛithivīm Dyām abhīke bhrātuḥ putrān maghavan titvishāṇaḥ*). Heaven and Earth seem to be intended. If so, who is their father? In vi. 55, 5, Pūshan is called Indra's brother (*bhrātā Indrasya*).

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vṛittra (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?'" (viii. 45, 4, *ā bundām vṛittrahā dade jātaḥ pṛichhad vi mātaram | ke ugrāḥ ke ha śṛiṇvire* | viii. 66, 1. *Jajnāno hi śatakratur vi pṛichhad iti mātaram | ke ugrāḥ ke ha śṛiṇvire* |). His worshipper says of him: 1, 102, 8. *Aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | "Thou, Indra, art of old by nature without an enemy." Compare i. 176, 1. *S'atrum anti na vindasi* | x. 133, 2. *Aśatrur Indra jajnishe*).

In i. 82, 5, 6, Indra's wife is alluded to. 5. *Tena jāyām upa priyām mandāno yāhi* | 6. *Sam u patnyā amadaḥ* | "Go exhilarated to thy dear wife." "Be exhilarated with thy wife."

In another place iii. 53, 4 ff., the poet describes the perplexity he fancies Indra must feel in choosing between the attractions of home and those his worshippers have to offer in the way of soma-libations. 4. *Jāyā id astam maghavan sā id u yonis tad it tvā yuktāḥ harayo vahantu | yadā kadā cha sunavāma somam Agnis tvā dūto dhanvāti achha* | 5. *Parā yāhi maghavann ā cha yāhi Indra bhrātar ubhayatra te artham* | *yatra rathasya bṛihato nidhānam vimochanam vājino rāsabhasya* | 6. *Apāḥ somam astam Indra pra yāhi kalyāṇīr jāyā suraṇam gṛihe te | yatra rathasya bṛihato nidhānam vimochanam vājino dakshiṇāvat* |

(*Prajāpatir Indram asṛijata anujāvaram devānām | tam prāhiṇot "parehi | eteshām devānām adhipatir edhi" iti | taṁ devāḥ abruvan "kas tvam asi vayam vai tvat śreyāṁsaḥ smaḥ" iti | so 'bravīt "'kas tvam asi vayam vai tvat śreyāṁsaḥ smaḥ' iti mā devāḥ abruvann" iti | atha vai idam tarhi Prajāpatau haraḥ asīd* (2) *Yad asminn āditye | tad enam abravīd "etad me prayachha | atha aham eteshām devānām adhipatir bhavishyāmi" iti* |). Compare the Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 6, 11, 2, where Indra is said to have become chief of the gods in virtue of a ceremony which Prajāpati communicated to him. See also the same work vii. 2, 10, 2. In another place vii. 3, 6, 6, he is said to have obtained from Prajāpati the *panchadaśarātra vajra*, whereby he was enabled to overcome the Asuras, of whom he had previously been afraid, and to attain prosperity.

4. "A wife, Indra, is one's home; she is a man's dwelling; therefore let thy horses be yoked, and carry thee thither. But whenever we pour forth a libation of soma, then may Agni hasten to call thee. 5. Depart, Indra; come hither, brother Indra; in both quarters thou hast inducements. Whenever thy great chariot halts, thy steed is unharnessed. 6. Depart, Indra, to thy home; thou hast drunk the soma; thou hast a lovely wife, and pleasure in thy house. Wherever thy great chariot halts, it is proper that thy steed should be unharnessed."

In a few passages (i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; x. 86, 11, 12) mention is made of a goddess Indrāṇī, who, from her name, must be the spouse of Indra. In the first three places she is invoked together with other goddesses, among whom we find Agnāyī and Varuṇānī, the wives of Agni and Varuṇa. In x. 86, 11, 12, a little more is told of Indrāṇī. Thus in verse 11, the speaker says: *Indrāṇīm āsu nārishu subhagām aham aśravam | nahi asyāḥ aparaṁ chana jarasā marate patiḥ |* "I have heard that among all these females Indrāṇī is the most fortunate; for her husband shall never at any future time die of old age."[153] The Aitareya Brahmaṇa, iii. 22, alludes to a wife of Indra, called Prāsahā (*te devāḥ abruvann iyaṁ nai Indrasya priyā jāyā vāvātā Prāsahā nāma*). See Professor Haug's Translation, p. 194.

The Satap. Br. xiv. 2, 1, 8, says: "Indrāṇī is Indra's beloved wife, and she has a head-dress of all forms" (*Indrāṇī ha vai Indrasya priyā patnī | tasyāḥ ushṇīsho viśvarūpatamaḥ*).

[153] I am unable to say to whom the obscene verses (6 and 7) of this hymn refer. In Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, she is thus portentously described: *Indrāṇī devī subhagā supatnī ud aṁśena pati-vidye jigāya | triṁśad asyāḥ jaghanaṁ yojanāni | upasthe Indraṁ sthaviram bibhartti |* Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 479, quotes from the Kūṭhaka, 13, 5, a short passage, stating that Indra was enamoured of a Dānavī, called Vilistengā, and that he lived among the Asuras, taking the form of a female when among females, of a male among males; and that finding himself, as it were, seized by Nirṛiti, he resorted to a certain oblation as a remedy," etc. (*Indro vai Vilistengāṁ Dānavīm akāmayata | so 'sureshv acharat strī eva strīshu bhavan pumān puṁsu | sa Nirṛiti-gṛihītaḥ iva amanyata | sa etam aindrā-nairṛitam apaśyat |*) In the Atharva-veda, vii. 38, 2, a female says to the man she wishes to love her: *Yena ā nichakre āsurī Indraṁ devebhyas pari | tena ā ni kurve tvām ahaṁ yathā te 'sāni supriyā |* "In order that I may be beloved by thee, I overcome thee with this plant, wherewith the Asura female drew Indra down from among the gods."

(2) *His attributes physical and mental.*

A variety of vague and general epithets are lavished upon Indra. He is distinguished as youthful, ancient, strong, agile (*nritu* i. 130, 7; ii. 22, 4; vi. 29, 3; viii. 24, 9, 12; viii. 57, 7; viii. 81, 3), martial, heroic, bright, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unbounded wisdom, and irresistible power and prowess, wielder of the thunderbolt, etc., etc. (i. 4, 8; i. 16, 9; i. 30, 6, 15; i. 61, 1; i. 81, 2, 7; i. 84, 2; i. 100, 12; i. 102, 6; i. 165, 6; ii. 21, 1–3; iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 7; iii. 45, 2; iii. 46, 1; vi. 18, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 22, 5; viii. 81, 8; viii. 84, 7 ff.; x. 103, 1 ff). "He has vigour in his body, strength in his arms, a thunderbolt in his hand, and wisdom in his head" (ii. 16, 2. *Jaṭhare somaṁ tanvi saho maho haste vajram bharati śīrshaṇi kratum* | viii. 85, 3. *Indrasya vajraḥ āyaso nimiślaḥ Indrasyo bāhvor bhūyishṭham ojāḥ* | *Indrasya śīrshan kratavo nireke*): He assumes the most beautiful forms, and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun" (x. 112, 3. *haritvatā varchasā sūryasya śreshṭhaiḥ rūpais tanvaṁ sparśayasva*). The Vedic poets have also described to us a few of the features, as they conceived them, of his personal appearance. One of the epithets which are most frequently applied to him is *suśipra*, or *śiprin*, in the interpretation of which Sāyaṇa wavers between "the god with handsome cheeks or nose" (*he suśipra śobhana-hano śobhana-nāsika vā*). (i. 9, 3; i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; i. 101, 10;[154] iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; x. 105, 5),[155] and the "god with the beautiful helmet" (*śobhana-śirastrāṇopeto yadvā śobhana-hanumān* | iii. 30, 3; viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12).[156]

In viii. 65, 10, he is said to have agitated his jaws when rising in strength after drinking the soma poured out from a ladle (*uttishṭhann ojasā scha pitvī śipre avepayaḥ* | *somam Indra chamū sutam*). He is

[154] Compare i. 30, 11.

[155] A note on this word will be given in the Section on the Maruts.

[156] In R.V. vi. 46, 3, Indra is styled *sahasra-mushka*, which Sāyaṇa interprets *mille membra genitalia habens*; and adds the following gross explanation from the Kāushītakī Brāhmaṇa: *yām kāṁ cha striyaṁ sambhavann Indro bhoga-lolupatayā svaśarīre parvaṇi parvaṇi śephān sasarjja iti kaushītakibhir āmnātam* | On viii. 19, 32, however, where the same epithet occurs, applied, as Sāyaṇa considers, to Agni, he explains it as meaning "having great brilliancy" (*mushṇanti tamāṁsy apaharanti iti mushkāni tejāṁsi* | *bahutejaskam*).

also called *hari-śipra*, the ruddy-jawed (x. 96, 4, 9, 12); *hari-keśa*, the ruddy- or golden-haired (x. 96, 5, 8); *hari-śmaśāru*,[157] the ruddy- or golden-bearded, or moustached (x. 96, 8; x. 23, 4). His beard is violently agitated when he is exhilarated, or puts himself in motion (ii. 11, 17, *pradodhuvat śmaśrushu prīṇānaḥ;* x. 23, 1, *pra śmaśru dodhuvat*).[158] His whole appearance is ruddy or golden (*hari-varpas*, x. 96, 1 ff., where the changes are rung upon the word *hari*). He is sometimes also described as *hiraṇyaya*, golden (i. 7, 2; viii. 55, 3), and as having golden arms (*hiraṇya-bāhu*, vii. 34, 4); and sometimes as of an iron hue, or frame (*āyasa*) (i. 56, 3; x. 96, 4, 8). His arms are long and far-extended (vi. 19, 3, *pṛithū karasnā bahulā gabhastī;* viii. 32, 10, *sṛipra-karasna;* viii. 70, 1, *mahāhastin*).[159] But his forms are endless; he can assume any shape at will (iii. 38, 4, *viśvarūpo amṛitāni tasthau;* iii. 48, 4, *yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ chakre esha;* iii. 53, 8, *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ maghavā bobhavīti māyāḥ kṛiṇvānas tanvam pari svām*; vi. 47, 18, *rūpaṁ rūpam pratirūpo babhūva tad asya rūpam pratichakshaṇāya | Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpaḥ īyate*).

(3) *His chariot and horses.*

Carrying in his hand a golden whip (*kaśā hiraṇyayī*, viii. 33, 11), he is borne on a shining golden car, with a thousand supports (vi. 29, 2, *ā rathe hiraṇyaye rathesthāḥ;* viii. 1, 24 f., *rathe hiraṇyaye;* viii. 58, 16, *ā rathaṁ tishṭha hiraṇyayaṁ sahasrapādam*), which moves more swiftly than thought (x. 112, 2, *yas te ratho manaso javīyān ā Indra tena somapeyāya yāhi*), and is drawn by two[160] tawny (*harī*, ruddy, or

[157] I suppose this is the same as *hiri-śmaśru* applied to Agni in R.V. x. 46, 5 (instead of which the Sāma-veda in the parallel passage reads *hariśmaśru*. In R.V. ii. 2, 5, Agni is called *hiriśipra*, which Sāyaṇa interprets to mean either *haraṇa-śīla-hanu*, "he whose jaws carry away," or *dīptoshṇīsha*, "with flaming head-dress."

[158] A beard is also assigned to Pūshan, who similarly shakes it (x. 26, 7).

[159] In a verse which does not occur in the Rig-veda, the Sāma-reda, ii. 1219, thus describes Indra's arms: *Indrasya bāhū sthavirau yuvānāv anādhrishyau supratīkāv asahyau | tau yunjīta prathamau yoge āgate yābhyāṁ jitam asurāṇāṁ saho mahat |* "When the occasion arrives may Indra employ first those arms strong, youthful, unassailable, well-shaped, unconquerable, with which the great power of the Asuras was overcome."

[160] In ii. 18, 4-7 Indra is invited to come with two, four, six, eight, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, or a hundred horses (compare viii. 1, 9) to drink the soma-juice. In iv. 46, 3, a thousand horses are said to convey

golden) steeds, snorting, neighing, and irresistible (i. 30, 16, *śaśvad Indraḥ popruthadbhir jigāya nānadadbhiḥ śāśvasadbhir dhanāni*; i. 81, 3, *madachyutā harī*),[161] with flowing golden manes, *keśinā* (i. 10, 3; i. 82, 6; viii. 17, 2; *hiraṇya-keśyā*, viii. 32, 29; viii. 82, 24), with hair like peacock's feathers (iii. 45, 1 (=A.V. vii. 117, 1), *ā haribhir yāhi mayūra-romabhiḥ*), and peacock's tails (*mayūraśepyā*, viii. 1, 25), which rapidly traverse vast distances (ii. 16, 3, *yad āśubhiḥ patasi yojanā puru*), and transport him as a hawk is borne by its wings (viii. 34, 9, *ā tvā madachyutā harī śyenam paksheva vakshataḥ*). His car and horses appear to have been formed by the Ṛibhus (i. 111, 1, *Takshan rathaṁ suvṛitaṁ vidmanā 'pasas takshan harī Indravāhā vṛishaṇvasū | takshan pitṛibhyām ṛibhavo yuvad vayaḥ*; v. 31, 4, *anavas te ratham aśvāya takshan*). The following are some of the other texts which refer to Indra's chariot and horses: i. 6, 2; i. 16, 1, 2 (where the horses are called sun-eyed, *sūrachakshasaḥ*); i. 55, 7; i. 84, 6; i. 101, 10; ii. 11, 6; viii. 13, 11, 27; x. 44, 2. He is also said to be borne by the horses of the Sun (x. 49, 7, *ahaṁ sūryasya pari yāmi āśubhiḥ pra etaśebhir vahamānaḥ ojasā*), or by those of Vāta, the wind (x. 22, 4–6, *yujāno aśvā Vātasya dhunī devo devasya vajrivaḥ*).[162] The same deity, Vāyu, the wind, is said to have Indra for his charioteer, or companion in his car (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2, *Indra-sārathi*; vii. 91, 6, *Indra-vāyū sarathaṁ yātam arvāk*). The horses of Indra are declared to be yoked by the power of prayer (i. 82, 6, *yunajmi te brahmaṇā keśinā harī*; ii. 18, 3, *harī nu kam rathe Indrasya yojam āyai sūktena vachasā navena*; iii. 35, 4, *brahmaṇā te brahmayujā yunajmi harī sakhāyā sadhamādā āśū*; viii. 1, 24, *brahmayujo harayaḥ*; viii. 17, 2, *brahmayujā harī*; viii. 2, 27; viii. 45, 39, *ā te etā vachoyujā harī gṛibhṇe*; viii. 87, 9, *yunjanti harī ishirasya gāthayā urau rathe uruyuge | Indravāhā vachoyujā*), which is no doubt only another mode of saying that it is in con-

Indra and Vāyu (compare vi. 47, 18). In viii. 1, 24, Indra's horses are said to be a thousand and a hundred. From such a text as iii. 35, 7, where Indra is informed that food has been provided for his horses, as well as soma-juice to fill his own belly (verse 6), it would appear that the worshipper had a perfect assurance of the god's presence. In another place, however (x. 114, 9), the enquiry is made (among several others denoting difficulty and mystery), "Who has perceived the two horses of Indra?" (*harī Indrasya ni chikāya kaḥ svit* |).

[161] On the sense of the word *madachyut* see Müller's Trans. of the R.V. i. 118 f.

[162] Compare Psalms, 18, 10; 104, 3.

sequence of the importunity of his worshippers that he makes ready his chariot to come and receive their oblations and fulfil their desires.

(4) *His thunderbolt and other weapons and instruments.*

The thunderbolt of Indra is generally described as having been fashioned for him by the Indian Hephaistos, Tvashṭṛi, the artificer of the gods (i. 32, 2: *Tvashṭā asmai vajraṁ svaryaṁ tataksha;* i. 61, 6, *asmai id u Tvashṭā takshad vajraṁ svapastamaṁ svaryaṁ raṇāya;* i. 85, 9, *Tvashṭā yad vajraṁ sukṛitaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ sahasrabhṛishṭiṁ svapāḥ avarttayat* \| v. 31, 4, *Tvashṭā vajraṁ dyumantam takshat;* vi. 17, 10, *adha Tvashṭā te mahe ugra vajraṁ sahasrabhṛishṭiṁ vavṛitat śatāśrim* \| x. 48, 3, *mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakshad āyasam*); but according to other texts it appears to have been made and given to Indra by Kāvya Uśanas (i. 121, 12, *yaṁ te Kāvyaḥ Uśanā mandinaṁ dād vṛittrahaṇam pāryaṁ tataksha vajram;* v. 34, 2, *sahasrabhṛishṭim Uśanā vadhaṁ yamat*).[163] Its natural mode of production is alluded to in viii. 89, 9, where it is said: "The thunderbolt lies in the (aerial) ocean, enveloped in water" (*samudre antaḥ śayate udnā vajro abhīvṛitaḥ*). This thunderbolt is sometimes styled golden, *hiraṇyaya* (i. 57, 2; i. 85, 9; viii. 57, 3; x. 23, 3), sometimes ruddy, *harita* (x. 96, 3); but it is also described as being of iron, *āyasa* (i. 52, 8; i. 80, 12; i. 81, 4; i. 121, 9; viii. 85, 3; x. 48, 3; x. 96, 3; x. 113, 5); sometimes it is represented as four-angled, *chaturaśri* (iv. 22, 2), sometimes as hundred-angled, *śatāśri* (vi. 17, 10), sometimes as hundred-jointed, *śataparvan* (i. 80, 6; viii. 6, 6; viii. 65, 2; viii. 78, 3),[164] and sometimes as having a thousand points, *sahasrabhṛishṭi* (i. 80, 12; i. 85, 9; v. 34, 2; vi. 17, 10). Indra is in one place (i. 55, 1) represented as sharpening his thunderbolt, as a bull his horns (*śiśīte vajraṁ tejase na vaṁsagaḥ*). In viii. 59, 2, the thunderbolt put into Indra's hand is compared to the sun placed in the sky (*dive na sūryaḥ*). In other passages this god is spoken of

[163] The Ait. Br. iv. 1, says: *devāḥ vai prathamena ahnā Indrāya vajraṁ samabharan* \| *taṁ dvitīyena ahnā asinchan* \| *tṛitīyena ahnā prāyachhan* \| *taṁ chaturthe ahan prāharat* \| "The gods provided the thunderbolt for Indra by the first day's (ceremony). By the second day's they moistened it. By the third day's they gave it to him. On the fourth day he hurled it." See Prof. Haug's Trans. p. 255.

[164] Compare A.V. iv. 37, 8: *bhīmāḥ Indrasya hetayaḥ śatabhṛishṭīr ayasmayīḥ;* and the next verse, which is the same, with the substitution of *hiraṇyayīḥ* for *ayasmayīḥ;* and A.V. viii. 5, 15.

as armed with a bow and arrows (viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 6, 11; x. 103, 2, 3). His arrows are described as golden (viii. 66, 11), as having a hundred points, and as being winged with a thousand feathers (viii. 66, 7). Indra is also declared to carry a hook (*ankuśa*). Thus in viii. 17, 10, it is said: *dīrghas te astu ankuśo yena vasu prayachhasi* | *yajamānāya sunvate* | "May the hook be long wherewith thou reachest wealth to the worshipper who offers oblations." And similarly in Atharva-veda, vi. 82, 3, *yas te ankuśo vasudāno brihann Indra hiraṇyayaḥ* | *tenā janīyate jāyām mahyaṁ dhehi śachīpate* | "With that great golden hook of thine which confers wealth, o lord of power (Indra), reach a wife to me who am longing for one."[165] Another text in which this word occurs is R.V. x. 134, 6 (= Sāmā-veda ii. 441): *dīrgham hi ankuśaṁ yathā śaktim bibharshi mantumaḥ* | *pūrveṇa maghavan padā ajo vayāṁ yathā* | "Thou, o wise (Indra), carriest a long hook like a spear, and (holdest fast therewith), as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore foot." The word is also found in x. 44, 9: "I carry to thee this well-made goad, wherewith, o magnificent god, thou mayest rend the Sapháruj demons"[166] (*imam bibharmi sukṛitaṁ te ankuśaṁ yena ārujāsi maghavan śaphārujaḥ*).

Another instrument of warfare, a net, is assigned to Indra in the A.V. viii. 8, 5 ff.: *antarikshaṁ jālam āsīj jāladaṇḍā diśo mahīḥ* | *tenābhidhāya dasyūnāṁ śakraḥ senām apātayat* | 6. *Bṛihad hi jālaṁ bṛihataḥ śakrasya vājinīvataḥ* | *tena śatrūn abhi sarvān nyubja yathā na muchyātai katamaśchana eshām* | 7. *Bṛihat te jālam bṛihataḥ Indra śūra sahasrārghasya śatavīryasya* | *tena sahasram ayutam ni arbudaṁ jaghāna śakro dasyūnām abhidhāya senayā* | 8. *ayaṁ loko jālam āsīt śakrasya mahato mahān* | *tenāham Indrajālena amūṁs tamasā 'bhi dadhāmi sarvān* |

[165] In these passages I follow Roth's explanation of *ankuśa*, as given in his Lexicon, *s.v.* In his translation of this passage from the A.V. in Indische Studien v. 241, Professor Weber understands the word (*ankuśa*) of a goad with which cattle are driven. In A.V. vii. 115, 1, Ill fortune, Pāpī Lakshmī, is said to be drawn or driven away with an iron hook (*ayasmayena ankena*).

[166] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for pointing out the sense of this verse, as well as of the preceding. *S'aphāruj* seems to mean a demon, or an animal that destroys with its hoofs. The word occurs also in x. 87, 12, where it is an epithet of Yātudhāna, a demon, and appears to refer to some goblin which was conceived to tear with its hoofs.

"The air was a net, and the great quarters of the sky the poles of the net. With it Sakra (or the powerful god) enveloped the army of the Dasyus, and cast them down. 6. Great is the net of the great Sakra, bestower of food. With it so overwhelm all the foes that not one of them may escape. 7. Great is thy net, o heroic Indra, who art great, and a match for a thousand, and equalling the strength of a hundred foes. Sakra, with his host, slew a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred millions of the Dasyus, enveloping them in it. 8. This world was the great net of the great Sakra. With this net of Indra I envelope them all in darkness."[167]

(5) *His love of soma-juice.*

Invoked by his mortal worshippers, Indra obeys the summons, and speedily arrives in his chariot to receive their offerings. He finds food provided for his horses (iii. 35, 7, *stīrṇaṁ te barhiḥ sutaḥ Indra somaḥ kṛitā dhānā attave te haribhyaṁ*), and large libations of soma-juice are poured out for himself to quaff. He becomes exhilarated by these libations, which are also frequently described as stimulating his war-like dispositions and energies, and fitting him for his other functions, even for supporting the earth and sky (ii. 15, 2: *avaṁśe Dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam .... sa dhārayat Pṛithivīm paprathat cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra*). The following are a few of the numerous passages which refer to this worship of Indra: i. 4, 8; i. 32, 3; i. 80, 1 f.; i. 84, 1 (where the poet hopes the draught may fill him with strength, as the sun fills the air with his rays: *ā tvā pṛiṇaktu indriyam rajaḥ sūryo na raśmibhiḥ*), 4 (where it is said to be an "immortal stimulant"—*amartyam madam*); ii. 15, 1, 2; ii. 19, 1 f.; ii. 21, 1; iii. 36, 3; iii. 40, 1 ff.; iii. 42, 1 ff.; vi. 23, 1, 5, 6; vi. 27, 1 f.; vi. 29, 4; vii. 22, 1 f.; vii. 29, 1 f.; viii. 3, 1; viii. 81, 5, 6; x. 104, 1 ff.; etc., etc. The gods are described as all hastening eagerly to partake of this beverage, viii. 2, 18 (*yanti pramādam atandrāḥ*); viii. 58, 11: *apād Indro apād Agnir viśve devāḥ amatsata* | "Indra has drunk, Agni has drunk; all the gods have become exhilarated;"[168]

[167] Compare A.V. xix. 66, 1: *ayojālāḥ asurāḥ māyino 'yasmayaiḥ pāśair ankino ye charanti | tāṁs te randhayāmi harasā Jātavedaḥ sahasrabhṛishṭiḥ sapatnān pramiṇan yāhi vajraḥ.*

[168] Ait. Br. vi. 11: *mādyanti iva vai madhyandine devatāḥ sam eva tṛitīya-savane*

but Indra is particularly addicted to the indulgence, i. 104, 9, *somakāmaṁ tvā āhuḥ;* i. 175, 5, *śushmintamo hi te madaḥ;* ii. 14, 1, *kāmī hi vīraḥ sadam asya pītiṁ juhota vṛishṇe tad hi esha vashṭi;* vii. 33, 2, *dūrād Indram anayann ā sutena;* viii. 2, 4, *Indraḥ it somapāḥ ekaḥ Indraḥ sutapāḥ viśvāyuḥ | antar devān martyāṁś cha |* "Indra is the only drinker of soma, a drinker of libations, of full vitality, among gods and men;" viii. 4, 12, *idaṁ te annaṁ yujyaṁ samukshitaṁ tasya ihi pradrava piba |* "This thy favourite nutriment has been poured out; run and drink of it;" viii. 6, 40, *vṛittrahā somapātamaḥ;* viii. 50, 2, *somakāmaṁ hi te manaḥ |* Indeed, it would appear to be to him an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth (iii. 32, 9, *sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somam |* 10. *tvaṁ sadyo apibo jātaḥ Indra madāya somam parame vyoman;* iii. 48, 2, 3, already quoted, p. 77; vi. 40, 2, *asya piba yasya jajnānaḥ Indro madāya kratve apibaḥ;* vii. 98, 3, *jajnānaḥ somaṁ sahase papātha pra te mātā mahimānam uvācha*). He is said to have drunk at one draught thirty bowls of soma (viii. 66, 4, *ekayā pratidhā 'pibat sākaṁ sarāṁsi triṁśatam | Indraḥ somasya kāṇukā.* See Nirukta, v. 11; compare R.V. vi. 17, 11; and viii. 7, 10). His worshippers invite him in the most naïf manner to drink boldly (vi. 47, 6, *dhṛishat piba kalaśe somam Indra*); to drink like a thirsty stag (viii. 4, 10, *ṛiśyo na tṛishyann avapānam āgahi piba somān vaśān anu*), or a bull roaming in a waterless waste (v. 36, 1, *dhanvacharo na vaṁsagas tṛishāṇas chakamānaḥ pibatu dugdham aṁśum |* compare viii. 33, 2, *kadā sutaṁ tṛishāṇaḥ okaḥ āgamaḥ Indra svabdīva vaṁsagaḥ*, and fill his belly, or his two bellies, which are compared to two lakes, by copious potations; and he speaks in similar language of having accepted the invitation[169] (i. 8, 7; i. 104, 9; ii. 11, 11 (*sutāsaḥ pṛiṇantas te kukshī vardhayantu*); ii. 14, 10; ii. 16, 2; iii. 35, 6 (*dadhishva imaṁ jaṭhare indum Indra*); iii. 36, 7, 8 (*hradāḥ iva kukshayaḥ somadhānāḥ*); iii. 40, 5; iii. 47, 1 (*ā sinchasva jaṭhare madhvaḥ ūrmim*); iii. 51, 12 (*pra te aśnotu kukshyoḥ*); viii. 12, 23 (*saro na prāsi udaram*); viii. 2, 1 (*supūrṇam udaram*); viii. 17, 5–8 (*ā te sinchāmi kukshyoḥ*); viii. 67, 7; viii. 81, 22–24;

mādayante, which Professor Haug translates: "The gods get drunk, as it were, at the mid-day libation, and are then consequently at the third libation in a state of complete drunkenness."

[169] The soma-juice was also drunk by the worshippers themselves, and its effects on

43, 7; x. 104, 2;
x. 28, 2; x.
soma-draughts are said to resort to him as birds to a leafy tree; A.V. ii. 5, 1 ff.; vi. 2, 1 ff. The
to flow to him as waters to the ocean, or rivulets to a lake; and his
worshippers are then said to magnify him as grain is developed by
showers of rain, x. 43, 4 (*Vayo na vrikshaṁ supalāśam āsadan somāsaḥ*
Indram mandinaś chamūshadaḥ | 7. Āpo na sindhum abhi yat sama-
ksharan somāsaḥ Indram kulyāḥ iva hradam | vardhanti viprāḥ maho
asya sadane yavaṁ na vrishṭir divyena dānunā). He is also spoken of
as eating the flesh of bulls, or buffaloes, at the same time that he
drinks the draughts of soma (x. 28, 3, *adriṇā te mandinaḥ Indra tūyān*
sunvanti somān pibasi tvam eshām | pachanti te vrishabhān atsi teshām).
Three hundred are mentioned in v. 29, 7 f., one hundred in viii. 66,
10, and one in x. 27, 2. Indra is besought to taste the offering pre-
sented, and to take delight in the hymns addressed to him, as an ardent
lover desires his mistress (iii. 52, 3 = iv. 32, 16: *puroḷāśaṁ cha*
no ghaso joshayāse giraś cha | vadhūyur iva yoshaṇām).

The sensations of the god after drinking the soma-juice are thus
described in Rig-veda x. 119: 1. *iti vai iti me mano gām aśvaṁ sanuyām*
iti | kuvit somasya apām iti | 2. pra vātāḥ iva dodhataḥ un mā pītāḥ
ayaṁsata | kuvid ity ādi | 3. un mā pītāḥ ayaṁsata ratham aśvāḥ ivāśa-
vaḥ | kuvit— | 4. upa mā matir asthita vāśrā putram iva priyam | kuvit— |

some of them are occasionally described. Thus in vi. 47, 3, it is said: "This (soma),
when drunk, impels my voice; it awakes the ardent thought" *ayam me pītaḥ*
udiyartti vācham ayam manīshām uśatīm ajīgaḥ). In viii. 48, 3, its elevating effect
is still more distinctly told in these words, *apāma somam amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma*
jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrttir amṛita
marttyasya, which may be rendered as follows:—

We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.

Compare the curious parallel to this (already noticed in the 3rd Vol. of this work,
p. 265) in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578, ff., where Polyphemus
exclaims in his drunken exaltation:

Ὁ δ' οὐρανός μοι συμμεμιγμένος δοκεῖ
Τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διός τε τὸν θρόνον
Λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἁγνὸν σέβας.

5. ahaṁ tashṭeva vandhuram pary achāmi hṛidā matim | kuvit—| 6. na hi me akshipach chana achhāntsuḥ pancha kṛishṭayaḥ | kuvit—| 7. na hi me rodasī ubhe anyam pakshaṁ chana prati | kuvit—| 8. abhi dyām mahinā 'bhavam abhīmām pṛithivīm mahīm | kuvit — | 9. hantāham pṛithivīm imāṁ ni dadhānīha veha vā | kuvit — | 10. osham it pṛithivīm ahaṁ janghanānīha veha vā | kuvit —| 11. divi me anyaḥ paksho adho anyam achīkṛisham | kuvit — | 12. aham asmi mahāmaho abhinabhyam udīshitaḥ | kuvit — | 13. gṛiho yāmi araṅkṛito devebhyo havyavāhanaḥ | kuvit somasya apām iti | [170]

"I have verily resolved to bestow cows and horses: I have quaffed the soma. 2. The draughts which I have drunk impel me like violent blasts: I have quaffed the soma. 3. The draughts which I have drunk impel me as fleet horses a chariot: I have quaffed the soma. 4. The hymn (of my worshipper) has hastened to me, as a cow to her beloved calf: I have quaffed the soma. 5. I turn the hymn round about in my heart, as a carpenter a beam: I have quaffed the soma. 6. The five tribes of men appear to me not even as a mote: I have quaffed the soma. 7. The two worlds do not equal even one half of me: I have quaffed the soma. 8. I surpass in greatness the heaven and this vast earth: I have quaffed the soma. 9. Come, let me plant this earth either here or there: I have quaffed the soma. 10. Let me smite the earth rapidly hither or thither: I have quaffed the soma. 11. One half of me is in the sky, and I have drawn the other down: I have quaffed the soma. 12. I am majestic, elevated to the heavens: I have quaffed the soma. 13. I go prepared as a minister, a bearer of oblations to the gods: I have quaffed the soma."

The hymns, prayers, and worship addressed to Indra are described as stimulating his energies and increasing his vigour (i. 52, 7: *brahmāṇi Indra tava yāni vardhanā*); i. 54, 8; i. 80, 1; ii. 11, 2 (*ukthair vavṛidhānaḥ*); ii. 12, 14 (*yasya brahma vardhanaṁ yasya somaḥ*); iii. 32, 12 f. (*yajno hi te Indra vardhano bhūt; yaḥ stomebhir vavṛidhe pūrvyebhir yo madhyebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ*); iii. 34, 1 (*brahmajūtas tanvā vavṛidhānaḥ*); v. 31, 10 (*Indra brahmāṇi tavishīm avardhan*); vi. 21, 2; vi. 44, 13; viii. 6, 1, 21, 31, 35; viii. 13, 16 (*Indraṁ var-*

170 I learn from a note to Professor Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 101, that, according to Sāyaṇa, there was a legend that Indra, in the form of a quail, drank soma, was seen by the ṛishi, and sang his own praise in this hymn.

dhantu no giraḥ Indraṁ sutāsaḥ indavaḥ); viii. 14, 5, 11 (*yajnaḥ Indraṁ avardhayat*); viii. 82, 27; viii. 87, 8 (*vār na tvā yavyābhir vardhanti śūra brahmāṇi*); x. 50, 4 (*bhuvas tvam Indra brahmaṇā mahān*); x. 120, 5 (*chodayāmi te āyudhā vachobhiḥ saṁ te śiśāmi brahmāṇā vayāṁsi*), and the worshippers (as well as the gods) are said to place the thunderbolt in his hands and to assist its efficacy (i. 63, 2, *ā te vajraṁ jaritā bāhvor dhāt*); ii. 20, 8 (*tasmai tavasyam anu dāyi satrā Indrāya devebhir arṇasātau | prati yad asya vajram bāhvor dhur hatvī dasyūn puraḥ āyasīr ni tārīt*); iii. 32, 12 (*yajnas te vajram Ahihatye āvat*). The other deities, too, are described as infusing divine strength into Indra[171] (i. 80, 15, *tasmin nṛimṇam uta kratuṁ devāḥ ojāṁsi sam dadhuḥ*); vi. 20, 2 (*divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhir dhāyi viśvam*);[172] x. 48, 3 (*mayi devāso avṛijann api kratum*); x. 113, 8; x. 120, 3, compare x. 56, 4; viii. 15, 8 (*tava Dyaur Indra pauṁsyam Pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ*), and as placing him in the van (i. 55, 3, *viśvasmai ugraḥ karmaṇe purohitaḥ*); i. 131, 1 (*Indraṁ viśve sajoshaso devāso dadhire purah*); vi. 17, 8 (*adha tvā viśve puraḥ Indra devāḥ ekaṁ tavasaṁ dadhire bharāya*); viii. 12, 22 (*Indraṁ Vṛittrāya hantave devāso dadhire puraḥ* | see also v. 25). Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 3, 8; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 11, 6, and A.V. vii. 84, 2: *apānudo janam amilrāyantam uruṁ devebhyo akṛiṇor u lokam.* He is impelled and fortified by the Maruts; iii. 32, 4 (*yebhir Vṛittrasya ishito viveda amarmaṇo manyamānasya marma*); iii. 35, 9 (*yān ābhajo marutaḥ Indra some ye tvām avardhann abhavan gaṇas te*); iii. 47, 3 (*yān ābhajo maruto ye tvā 'nv ahan Vṛittram adadhus tubhyam ojaḥ* | see also v. 4); vi. 17, 11; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1, 2; x. 113, 3 (*viśve te atra marutaḥ saha tmanā avardhann ugra mahimānam indriyam*).[173]

171 Indra on his side again is said to give divine power to the other gods (vi. 36, 1: *yad deveshu dhārayathāḥ asuryam*).

172 Sāyaṇa understands *devebhiḥ* of the worshippers: *stotraiḥ stūyamānā devatā balavatī bhavati*, "a deity when lauded by hymns becomes strong."

173 Indra, however, in a dispute with the Maruts (to which I shall again advert in the section on those deities) claims to have slain Vṛittra by his own might, i. 165, 8: *vadhīm vṛittram marutah indriyena svena bhāmena tavisho babhūvān*; compare vii. 21, 6, where the same thing is said of him by his worshipper: *svena hi Vṛittraṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antam vividad yudhā te*; and x. 138, 6: *etā tyā te śrutyāni kevalā yad ekaḥ ekam akṛiṇor ayajnam.* Compare viii. 79, 5; viii. 86, 9; viii. 87, 3. In v. 30, 5, all the gods are said to be afraid of him (*atas chid Indrād abhayanta devāḥ*). In another place, too (viii. 7, 31), the Maruts are asked "*what*

With Brihaspati as his ally he overthrew all the enemies of the gods who assailed him, viii. 85, 15 (*viśo adevīr abhi ācharantīr Brihaspatinā yujā Indraḥ sasāhe*).

Thus exhilarated and encouraged, ii. 15, 1 (*trikadrukeshu apibat*

they were seeking when they deserted Indra, and who could then trust in their friendship" *kad ha nūnam kadhapriyo yad Indram ajahātana | ko vaḥ sakhitve ohate |* Prof. Müller, Trans. R.V. i. p. 68, takes *kadhapriyaḥ* as two words, and renders the verse thus: "What then now? where is there a friend, now that you have forsaken Indra? Who cares for your friendship?") Compare iv. 18, 11, quoted above (p. 78 f.), where Indra's mother complains that the gods were abandoning her son, and where he calls upon Vishṇu to display his valour. But we are elsewhere, viii. 85, 7, told, on the contrary, that all the other gods who had been Indra's allies, terrified by the blast of Vrittra's breath, deserted Indra and fled, while the Maruts, it must be supposed, stood firm, as Indra is advised to make friends with them, and then he should conquer all hostile armies (*vrittrasya tvā śvasathād īshamāṇāḥ viśve devāḥ ajahur ye sakhāyaḥ | Marudbhir Indra sakhyaṁ te astu atha imāḥ viśvāḥ pritanāḥ jayāsi*). The commentator, however (perhaps because he found it necessary, for dogmatical reasons, to reconcile these conflicting statements) interprets viii. 7, 31 differently, and makes it mean, "When did you desert Indra? *i.e.* never," and quotes the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa iii. 20, which says that the Maruts did not abandon him. I shall cite this passage at greater length than Sāyaṇa gives it, as it forms a comment on the other text just adduced, viii. 85, 7: *Indro vai Vritraṁ hanishyan sarvāḥ devatāḥ abravīd anu mā upatishṭhadhvam upa mā āhvayadhvam" iti | "tathā" iti | taṁ hanishyantaḥ ādravan | so 'ved "māṁ vai hanishyantaḥ ādravanti | hanta imān bhīshayai" iti | tān abhi prāśvasīt | tasya śvasathād īshamāṇāḥ viśve devāḥ adravan | maruto ha enaṁ na ajahuḥ "prahara bhagavo jahi vīrayasva" ityeva enam etāṁ vāchaṁ vadantaḥ upātishṭhanta | tad etad rishiḥ paśyann abhyanūvācha | . . . . iti | so 'ved "ime vai kila me sachivāḥ | ime mā kāmayanta | hanta imān asminn ukthe ābhajai" iti |* "Indra, when about to slay Vrittra, said to all the gods: 'Follow close after me and support me." They said, 'We will.' They ran forward to slay Vrittra. Vrittra considered: 'They are running forward to kill me: come, let me frighten them.' He accordingly blew a blast upon them, when all the gods ran away precipitately from the blast of his breath. But the Maruts did not forsake Indra. They stood by him, crying, 'Smite, o god, slay, play the hero.' Seeing this, the rishi uttered the words of R.V. viii. 85, 7. Indra understood: 'These Maruts are my allies. They love me. Come, I shall give them a share in this uktha.'" In R.V. i. 32, 14, Indra himself is said to have become frightened as if at the approach of an avenger(?), after he had slain Ahi, and to have crossed ninety-nine rivers, and the aerial spaces, when flying like a terrified falcon (*aher yātāraṁ kam apaśyaḥ Indra hridi yat te jaghrusho bhīr agachhat | nava cha yad navatiṁ cha sravantīḥ śyeno na bhīto ataro rajāṁsi*). Compare Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 547. The Aśvins and Sarasvatī are also said to have assisted Indra (R.V. x. 131, 4, 5 = Vāj. Sanh. x. 33, 34). "You two, Aśvins, lords of splendour, drinking together the delightful draught (of soma), protected Indra in his achievments against the Asura Namuchi. 5. As parents a son, so ye two, Aśvins, by your wisdom and your energy, delivered thee, O Indra. When thou, O magnificent (Indra), didst drink the delightful draught (of soma), Sarasvatī waited upon thee with her powers." (3. *Yuvaṁ surāmam Aśvinā Namuchāv āsure sachā | vipipānā*

ro jaghāna); ii. 19, 2 (*asya mandāno madhvo*
ṛitam vi vṛiśchat); vi. 47, 1, 2; x. 112, 1
sya . . . . | harshasva hantave śūra śatrūn),—
y troops of Maruts, and sometimes attended
ishṇu (i. 22, 19, *Indrasya yujyo sakhā*);

m | 5. *putram iva pitarā Aśvinā ubhā Indra āvathuḥ*
ṇaṁ vi apibaḥ śachībhiḥ sarasvatī tvā maghavann
e commentator on the Vāj. Sanh. x. 33, to explain
was a friend of Indra; and taking advantage of his
Indra's strength along with a draught of wine and
ns and Sarasvatī that Namuchi had drunk up his
svatī, in consequence, gave Indra a thunderbolt in
smote off the head of Namuchi. The Aśvins then
l and wine, from the belly of Namuchi, and trans-
transferring it they delivered Indra. The story is
naṇa xii. 7, 3, 1 ff. (p. 934 Weber's ed.) and is the
by me elsewhere (Vol. IV. 222 and 420). As given
"The Asura Namuchi carried off Indra's strength
nd the draught of soma, together with wine. He
d Sarasvatī, and said, 'I have sworn to Namuchi, I
y night; neither with club, nor with bow; neither
na), nor with fist; neither with dry, nor with moist;
th, etc.) of mine; will ye recover it for me?' They
in it, and we will recover it.' Indra replied: 'It
ver it therefore.' Then the Aśvins and Sarasvatī
e foam of the waters, saying, 'It is neither dry nor
off the head of Namuchi, when night was passing
et risen, when (as he said) 'it was neither day nor
been cut off, the soma remained mixed with blood;
perceived this draught of the two somas, according
oured out, is nectar,' they with this made the other
allowed it" (*Indrasya indriyam annasya rasaṁ*
Namuchir aharat, so 'śvinau cha sarasvatīṁ cha
aye na tvā divā na naktaṁ hanāni na daṇḍena na
ā na śushkeṇa na ārdreṇa atha me idam ahārshīt |
uvann "astu no 'trāpy atha āharāma" iti | "*saha*
d iti | *tāv aśvinau cha Sarasvatī cha apām phenaṁ*
a ārdraḥ" iti | *tena Indro Namucher āsurasya*
e "na divā na naktam" iti śiraḥ udavāsayat | . . .
śiraḥ somo 'tishṭhat | *tasmād abībhatsanta* | *te etad*
no rājā 'mṛitaṁ sutaḥ" iti tena enam svadayitvā
ip. Br. xii. 7, 1, 10, and xii. 8, 3, 1, quoted by the
where it is said that "the gods instituted a remedial
hysicians, and so also was Sarasvatī with speech:
devāḥ yajnam atanvata bheshajam bhishajā 'śvinā |
indriyāṇi dadhataḥ). See also verses 15, 18, 34
a 20, 56–69, 73–76, 90.

i. 85, 7[174] (*Vishṇur yad ha āvad vṛishaṇam madachyutam*; iv. 18, 11 (quoted above p. 78 f.); vi. 20, 2 (*ahiṁ yad vṛittram apo vavrivāṁsaṁ hann ṛijīshin Vishṇunā sachānaḥ*); viii. 89, 12 (*Sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva Dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajrāya vishkabhe | hanāva vṛittraṁ ityādi*).[175] vii. 99, 4, 5 (*Indrā-vishṇū dṛiṁhitāḥ S'ambarasya nava puro navatiṁ cha śnathishṭam*), to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as Vṛittra,[176] Ahi,

[174] Benfey, however, refers this passage, i. 85, 7, not to Indra, but to the soma.

[175] Compare i. 156, 5; vi. 17, 11; viii. 12, 27; viii. 66, 10; x. 113, 2, in which passages (as well as in separate hymns, i. 155; vi. 69), Indra and Vishṇu are connected. The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu, v. 5, 5, 1 ff:—"Formerly Vṛittra had within him all the Ṛik, Yajush and Sāman verses. Indra was anxious to discharge a thunderbolt at him (2), and said to Vishṇu: 'I will shoot a thunderbolt at Vṛittra; follow after me.' 'So be it,' said Vishṇu, 'I will follow thee; smite him.' Indra then aimed a thunderbolt at Vṛittra, who was alarmed at it, and said (3), 'I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave him the Yajush verses. Indra then aimed a second thunderbolt at him (4), when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave the Ṛik verses. Indra then aimed a third thunderbolt at him (5), when he said, I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave him the Sāman verses. . . . . (7) Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishṇu followed him." (*Vṛittre ha vai idam agre sarvam āsa yad ṛicho yad yajūṁshi yat sāmāni | tasmai Indro vajram prājihīrshat | 2. sa ha Vishṇum uvācha "Vṛittrāya vai vajram prahariṣhyāmi | anu mā tishṭhasva" iti | "tathā" iti ha Vishṇur uvācha "anu tva sthāsye prahara" iti | tasmai Indro vajram udyayāma | sa udyatād vajrād Vṛittro bibhayānchakāra | 3. sa ha uvācha "asti vai idam vīryam | tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai yajūṁshi prāyachhat | tasmai dvitīyam udyayāma | 4. sa ha uvācha "asti vai idaṁ vīryaṁ tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai ṛichaḥ prāyachhat | tasmai tṛitīyam udyayāma | 5. [sa ha uvācha] "asti vai idaṁ vīryam | tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai sāmāni prāyachhat | 7. . . Indro hi vajram udayachhad Vishṇur anvatishṭhata.*) There is a similar story in the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 1, 1. Agni is in several places (i. 109, 5, 7, 8; iii. 12, 4, 6; x. 65, 2) associated with Indra as a thunderer, a destroyer of Vṛittra, and an overthrower of cities. Varuṇa, too, is in one place (iv. 41, 4) joined with Indra as a thunderer.

[176] Vṛittra's mother Dānu also was, along with her son, slain by Indra, and when slaughtered lay over him, like a cow over her calf (i. 32, 9, *nīchāvayāḥ abhavad Vṛittraputrā Indro asyāḥ ava vadhar jabhāra | uttarā sūr adharaḥ puttraḥ āsīd Dānuḥ śaye sahavatsā na dhenuḥ*). Seven Dānus are mentioned in R.V. x. 120, 6 (=Nirukta, xi. 21) *ā darshate śavasā sapta Dānūn* | "He cleaves by his force the seven Dānus." Roth, in his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 150, remarks on this passage: "Seven is an indefinite number applied to the demons of the air and clouds, who appear under the manifold names of Namuchi, Kuyava, S'ushṇa, S'ambara, Varchin, etc., the Dānus or Dānavas, to whom in i. 32, 9, a mother called Dānu is assigned." The

S'ushṇa, Namuchi, Pipru, S'ambara, Uraṇa, etc., etc. (i. 121, 9, 10; ii. 14, 4 ff.; viii. 32, 2, 3), armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery (i. 32, 13, *na asmai vidyud na tanyatuḥ sishedha na yām miham akirad hrādunīṁ cha*),[177] attempt, but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods.[178] Heaven and earth quake with affright at the crash of Indra's thunder, i. 80, 11 (*ime chit tava manyave vepete bhiyasā mahī | yad Indra vajrinn ojasā Vṛittram marutvān avadhīḥ | 14. abhishṭane te adrivo yat sthāḥ jagat cha rejate*); ii. 11, 9 (*arejetāṁ rodasī bhiyāne kanikradato vṛishṇo asya vajrāt | 10. aroravīd vṛishṇo asya vajraḥ*); vi. 17, 9 (*adha dyauś chit te apa sā nu vajrād dvitā 'namad bhiyasā svasya manyoḥ*), and even Tvashṭṛi himself, who forged the bolts, trembles at the manifestation of their wielder's anger, i. 80, 14 (*Tvashṭā chit tava manyave Indra vevijyate bhiyā*). The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts, i. 32, 5 (*ahan Vṛittraṁ vṛittrataraṁ vyaṁsam Indro vajreṇa mahatā vadhena | skandhāṁsīva kuliśena vivṛiknā ahiḥ śayate upapṛik pṛithivyāḥ*), i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; ii. 19, 3; x. 89, 7 (*jaghāna Vṛittraṁ svadhitir vaneva*), and even by their very sound, vi. 27, 4 (*etat tyat te indriyam acheti yenāvadhīr varaśikhasya śeshaḥ | vajrasya yat te nihatasya śushmāt svanāt chid Indra paramo dadāra*); viii. 6, 13 (*yad asya manyur adhvanīd vi vṛittram parvaśo rujan | apaḥ samudram airayat*). The waters, released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean, i. 32, 2 (*vāśrāḥ iva dhenavaḥ syandamānāḥ anjaḥ samudram ava jagmur āpaḥ | 12. avāsṛijaḥ sarttave sapta sindhūn*); i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; i. 103, 2 (*vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja*); ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 12; ii. 14, 2; ii. 15, 3 (*vajreṇa khāni atṛiṇad' nadīnām*); ii. 19, 3 (*Indro arṇo apām prairayad Ahihā 'chha samudram*); iii. 32, 6; iv. 17, 1; v. 32, 1 (*adardar utsam asṛijo vi khāni tvam arṇavān badbadhānān aramṇāḥ | mahāntam Indra parvataṁ vi yad vaḥ sṛijo vi dhārāḥ ava Dānavaṁ han*); vi. 30, 4; viii. 65, 3;

S'atap. Br. i. 6, 4, 18, says that Indra is the sun and Vṛittra the moon (*tad vai esha eva Indro yaḥ esha tapati | atha esha eva vṛittro yat chandramāḥ*).

[177] Sāyaṇa understands this line of the lightnings, etc., fashioned by Vṛittra's magical power to destroy Indra (*Indraṁ nisheddhuṁ Vṛittro yān vidyud-ādīn māyayā nirmitavān te sarve 'py enam nisheddhum aśaktāḥ*).

[178] Vṛittra is said, in ii. 30, 3 (according to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the line), to have rushed upon Indra, clothed in a cloud, but to have been overcome (*mihaṁ vasānaḥ upa hi īm adudrot*).

x. 133, 2. The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed, and the sun is restored to his position in the heavens (i. 32, 4; i. 51, 4, *Vrittraṁ yad Indra śavasā avadhīr Ahim ād it sūryaṁ divi ārohayo driśe*);[179] i. 52, 8 (*āyachhathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ driśe*); ii. 19, 3. Constant allusions to these elemental conflicts occur in nearly every part of the Rig-veda (i. 4, 8; i. 32, 1 ff.; i. 52, 2 ff.; i. 54, 4 ff.; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 103, 2 ff.; ii. 11, 5 ff.; v. 32, 1 ff.; x. 89, 7; x. 113, 6), and the descriptions are sometimes embellished with a certain variety of imagery. The clouds are represented as mountains, or as cities or fortresses of the Asuras, ii. 14, 6 (*yaḥ śataṁ S'ambarasya puro bibheda aśmanā iva pūrvīḥ*); viii. 17, 14 (*bhettā purāṁ śaśvatīnām*); viii. 87, 6 (*tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnām Indra darttā purām asi*), which are variously characterized as the autumnal (*puraḥ śāradīḥ*, i. 131, 4; vi. 20, 10), the moving (*puraṁ charishṇvam*, viii. 1, 28), and the iron (*āyasīḥ*, ii. 20, 8) or stone-built (iv. 30, 20, *śatam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vyāsyat | Divodāsāya dāśushe*)[180] cities of the Asuras (or atmospheric demons), which Indra overthrows (i. 51, 5; i. 63, 7; i. 103, 3; i. 130, 7; i. 174, 8; ii. 19, 6; ii. 20, 7; iii. 12, 6; iv. 26, 3; iv. 30, 13; viii. 82, 2; x. 89, 7). He casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains (i. 32, 2, *ahann Ahim parvate śiśriyāṇam*); i. 130, 7 (*Atithigvāya S'ambaraṁ girer ugro avātirat*); ii. 12, 11 (*Yaḥ S'ambaram parvateshu kshiyantaṁ chatvāriṁśyāṁ śaradi anvavindat*); iv. 30, 14 (*uta dāsam kaulitaram brihataḥ parvatād adhi | avāhann Indraḥ S'ambaram*); vi. 26, 5; or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens (ii. 12, 12 *yo Rauhiṇam asphurad vajra-bāhur dyām ārohantam*); viii. 14, 14 (*māyābhir utsisripsataḥ Indro dyām ārurukshataḥ | ava dasyūn adhūnuthāḥ*). One of them he crushes under his foot, 1, 51, 6 (*Arbudaṁ ni kramīḥ padā*), or pierces with ice, viii. 32, 26 (*himena avidhyad Arbudam*). He strikes off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters,[181]

[179] Sāyaṇa understands the last words to mean that Indra freed the sun which had been hidden by Vrittra (*Vrittreṇa āvritaṁ sūryaṁ tasmād vrittrād amūmuchaḥ*). In i. 32, 4; and ii. 19, 3, Indra is said to have generated the sun; which may refer to an actual creation, and not to a mere bringing into view. In x. 89, 2, Indra seems to be identified with the sun (*sa sūryaḥ*), and to have destroyed the black darkness by his light (*krishṇā tamāṁ si tvishyā jaghāna*).

[180] Possibly these may be ordinary terrestrial cities; and the same may be the case in regard to the cities alluded to in some of the texts next to be cited.

[181] See above, in a preceding note.

viii. 14, 13 (*apām phenena namucheḥ śiraḥ Indra udavartayaḥ*). One of his opponents, Uraṇa, is described as a monster, with ninety-nine arms, ii. 14, 4 (*yaḥ Uraṇaṁ jaghāna nava chakhvāṁsaṁ navatiṁ cha bāhūn*); and another as having three heads and six eyes, x. 99, 6 (*sa id dāsam tuvīravam patir dan shaḷakshaṁ triśīrshāṇam damanyat*).

The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather, when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day without discharging their contents.[182] And in the early ages when the Vedic hymns were composed, it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers, of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces; even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots[183] and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow.

(5*a*) *Indra's greatness.*

In numerous places of the Rig-veda, the highest divine functions and attributes are ascribed to Indra. A collection of the most striking

[182] In viii. 6, 1, Indra is compared to, and therefore distinguished from, Parjanya, the rain-god (*mahān Indro yaḥ ojasā Parjanyo vṛishṭimān iva | stomair Vatsasya vavṛidhe*). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Sūrya, the Sun.

[183] Compare Psalm 104, 3; Isaiah 19, 1; Daniel 7, 13; Matth. 24, 30; 26, 64; Habakkuk 3, 8; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, 171 f.

of these passages will be found in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 85–94. I subjoin some additional texts:

i. 61, 14. *Asya id u bhiyā girayaś cha dṛilhāḥ dyāvā cha bhūmā janushas tujete* | "Through fear of him when he is born, the stable mountains, and heaven and earth, are agitated."

i. 100, 1. . . . . *maho divaḥ pṛithivyāś cha samrāṭ* | . . . . 15. *Na yasya devāḥ devatā na marttāḥ āpaś chana śavaso antam āpuḥ* | "The monarch of the great heaven and of the earth . . . . 15. of whose might neither gods by their divine insight, nor men, nor waters have attained the limit."[184]

i. 101, 5. *Yo viśvasya jagataḥ prāṇatas patiḥ* | "He (Indra) who is the lord of the whole moving and breathing (world)," etc.

i. 165, 9. *Anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu na tvāvān asti devatā vidānaḥ* | *na jāyamāno naśate na jāto yāni karishyā kṛiṇuhi pravṛiddha* | "There is nothing unconquered by thee: no one like thee is known among the gods. No one to be born, or yet born, can rival thee. Do, great god, whatever thou willest do." (Compare iv. 18, 4.)

i. 173, 6. *Pra yad itthā mahinā nṛibhyo asti aram rodasī kakshye na asmai* | "Since Indra is so superior to men, heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle," etc.

ii. 17, 5. *Sa prāchīnān parvatan dṛimhad ojasā adharāchīnam akarod apām apaḥ* | *adhārayat pṛithivīm viśvadhāyasam astabhnād māyayā dyām avasrasaḥ* | "He has settled the ancient mountains by his might; he has directed downwards the action of the waters. He has supported the earth, the universal nurse. By his skill he has propped up the sky from falling."

iii. 30, 5 (quoted above, p. 30). "When thou, O Maghavan, didst grasp even these two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to thee."[185]

iii. 34, 2. *Indra kshitīnām asi mānushīṇām viśām daivīnām asi pūrvayāvā* | "Indra, thou art the leader of the human races, and of the divine people. 7. *Yudhendro mahnā varivaś chakāra devebhyaḥ* | "In battle and by his power he has acquired wealth for the gods."

iii. 46, 2. *Eko viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā* | 3. *Pra mātrābhiḥ ririche rochamānaḥ pra devebhir viśvato apratītaḥ* | *pra majmanā divaḥ Indraḥ*

[184] See Benfey's Translation in Orient and Occident ii. 518.
[185] Compare Isaiah xl, 12.

prithivyāḥ pra uror maho antarikshād rijīshī | "Thou, who alone art the king of the whole world, etc. . . . . 3. Indra luminous, has surpassed all measures; in every respect unequalled, he has surpassed the gods; the impetuous deity has surpassed in greatness the heaven and the earth, and the broad and vast atmosphere."

iv. 17, 2. *Tava tvisho janiman rejata Dyauḥ rejad Bhūmir bhiyasā svasya manyoh* | "At the birth of thee, the glorious one, the heaven trembled, and the earth, through fear of thy wrath," etc. (Compare iv. 22, 3, 4).

iv. 18, 4. *Nahi nu asya pratimānam asti antar jāteshu uta ye janitvāḥ* | "He has no parallel among those born or who are to be born."

v. 30, 5. *Paro yat tvam paramaḥ ājanishṭhāḥ parāvati śrutyam nāma bibhrat* | *ataś chid Indrād abhayanta devāḥ* | "When thou wert born, the highest and supreme, bearing a name renowned afar, the gods were then afraid of Indra," etc.

v. 42, 6. *Marutvato apratītasya jishṇor ajūryataḥ pra bravāma kritāni* | *na te pūrve maghavan na aparāso na vīryam nūtanaḥ kaś chana āpa* | "Let us declare the deeds of the unrivalled, victorious, undecaying god, who is attended by the Maruts. Neither have former nor later (beings), nor has any recent (being) attained to thy valour." [186]

vi. 24, 8. *Na vīḷave namate na sthirāya na śardhate dasyujūtāya stavān* | *ajrāḥ Indrasya girayaś chid rishvāḥ gambhīre chid bhavati gādham asmai* | "When lauded, he does not bow before the strong, nor the firm, nor the presumptuous, impelled by the Dasyu. Mountains, though lofty, are plains to Indra, and in that which is deep he finds a bottom." Compare viii. 82, 10.

vi. 30, 1, quoted above, p. 80 f. "Indra has surpassed the heaven and the earth. The two worlds are but equal to the half of him." (Comp. x. 119, 7.)

vi. 30, 5. *Rājā 'bhavo jagataś charshaṇīnām sākam sūryam janayan dyām ushāsam* | "Thou hast become the king of things moving, and of men, generating at once the Sun, the Heaven, the Dawn." (Compare iii. 49, 4.)

viii. 6, 15. *Na dyāvaḥ Indram ojasā na antarikshāṇi vajriṇam* | *na*

[186] In viii. 70 3, it is said that Indra, like a terrific bull, cannot be stopped either by gods or men when he wishes to be generous (*na tvā śūra devāḥ na marttāso ditsantam* | *bhīmam na gām vārayante*).

vi vyachanta bhūmayaḥ | "Neither heavens, nor atmospheres, nor earths, have equalled Indra the thunderer in might."

viii. 12, 30. *Yadā sūryam amuṁ divi śukraṁ jyotir adhārayaḥ* | *ād it te viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* | "When thou (Indra) didst place yonder sun a brilliant light in the sky, then all worlds submitted to thee." (Compare vi. 30, 2.)

viii. 14, 9. *Indreṇa rochanā divo dṛiḷhāni dṛiṁhitāṇi cha* | *sthirāṇi na parāṇude* | "By Indra the lights of the sky have been fixed and established. Those which are established he has not removed."

viii. 15, 2. *Yasya dvibarhaso bṛihat saho dadhāra rodasī* | *girīn ajrān apaḥ svar vṛishatvanā* | "Of which mighty god the great vigour supported the two worlds, the mountains, plains, waters, and heavens."

viii. 51. 7. *Viśve te Indra vīryaṁ devāḥ anu kratuṁ daduḥ* | "All the gods, Indra, yield to thee in vigour and strength."

viii. 78, 2. *Devās te Indra sakhyāya yemire* | "The gods, o Indra, sought after thy friendship." (Compare viii. 87, 3.)

viii. 82, 5. *Yad vā pravṛiddha satpate "na marai" iti manyase* | *uto tat satyam it tava* | "That which thou, o powerful lord of the good, expectest, 'I shall not die,' proves true." (Compare x. 86, 11, quoted above, p. 82.)

viii. 85, 4. *Manye tvā yayniyaṁ yajniyānām manye tvā chyavanam achyutānām* | *manye tvā satvanām Indra ketum manye tvā vṛishabhaṁ charshaṇīnām* | .... 6. *Tam u shṭavāma yaḥ imā jājāna viśvā jātāni avarāṇi asmāt* | .... 9. *Anayudhāso asurāḥ adevāś chakreṇa tān apa vapa ṛijīshin* | "I regard thee, Indra, as the most adorable of the adorable, the caster down of the unshaken,[187] the most distinguished of living things, the chief of beings. .... 6. Let us praise this Indra who produced these (worlds): all beings are inferior (or subsequent) to him. .... 9. The Asuras are without weapons and are no gods: sweep them away with thy wheel." (Compare vi. 18, 10), where he is said to consume the Rakshases with his bolt as fire a dry forest: *Agnir na śushkaṁ vanam Indra hetī raksho ni dhakshi aśanir na bhīmā*).

viii. 86, 14. *Tvad viśvāni bhuvanāni vajrin dyāvā rejete pṛithivī cha bhīshā* | "All worlds, thunderer, both heaven and earth, tremble through fear of thee."

x. 44, 8. *Girīn ajrān rejamānān adhārayad Dyauḥ krandad anta-*

[187] The Maruts are said to have the same power (i. 64, 3).

rikshāṇi kopayat | "He sustained the quaking mountains and plains: the sky resounded; he shook the atmosphere," etc. (Compare ii. 12, 2.)

x. 54, 1. *Tāṁ su te kīrttim maghavan mahitvā yat tvā bhīte rodasī ahvayetām* | *prāvo devān* .... 2. *Yad acharas tanvā vavṛidhāno balāni Indra prabruvāṇo janeshu* | *māyā it sā te yāni yuddhāni āhur na adya śatruṁ na purā vivitse* | 3. *Kaḥ u nu te mahimanaḥ samasya asmat pūrve ṛishayo antam āpuḥ* | *yad mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvaḥ svāyāḥ* | 6. *Yo adadhāj jyotishi jyotir antar yo asṛijad madhunā sam madhūni* | "(I celebrate), Maghavan, thy glory in that through thy greatness the terrified worlds invoked thee. Thou didst deliver the gods, etc. .... 2. When thou didst march on increasing in thy magnitude, proclaiming thy strength amongst men, thy combats which they describe were (the proofs of) thy power; neither now nor before dost thou know of any enemy. 3. Which of all the seers before us have found out the end of all thy greatness? seeing that thou didst produce at once the father and the mother (heaven and earth)[188] from thine own body. 6. He placed light in light, and imparted to sweet things their sweetness."

x. 89, 4. *Yo aksheṇeva chakriyā śachībhir vishvak tastambha pṛithivīm uta dyām* | 10. *Indro divaḥ Indraḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ Indro apām Indraḥ it parvatānām* | "(Indra) who by his powers holds asunder Heaven and Earth, as the two wheels of a chariot are kept apart by the axle. Indra rules over the sky, Indra rules over the earth, Indra rules over the waters, and Indra rules over the mountains," etc.

x. 102, 12. *Tvaṁ viśvasya jagataś chakshur Indrāsi chakshushaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the eye of all moving things that see."

x. 138, 6. *Māsāṁ vidhānam adadhāḥ adhi dyavi tvayā vibhinnam bharati pradhim pitā* | "Thou (Indra) hast ordained the (course of the) months in the heaven: the father (the sky) has a circumference divided by thee."

In some places (iv. 19, 2; iv. 21, 10) Indra is called *samrāṭ*, or universal monarch, in other places (iii. 46, 1; iii. 49, 2; vii. 82, 2; viii. 12, 14) *svarāṭ*, a self-dependent sovereign. In viii. 6, 41, he is called "an ancient rishi, ruling alone by his might" (*ṛishir hi pūrvajāḥ asi ekaḥ īśānaḥ ojasā*). In i. 174, 1; viii. 79, 6, he is designated as *asura*, "the divine."

[188] See above p. 30.

The preceding passages afford a fair specimen of the language in which Indra is most commonly celebrated in the hymns. It will be observed that the attributes which are ascribed to him are chiefly those of physical superiority, and of dominion over the external world. In fact he is not generally represented as possessing the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur with which Varuṇa is so often invested.

(6) *Indra's relations with his worshippers.*

There are, however, many passages in which Indra's close relations with his worshippers are described, and a few in which an ethical character is attributed to him. Faith in him is confessed, or enjoined in the following texts:

i. 55, 5. *Adha chana śrad dadhati tvishīmate Indrāya vajraṁ nighanighnate vadham* | "Men have faith in the fiery Indra when he hurls again and again his destroying thunderbolt."

i. 102, 2. *Asme sūryā-chandramasā abhichakshe śraddhe kam Indra charato vitarturam* | "Sun and moon move alternately, o Indra, that we may behold, and have faith."

i. 103, 5. *Tad asya idam paśyata bhūri pushṭam śrad Indrasya dhattana vīryāya* | "Behold this his great abundance, and have faith in the prowess of Indra."

i. 104, 6. *Mā antarām bhujam ā ririsho naḥ śraddhitaṁ te mahate indriyāya* | 7. *Adha manye śrat te asmai adhāyi vṛishā chodasva mahate dhanāya* | "6. Do not injure our future production: we have put faith in thy great power. 7. I surely believe that faith has been reposed in thee: vigorous god, advance us to great wealth."

i. 108, 6. *Yad abravam prathamaṁ vāṁ vṛiṇāne ayam somo asurair no vihavyaḥ* | *tāṁ satyāṁ śraddhām abhi ā hi yātam atha somasya pibataṁ sutasya* | "Since I said at first, when supplicating you twain (Indra and Agni) 'this soma is to be offered by us for[189] the divine beings;' come now, in consideration of this true faith, and drink the poured-out soma."

In vi. 28, 5, the poet says: *Imāḥ yāḥ gāvaḥ sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ ichhāmi id hṛidā manasā chid Indram* | "These cows, o men, are Indra: I desire Indra with my heart and soul."

In ix. 113, 2, truth, faith, and austere-fervour are enjoined on the

[189] See Benfey's Translation and note, Orient und Occident, iii. 142.

worshipper: *ṛitavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā sutaḥ Indrāya Indo parisrava* | "Poured out with holy words, with truth, with faith, with austere-fervour, o Soma, flow for Indra."

x. 160, 3. *Yaḥ uśata manasā somam asmai sarvahṛidā devakāmaḥ sunoti* | *na gāḥ Indras tasya parādadāti ityādi* | "Indra does not abandon the cattle of the man who loves the gods, and with a longing soul and with all his heart pours out libations of soma-juice."

And the reality of his existence and power is asserted in opposition to faithless or sceptical doubts in the following:

ii. 12, 5. *Yaṁ sma prichhanti kuha seti ghoram uta īm āhur na esho asti iti enam* | *so aryaḥ pushṭīr vijaḥ iva*[190] *āmināti śrad asmai dhatta sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | "That dreadful being, of whom they ask 'where is he,' and of whom they say 'he is not' [or, 'this is not he'], he carries away the wealth of the foe, as a gamester the stakes; put faith in him, he, o men, is Indra."

vi. 18, 3. *Asti svid nu vīryaṁ tat te Indra na svid asti tad ṛituthā vi vochaḥ* | 4. *Sad id hi te tuvijātasya manye sahaḥ sahishṭha* | "3. Does that prowess belong to thee, Indra, or does it not? tell us truly. 4. Thy strength, o thou strongest of beings, who art great by nature, is really existing."

viii. 89, 3. *Pra su stomam bharata vājayantaḥ Indrāya satyaṁ yadi satyam asti* | "*na Indro asti*" *iti nemaḥ u tvaḥ āha kaḥ īṁ dadarśa kam abhi stavāma* | 4. *ayam asmi jaritaḥ paśya meha viśvā jātāni abhi asmi mahnā* | "3. Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 4. 'I am here, o worshipper' (exclaims Indra); 'behold me here. I surpass all creatures in greatness.'"

Indra is the friend, and even the brother, of his present worshippers, as he was the friend of their forefathers, ii. 18, 3; ii. 20, 3; iii. 53, 5 (*ā cha yāhi Indra bhrātaḥ*, "come, brother Indra"); iv. 17, 18; iv. 23, 6; vi. 18, (*pratnaṁ sakhyam*, "ancient friendship"); vi. 21, 5 (*idā hi te vevishataḥ purājāḥ pratnāsaḥ āsuḥ purukṛit sakhāyaḥ*, "for now men resort to thee continually, and the ancients born of old were thy friends")[191]; 8 (*tvaṁ hi āpiḥ pradivi pitṝṇāṁ śaśvad babhūtha* |

[190] The words *vijaḥ iva* are explained by Sāyaṇa as = *udvejakaḥ eva san*, "being a vexer."

[191] See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 221. The passage is differently rendered by Benfey, Gloss. to S. V. p. 76, col. 1.

"For thou wast always a friend of our fathers"); vi. 45, 1, 7; vii. 21, 9; viii. 4, 7; viii. 45, 1 ff., 16, 18; viii. 50, 11; viii. 57, 11 (*Yasya te svādu sakhyaṁ svādvī praṇītiḥ* | "Thou whose friendship is sweet and sweet thy guidance"); viii. 81, 33; viii. 82, 3; viii. 86, 7; viii. 89, 2; x. 22, 1 f.; x. 23, 7 (*mā kir naḥ enā sakhyā vi yaushus tava cha Indra Vimadasya cha risheḥ* | "Let not these friendly relations of ours, of thee, o Indra, and the rishi Vimada, be dissolved"); x. 42, 11 (*Indraḥ purastād uta madhyato naḥ sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ kṛiṇotu* | "May Indra, a friend, grant riches to us his friends before and in the middle"). He chooses for his intimate the man who presents offerings, but desires no friendship with him who offers no libations (x. 42, 4: *Atra yujaṁ kṛiṇute yo havishmān na asunvatā sakhyaṁ vashṭi śūraḥ*). He is reminded that he has friends while his adorers are friendless (viii. 21, 4: *Vayaṁ hi tvā bandhumantam abandhavo viprāsaḥ Indra yemima*). He is not only a friend, but a father, and the most fatherly of fathers (iv. 17, 17: *Sakhā pitā pitṛitamaḥ pitṛīṇām*). As such he is invoked by men (x. 48, 1: *Māṁ havante pitaraṁ na jantavaḥ* | Compare 1, 104, 9, and vii. 32, 3, 26). He is both father and mother (viii. 87, 11: *Tvaṁ hi naḥ pitā vaso tvam mātā śatakrato babhūvitha* | compare viii. 1, 6). In one place (viii. 81, 32) the adoring poet exclaims: "Thou art ours and we are thine" (*tvam asmākaṁ tava smasi*). He is the helper of the poor (viii. 69, 3: *radhra-chodanam*); the only helper to whom his worshipper has recourse (ibid. 1: *na hi anyam balā 'karam marḍitāram*). He alone among the gods has a love for mortals (vii. 23, 5: *eko devatrā dayase hi martyān*), and is their helper (i. 84, 19: *na tvad anyo maghavann asti marḍitā Indra bravīmi te vachaḥ* | viii. 55, 13: *na hi tvad anyaḥ puruhūta kaśchana maghavann asti marḍitā*); all men share in his benefits (viii. 54, 7: *yat chid hi śaśvatāṁ asi Indra sādhāraṇas tvam*). He is the deliverer and the advocate (or comforter) of his servants (viii. 85, 20: *sa prāvitā maghavā no 'dhivaktā*), and their strength (vii. 31, 5: *tve api kratur mama*). He is a wall of defence (viii. 69, 7: *Indra dṛihyasva pūr asi*). His friend is never slain or conquered (x. 152, 1: *na yasya hanyate sakhā na jīyate kadā chana*).[193]

[193] The same is said of Mitra, iii. 59, 2, and of the Maruts, v. 54, 7. Compare vii. 20, 6; vii. 32, 14; viii. 16, 5; viii. 52, 11. In viii. 69, 4, he is prayed to guard his worshipper's chariot, and to bring it forward from the rear into the van (*Indra*

His powerful arms are resorted to for protection (vi. 47, 8: *rishvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū upa stheyāma śaraṇā bṛihantā*). He is invoked as a mighty protector and deliverer easy to be entreated (ibid. 11: *trātāram Indram avitāram Indraṁ have have suhavaṁ śūram Indram*). The worshippers assume that Indra, though far off, is not afflicted with deafness, but hears distinctly their invocations (viii. 45, 17: *uta tvā abadhiraṁ vayaṁ śrutkarṇaṁ santam ūtaye | dūrād iva havāmahe*). His right hand is grasped by suppliants for riches (x. 47, 1: *Jagṛibhma te dakshiṇam Indra hastaṁ vasūyavo vasupate vasūnām*). The loving praises of his worshippers, uttered from the soul, proceed to him as messengers, and touch his heart (x. 47, 7: *vanīvāno mama dūtāsaḥ Indraṁ stomāś charanti sumatīr iyānāḥ | hṛidispṛiśo manasā vachyamānāḥ*). The imploring poet with his hymn seizes the skirts of the god's robe, as a son his father's (iii. 53, 2: *pitur na putraḥ sicham ārabhe te Indra svādishṭhayā girā śachīvaḥ*). He is clasped by the ardent hymns of his votaries as a husband is embraced by his loving wives (i. 62, 11: *patiṁ na patnīr uśatīr uśantam spṛiśanti tvā śavasāvan manīshāḥ* | i. 186, 7: *tam īṁ giro janayo na patnīḥ surabhishṭamaṁ narāṁ nasanta* | x. 43, 1: *achha me Indram matayaḥ svarvidaḥ sadhrīchīr viśvāḥ uśatīr anūshata | pari shvajante janayo yathā patim maryaṁ śundhyum maghavānam ūtaye* | Comp. ii. 16, 9).[193] The hymns run to him and lick him, as cows their calves (x. 119, 4: *upa mā matir asthita vāśrā putram iva priyam* | i. 186, 7: *uta naḥ īm matayo aśvayogāḥ śiśuṁ na gāvas taruṇaṁ rihanti*). He is entreated not to be lazy like a priest (viii. 81, 30: *mo shu brahmeva tandrayur bhava vājānām pate*); and not to allow other worshippers to arrest his horses when conveying him to the abode of the suppliants who would satisfy him with soma-libations, but to overleap the bonds by which all other candidates for his favour seek to confine him as fowlers to snare a bird, and to pass quickly by them as he would over a barren desert (ii. 18, 3: *Mo su tvām atra bahavo hi viprāḥ ni rīraman yajamānāso anye* | iii. 25, 5: *mā te harī vṛishaṇā vītapṛishṭhā ni rīraman yajamānāso anye* |

pra no ratham ava paśchāt chit santam adrivaḥ | *purastād enam me kṛidhi* | compare verses 5 and 6). See ii. 27, 12.

[193] In vii. 104, 6, the worshipper prays that his hymn may cling around Indra and Soma as a girth clasps a horse (*pari vām bhūtu viśvataḥ iyam matiḥ kakshyā 'śveva vājinā*).

ayaṁ te araṁ sutebhiḥ kṛiṇavāma soma
haribhir yāhi mayūraromabhiḥ | mā
śinaḥ ati dhanva iva tān ihi | x. 160
pāhi sarvarathā vi harī iha muncha |
ni rīraman tubhyam ime sutāsaḥ). He
, of men, and of all terrestrial things; an
stows wealth on the man who brings obla
o rājā jagataś charshaṇīnām adhi kshamā
dadāti dāśushe vasūni chodad rādhaḥ up
is hands are full of riches (vii. 37, 3: u
). He is a magazine replenished with w
urges to liberality (x. 42, 2: kośaṁ na pū
yāvaya maghadeyāya śūram). Manifold ai
ranches from a tree (vi. 24, 3: vṛikshasya
ūtayo ruruhur Indra pūrvīḥ). He is aske
th on his adorers, as a man with a hook sh
a tree (iii. 45, 4: vṛiksham pakvam pha
sampāraṇaṁ vasu). Compare ix. 97, 53. N
rrest him in his course when he is bent on li
cannot be stopped, viii. 70, 3 (na hi tvā śū
tam | bhīmaṁ na gāṁ vārayante). Compare
14. His friendship is indestructible: he is
the man who desires one, and a horse to the
vi. 45, 26: dūṇāśaṁ sakhyaṁ tava gaur asi vīr
bhava). He gives wives to those who ha
āṁś chij janivataś chakartha | iv. 17, 16: jan
im ā chyāvayāmaḥ). He richly rewards hi
adorers (ii. 12, 6: yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛ
dhamānasya kīreḥ | 14: yaḥ sunvantam avati yaḥ
aṁ yaḥ śaśamānam ūtī | ii. 19, 4: so apratīni
āśad dāśushe | ii. 22, 3: dātā rādhaḥ stuvate kām
wn prosperously on the man who says "come, let
s to Indra" (v. 37, 1: tasmai amṛidhrāḥ ushaso
iya sunavāma" ity āha). The king in whose house
a mixed with milk suffers no calamity, marches at
s, slays his enemy, and lives tranquilly at home, in the
appiness (ibid. 4: na sa rājā vyathate yasminn Indras

somam pibati gosakhāyam | ā satvanair ajati hanti vṛittraṁ ksheti kshitīḥ subhago nāma pushyan | Compare the next verse). His friend is handsome, possesses horses and cows, rides in a chariot, and enjoys always a life of opulence, and goes radiant into the assembly (viii. 4, 9: *aśvī rathī surūpaḥ id gomān id Indra te sakhā | śvātrabhājā*[194] *vayasā sachate sadā chandro yāti sabhām upa*). Indra is gladdened by the praises of the pious man, whether learned or unlearned (viii. 50, 9: *avipro vā yad avidhad vipro vā Indra te vachaḥ | sa pra mandat tvāyā.* Compare viii. 81, 12). He is prayed to deliver to-day, to-morrow, next day, and every day, and both by day and night (viii. 50, 17: *adya adya śvaḥ śvaḥ Indra trāsva pare cha naḥ | viśvā cha no jaritṛīn satpate ahā divā naktaṁ cha rakshishaḥ* | Compare viii. 53, 6). The god is, however, sometimes naïvely importuned to be more prompt in his liberality. "Gracious are thy hands, o Indra (the poet cries in iv. 21, 9), beneficent thy fingers, bestowers of wealth on thy worshipper; why, then, dost thou sit still? Why dost thou not gladden us? Why dost thou not delight in giving?" *bhadrā te hastā sukṛitota pāṇī prayantārā stuvate rādhaḥ Indra | kā te nishattiḥ kim u no mamatsi kim na ud ud u harshase dātave u*). Again in x. 42, 3, he is asked: "Why do they call thee generous, o opulent god? Sharpen me, for I hear thee to be a sharpener; let my hymn be productive, o mighty god; bring to us good fortune and riches" (*kim anga tvā maghavan bhojam āhuḥ śiśīhi mā śiśayaṁ tvā śṛiṇomi | apnasvatī mama dhīr astu śakra vasuvidam bhagam Indra ābhara naḥ*). The god is even told that the poet, if in his place, and possessed of the ample resources which he alone commands, would shew himself more bountiful, and would not abandon his worshipper to poverty, but would daily lavish on him cows and other property (vii. 32, 18: *yad Indra yāvatas tvam etāvad aham īśīya | stotāram id didhisheya radāvaso na pāpatvāya rāsīya* | 19. *S'ikksheyam in mahayate dive dive rāyaḥ ā kuhachidvide* |[195] viii. 14, 1. *Yad Indra aham yathā*

[194] On the sense assigned by the Indian writers to *śvātra* see my art. on the interpretation of the Veda, in Journ. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 378.

[195] These verses, with the entire hymn in which they occur, are translated by Prof. Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 543 ff. The word *kuhachidvide* is there rendered "to whosoever it be," and it is there mentioned in a note that "according to the commentator *kuhachidvid* means 'wherever he be.'" Prof. Müller adds: it may perhaps mean the ignorant. Prof. Roth follows Sāyaṇa in his explanation. A similar appeal is made to Agni in viii. 19, 25: *yad Agne martyas tvaṁ syām aham*

tvam īśīya vasvaḥ ekaḥ it | stotā me goshakhā syāt | śiksheyam asmai ditseyam śachīpate manīshiṇe | yad aham gopatiḥ syām).

Indra supplies the place of armour, and is a champion who fights in the van, vii. 31, 6 (*tvam varma saprathaḥ puroyodhaś cha vṛittrahan | tvayā pratibruve yujā*). He is supplicated for all sorts of temporal blessings, as wealth in cows, horses, chariots, health, understanding, sweetness of voice (*svādmānam vāchaḥ*), prosperous days, long life extending to a hundred years (ii. 21, 6; iii. 36, 10; vii. 27, 5; x. 47, 1 ff.). In iv. 32, 17 ff. the worshipper states his wishes more in detail; asks Indra to give him a thousand yoked horses, a thousand jars of soma, hundreds of thousands of cows; acknowledges that he had received ten golden jars, and urges the god not to be sparing, but to bestow abundantly in conformity with his character for liberality (*sahasram vyatīnām yuktānām Indram īmahe | śatam somasya khāryaḥ | 18. Sahasrā te śatā vayam gavām ā chyāvayāmasi | asmatrā rādhaḥ etu te | 19. Daśa te kalaśānām hiraṇyānām adhīmahi | bhūridāḥ asi Vṛittrahan | 20. Bhūridāḥ bhūri dehi no mā dabhram bhūri ā bhara | bhūri gha id Indra ditsasi | 21. Bhūridāḥ hi asi śrutaḥ purutrā śūra Vṛittrahan | ā no bhajasva rādhasi*). Among other boons, Indra is asked to bestow victory in war, which depends upon his will, and for which he is invoked by both the hostile armies (ii. 12, 8: *yam krandasī samyatī vihvayete pare avare ubhayāḥ amitrāḥ | 9, yasmād na ṛite vijayante janāsaḥ yam yudhyamānāḥ avase havante*). In x. 103, 8 ff. (= S.V. ii. 1206 ff., and Vaj. S. xvii. 40 ff.) he, in company with other gods,

mitramaho amartya | sahasaḥ sūnav āhuta | na tvā rāsīya abhiśastaye vaso na papatvāya santya | na me stotā amatīvā na durhitaḥ syād Agne na pāpayā | "Wert thou, Agni, a mortal, and were I an immortal, o invoked son of might, I would not abandon thee to malediction or misery;—my worshipper should not be poor nor distressed nor wretched." And again in viii. 44, 23, the same god is thus addressed: *Yad Agne syām aham tvam tvam vā gha syāḥ aham | syus te satyāḥ ihāśishaḥ* | "Were I thou, Agni, and wert thou I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled." (In the former passage viii. 19, 25, a word, *mitramahas*, occurs which shews the uncertainty of Sāyaṇa's interpretations. He there explains it *anukūla-dīptiman*, "he whose light is favourable." In i. 44, 12, he renders it *mitrāṇām pūjaka*; in i. 58, 8, *anukūla-dīptiman* in ii. 1, 5, *hita kāri-tejaḥ*; in vi. 2, 11, *anukūle-dīpte*; in vi. 5, 4, *anukūla-dīpte mitrāṇām madayitar vā*; in vii. 5, 6, *mitrāṇām pūjayitaḥ*; in viii. 44, 14, *mitrāṇām pūjanīya*; in viii. 49, 7, *mitrāṇām asmākam pūjaka tejo vā*. Prof. Roth *s.v.* thinks it perhaps means "rich in friends.") See also i. 38, 4, 5, in Prof. Max Müller's Trans. of the R.V. pp. 65 and 70 f., and my art. on the interpretation of the Veda, Journ. R.A.S. for 1866, pp. 371, and 381 f. Compare also x. 33, 8.

who seem to be conceived as present with their hosts, as invisible allies of their worshippers, is thus addressed: 8. *Indraḥ āsām netā Bṛihaspatir Dakshiṇā Yajnaḥ puraḥ etu Somaḥ* | *devasenānām abhibhanjatīnāṁ jayantīnām Maruto yantu agram* | 9. *Indrasya vṛishṇo Varuṇasya rājnaḥ Adityānām marutāṁ śardhaḥ ugram* | *mahāmanasām bhuvanachyavānāṁ ghosho devānāṁ jayatām ud asthāt* | 10. *Ud dharshaya maghavann āyudhāni ut satvanām māmakānām manāṁsi* | *ud vṛittrahan vājināṁ vājināni ud rathānaṁ jayatāṁ yantu ghoshāḥ* | 11. *Asmākam Indra samṛiteshu dhvajeshu asmākam yāḥ ishavas tāḥ jayantu* | *asmākaṁ vīrāḥ uttare bhavantu asmān u devāḥ avata haveshu* | 12. (= Nir. ix. 33) *Amīshāṁ chittam pratilobhayantī gṛihāṇā angāni Apve*[196] *parehi* | *abhi prehi nirdaha hṛitsu śokair andhenāmitrās tamasā sachantām* | 8. "May Indra be the leader of these (our armies), may Bṛihaspati, Largess, Sacrifice, and Soma march in front; may the host of Maruts precede the crushing, victorious armies of the gods. 9. May the fierce host of the vigorous Indra, of king Varuṇa, of the Ādityas, and the Maruts (go before us); the shout of the great-souled, conquering, world-shaking gods has ascended. 10. Rouse, o opulent god, the weapons, rouse the souls of our warriors, stimulate the power of the mighty men; may shouts arise from the conquering chariots. 11. May Indra be ours when the standards clash; may our arrows be victorious; may our strong men gain the upperhand; preserve us, o gods, in the fray. 12. Bewildering the hearts of our enemies, o Apvā,[197] take possession of their limbs and pass onward; come near, burn them with fires in their hearts; may our enemies fall into blind darkness."[198]

Indra controls the destinies of men, and is described as acting in an arbitrary manner, in vi. 47, 15, where it is said of him: *pādāv iva praharann anyam anyam kṛiṇoti pūrvam aparaṁ śachībhiḥ* | 16. *S'riṇve vīraḥ ugram ugraṁ damāyan anyam anyam ati nenīyamānaḥ* | *edhamāna-dviḷ ubhayasya rājā choshkūyate viśaḥ Indro manushyān* | 17. *Parā pūrveshāṁ sakhyā vṛiṇakti vitarturāṇo aparebhir eti* | "Like one moving (changing

[196] The S.V. reads *Aghe*.

[197] Apvā is said in the Nirukta vi. 12, to mean "disease or fear," *vyādhir vā bhayaṁ vā*. Roth, *s.v.* says the word means a disease. In the improvements and addition to his Lexicon, vol. v., he refers to the word as denoting a goddess, and quotes Ind. Studien iii. 203, and ix. 482.

[198] This passage is translated by Prof. Benfey in his Sāma-veda. Compare A.V. iii. 19, 6 ff. and viii. 8 1 ff.

tions of) his feet in walking, so Indra puts one and
man first and last. 16. This hero is renowned as subduing
n, and as advancing now one and now another. The
osperous,[199] the king of both (worlds), Indra protects
subject to him. 17. He abandons his friendships w
avourites), and consorts with others in turn."
following verses (viii. 45, 32) the poet seems to expr
t at the inadequate manifestation of Indra's power, w
time entreats his grace and forgiveness: *dabhraṁ ch*
aṁ śriṇve adhi kshami | jigātu Indra te manaḥ | 33
tayaḥ asann uta praśastayaḥ | yad Indra mṛiḷayāsi
asminn āgasi mā dvayor uta trishu | vadhīr mā śūra
ya hi tvāvataḥ ugrād abhiprabhanginaḥ | dasmād a
2. "Little has been heard of as done upon earth by
: let thy soul turn (to us), o Indra. 33. Let those
raises of thine be proved true by thy shewing mer

not offer libations," say Yāska and Sāyaṇa (*asunvataḥ*). O
Prof. Roth in his Illustration of the Nirukta, p. 90.
at the gods were jealous of human prosperity? which,
among the Greeks, and is expressed in the message of
ated by Herodotus, iii. 40: ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτ
ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. "But thy great prosp
I know that the Deity is envious." See Mr. Blakesley's
tus, i. 32, and vii. 46, where the same sentiment recurs
oduction to the 3rd vol. of his Trans. of the R.V. remarks
dra) is also represented in the same hymn as of a capricio
ng those who serve him, and favouring those who pay h
erse 17); a notion somewhat at variance with a doctrine prev
ceremonial worship of Indra is able to atone for the most atro
s)." See the note last referred to, which relates to R.V. v. 3
rect deduction from the passage when properly interpre
ws: *Yasya avadhīt pitaraṁ yasya mātaraṁ yasya śakro bhr*
veti id u asya prayatā yatankaro na kilbishād ishate va
erful god does not flee from the man whose father, or mother
. The restrainer (or, according to Roth, s.v. perhaps, aveng
offered (gifts); this god, the source of riches, does not flee f
the person, whose relations the god slays, is one who neglects
he chastises and then reinstates in his favour (*ayajvanāṁ śik*
If, however, Indra is merely punishing the ungodly, can i
kilbishāt in the last clause of the verse to impute to him
aps be meant that he does not fear to punish the offender ap
, and 6 of the hymn the godly man who offers libations is s
religious incurs the god's displeasure.

o Indra. 34. Slay us not for one sin, nor for two, nor for three, nor for many, o hero. 35. I am afraid of one so terrible, so crushing, so destroying, such a queller of resistance as thou art."[300] Indra is the enemy of the irreligious, whom he punishes and destroys. i. 131, 4: *S'āsas tam Indra martyam ayajyum* | "Thou, Indra, hast punished him who does not worship thee; ii. 12, 10: *yaḥ śaśvato mahi eno dadhānān amanyamānān śarvā jaghāna* | "who slew with his bolt those who are great sinners, and do not regard him; viii. 14, 15: *asunvām Indra saṁsadaṁ vishūchīṁ vi anāśayaḥ* | *somapāḥ uttaro bhavan* | "Thou, Indra, a soma-drinker, who art above all, hast destroyed and scattered the assembly which offers no libations." (Compare the passages quoted in Vol. i. pp. 259 ff.; and in my article on the Indian priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S., for 1866, pp. 286 ff.)[301] He hears and sees all things, and looks upon the wrath of men, himself uncontrolled (viii. 67, 5: *viśvaṁ śriṇoti paśyati* | 6. *Sa manyum martyānām adabdho nichikīshate*). He protects his faithful servants and leads them into an ample space, into celestial light and security (vi. 47, 8: *uruṁ*[302] *no lokam anu neshi vidvān svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti*); and in one place, viii. 58, 7, the hope is held that they shall ascend with him to a home in the solar sphere, and there drink nectar thrice seven times in the abode of their friend (*ud yad bradhnasya vishṭapaṁ griham Indraś cha ganvahi* | *madhvaḥ pītvā sachevahi triḥ sapta sakhyuḥ pade*).

[300] The sense of verse 134 f. is thus given by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (iv. 2) p. 38: "The poet prays Indra not to destroy him for one or more sins (verse 34), says that he is afraid of one so powerful as the god (verse 35), and entreats him to avert from him the loss of a friend or a son (verse 36). He then makes the god answer in the verse before us (37): 'Who, o mortals,' said Indra, 'without being provoked as a friend, has ever destroyed his friend? Who must flee from me?'"

[301] Compare R.V. viii. 21, 14 (=S.V. ii. 740): *nakiḥ revantaṁ sakhyāya vindase pīyanti tvā surāśvaḥ* | *yadā kriṇoshi nadanuṁ samūhasi ād it piteva hūyase*), which is thus rendered by Prof. Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 543 f.): "Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend; wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father." Benfey renders the verse somewhat differently, thus: "Thou never takest for a friend the man who is merely rich; he who is inflated with wine is a burthen to thee: with a mere sound thou smitest them, and then thou art supplicated like a father."

[302] Compare viii. 57, 13. In A.V. vii. 84, 2, Indra is said to have repelled the hostile man, and opened an ample space for the gods (*apānudo janam amitrāyantam uruṁ devebhyaḥ akriṇor u lokam*).

…a, more than any other god,[203] is invoked as a…
…and as their protector against their enemies eart…
…3: Vijānīhi āryān ye cha dasyavo barhishmate r…
…n | śākī bhava yajamānasya choditā viśvā it te …
…a | "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who …
…t the lawless to the man who offers oblations; be …
…of him who sacrifices; all these things I desir…
…ls."[204] (See also the following verse.)
…103, 3: sa jātubharmā[205] śraddadhānaḥ ojaḥ puro vib…
…d vi dāsīḥ | vidvān vajrin dasyave hetim asya āryam̃ saho var…
…nam Indra | "Wielding the thunderbolt, and confident i…
…ess, he strode onward, shattering the cities of the Da…
…derer, knowing (each), hurl thy bolt against the Dasyu, …
…ent the force and glory of the Ārya." i. 130, 8: Indraḥ sam…
…nānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu . . . . | ma…
…avratān tvacham̃ krishṇām arandhayat | "Indra, commandin…
…red modes of succour, protected in all the battles the sacrific…
…a: chastising the lawless, he subjected the black skin to Manu…
…Āryan man)." ii. 11, 18: apāvṛiṇor jyotir āryāya ni savya…
…dasyur Indra | "Thou hast disclosed the light to the Ārya; t…
…yu was placed on the left side." iii. 34, 9: sasāna atyān …
…yam̃ sasāna sasāna purubhojasam gām | hiraṇyayam uta bhoga…
…na hatvī dasyūn pra āryam̃ varṇam āvat | "Indra has given horse…

…[203] Other gods, however, are also referred to as protectors of the Āryas. In i. 1…
…Nir. vi. 25) it is said of the Aśvins: abhi dasyum̃ bakureṇa ā dhamantā …
…r chakratur āryāya | "Sweeping away the Dasyu with the thunderbold, ye h…
…ted a great light for the Ārya." Prof. Roth thinks bakura means a wind ins…
…t, Illust. of Nir. p. 92, and Lexicon s.v. Prof. Benfey follows Sāyaṇa in rende…
…y thunderbolt. In vi. 21, 11, it is said of all the gods: ye agnijihvāḥ ṛitas…
…ye manum̃ chakrur uparam̃ dasāya | "Those (gods) who, fire-tongued, ar…
…ating religious rites, have made Manu's race (or the Āryan man) superio…
…a." In vii. 100, 4, it is said of Vishṇu: vi chakrame pṛithivīm esha…
…ya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan | "This Vishṇu strode over this earth…
…s a domain on Manu's race." And in viii. 92, 1, it is said of A…
…m āryasya vardhanam Agnim̃ nakshanta no giraḥ | "Our hymns…
…ni, who was born the promoter of the Ārya."

…[204] See Professor Benfey's Translation in Orient und Occident, i. 40…

…[205] Sāyaṇa says this means either "he whose weapon is the thunde… Benfey, Or. und Occ. iii. 132, renders the …
…rturer of creatures." …
…rrior."

has given the sun, has given the prolific cow, and he has given golden wealth: destroying the Dasyus, he has protected the Âryan colour." iv. 26, 2: *aham bhûmim adadâm âryâya aham vrishṭim dâśushe martyâya* | "I have given the earth to the Ârya, and rain to the worshipping mortal." vi. 18, 3: *tvaṁ ha nu tyad adamâyo dasyûn ekaḥ krishṭîr avanor âryâya* | "Thou didst then subdue the Dasyus, and gavest the people to the Ârya." vi. 25, 3: *âbhir viśvâḥ abhiyujo vishûchir âryâya viśaḥ avatârîr dâsîḥ* | "With these succours thou hast subjected all the distracted hostile Dasyu peoples to the Ârya." viii. 24, 27: *yaḥ rikshâd aṁhaso muchad yo vâ âryât sapta sindhushu* | *vadhar dâsasya tuvinṛimṇa nînamaḥ* | "Who delivered from great straits; who, o god of mighty force, didst in (the land of) the seven rivers turn away from the Ârya the weapon of the Dasyu." viii. 87, 6: *tvaṁ hi śaśvatînâm Indra dartâ purâm asi* | *hantâ dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of unnumbered cities; the slayer of the Dasyu; the prosperer of the (Âryan) man; the lord of the sky." x. 49, 2: *aham S'ushṇasya śnathitâ vadhar yamaṁ na yo rare âryaṁ nâma dasyave* | "I, the smiter, have stayed the weapon of S'ushna; I do not abandon the Âryan race to the Dasyu." x. 86, 19: *ayam emi vichâkaśad vichinvan dâsam âryam* | "I come beholding and distinguishing the Dâsa and the Ârya." (I am unable, however, to say who is the speaker here.)[206]

[206] Indra with Agni is, however, besought in vi. 60 to slay all enemies, Âryas as well as Dasyus; *hato vṛittrâṇi âryâ hato dâsâni satpatî* | *hato viśvâ apa dvishaḥ*). In x. 38, 3, Indra alone is similarly addressed: *Yo no dâsaḥ âryo vâ purushṭuta adevaḥ Indra yudhaye chiketati* | *asmâbhir te sushahâḥ santu śatravas tvayâ vayaṁ tân vanuyâma sangame* | "Whatever ungodly man, o much-lauded Indra, whether a Dâsa or an Ârya, designs to fight with us,—may all such enemies be easy to overcome; may we slay them in the conflict." And in x. 102, 3, it is said: *antar yachha jighâṁsato vajram Indra abhidâsataḥ* | *dâsasya vâ maghavann âryasya vâ sanutar yavaya vadham* | "Arrest, o Indra, the bolt of the destroyer who seeks to slay us; avert far from us the stroke, whether of Dâsa or of Ârya." Indra and Varuṇa are invoked for the same object in vii. 83, 1: *Dâsâ cha vṛittrâ hatam âryâṇi cha sudâsam Indrâ-varuṇâ 'vasâ 'vatam* | "Slay both Dâsa and Ârya enemies; protect Sudâs with your succour, o Indra and Varuṇa." So too in x. 83, 1, Manyu (personified Wrath) is prayed: *sâhyâma dâsam âryaṁ tvayâ yujâ sahaskṛitena sahasâ sahasvatâ* | "May we, with thee for our ally, overcome the Dâsa and the Ârya, with force-impelled, vigorous, energy." Perhaps ii. 11, 19 (*sanema ye te ûtibhis taranto viśvâḥ spṛidhaḥ âryeṇa dasyûn*) may have the same sense. In x. 65, 11, certain bountiful deities are spoken of as generating prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters, as elevating the sun in the sky, and as spreading Âryan insti-

utual incongruity of some of the preceding
tations of Indra.

is not familiarly acquainted with the hy
he original or by translations, may thi
patibility between the conceptions of the
he different parts of the preceding sket
dea, no doubt, there is an incompatibility.
hich Indra is treated in some places seems
ideas of his greatness which other portion
rly the sensual character, which is generally
s to be in opposition to the moral perfectio
d as an essential feature of his nature. Bu
rding to our ideas, they may seem to be
esentations occur side by side, in the same
nt for their co-existence and juxtaposition
cient Indian poets regarded the deity who
ration as anthropopathically partaking, in
ments, sensuous as well as intellectual and
dence of their own consciousness, they kn
t parts of their own nature. It must be
t these ancient authors did not connect
s we now connect with the sensuous,
in the character of the god which is exemp
ilarating draughts of his favourite beverage.
he high rank which, as we shall hereafter
himself, as the deity in whom this intoxica
ified, and by the power which they ascribed
rtality upon his votaries.

parently incongruous conceptions are not the pro
in various stages of development, but of the
from the following instances. In ii. 15, 2, the
d some of his grandest functions under the in
avaṁśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī apṛi

(*brahma gām aśvaṁ janayantaḥ oshadhīr vanaspatīn pṛith*
ṁ divi rohayantaḥ sudānavaḥ āryā vratā visṛijantaḥ

antariksham | sa dhārayad prithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra | "He fixed the heaven in empty space; he filled the two worlds and the air; he supported the earth and spread it out; these things Indra did in the exhilaration of the soma." Similarly in viii. 36, 4, *Janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ piba somam madāya kaṁ śatakrato* | "Generator of Heaven, generator of the Earth, drink soma to exhilarate thee, o god of mighty force." In viii. 67, 5, as we have seen above, p. 112, Indra is said to hear and see everything. In the seventh verse of the same hymn we are told that the belly of him, the impetuous actor, the slayer of Vṛittra, and drinker of soma, is full of vigour (*kratvaḥ it pūrṇam udaram turasya asti vidhataḥ | vrittraghnaḥ somapāvnaḥ*). And in viii. 81, 6, it is said of him: *asya pītvā madānāṁ devo devasya ojasā | viśvā 'bhi bhuvanā 'bhavat* | "Drinking, a god, of the exhilarating draughts of this god (Soma), he, by his energy, overcame all beings (or worlds)."

(8) *Professor Roth's theory of the supersession of the worship of Varuṇa by that of Indra.*

Professor Roth is of opinion that Varuṇa belongs to an older dynasty of gods than Indra, and that during the Vedic age the high consideration originally attaching to the former was in course of being transferred to the latter. In support of his position that Varuṇa's worship was then declining, he urges the circumstance that, in the tenth book of the Rig-veda, which contains the latest productions of that period, there is not a single entire hymn addressed to this deity.[207]

[207] See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73; and Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra. Professor Whitney adopts the same view (Journ. Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 327). Windischmann, in his Mithra, p. 54, extends the same remark to that god also. The passage is translated in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 295. Although, however, there is no hymn in the tenth Maṇḍala addressed exclusively to Varuṇa, there are two, the 126th, of eight verses, and the 185th, of three verses, in which he is invoked along with two of the other Ādityas, Mitra and Aryaman. In only two verses of the former of these hymns is reference made to any other god, viz., to Rudra, the Maruts, and Agni in the verse 5, and Agni in verse 8. Varuṇa is also invoked, or referred to, along with other deities, in numerous single verses of the 10th Maṇḍala, viz., in 8, 5; 10, 6; 11, 1; 12, 8: 14, 7; 30, 1; 31, 9; 35, 10; 36, 1, 3, 12, 13; 37, 1; 51, 2, 4; 61, 17; 63, 9; 64, 5, 12; 65, 1, 5, 8, 9; 66, 2; 70, 11; 75, 2; 83, 2; 84, 7; 85, 17, 24; 89, 8, 9; 93, 4; 97, 16; 98, 1; 99, 10; 103, 9; 109, 2; 113, 5; 123, 6; 124, 4, 5, 7; 125, 1; 130, 5; 132, 2: 147, 5; 167, 3; 173, 5. See the index to Langlois's French translation of the R.V.

I give the substance of his interesting observations:—

The supersession of the one god by the other Roth considers to be a result, or feature, of the gradual modification which the old Arian religion soon began to undergo after it had been transplanted into India. The more supersensuous or spiritual elements of this religion he thinks were preserved, though in a peculiar and somewhat altered form, in the Persian creed, which, at the same time, rejected almost entirely the gods representing the powers of nature, whom it had also inherited from an earlier age. The Indian faith, as found in the Rig-veda, has, on the contrary, according to Roth, begun already to give the preference to these latter deities, to transfer to them an ever-increasing dignity and honour, to draw down the divine life into nature, and to bring it ever closer to man. Proof of this is especially to be found in the development of the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Arian religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend assigns to another god the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of tho Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to dislodge even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed, from the position which is shewn, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts strive to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa. This process was completed in the post-vedic period, as is shewn already in the Brāhmaṇas and other works of the same era. Indra becomes the chief of tho Indian heaven, and maintains this place even in the composite system which adopted into itself the three great gods. The course of the movement was therefore this, that an old god, common to the Arians (*i.e.* the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown back into the darkness, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian, and a national god, is intruded. With Varuṇa disappears at the same time the ancient character of the people, while with Indra there was introduced in the same degree a new character, foreign to the primitive Indo-Germanic nature. Viewed in its internal aspect, this modification of the religious

conceptions of the Aryas consists in an ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the supersensuous, mysterious side of the creed, until the gods, who were originally the highest and most spiritual, have become unmeaning representatives of nature, Varuṇa being nothing more than the ruler of the sea, and the Âdityas merely regents of the sun's course. This process of degradation naturally led to a reaction. (See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.)

The superior antiquity of Varuṇa to Indra may no doubt (as intimated in the passage just quoted), be argued from the fact already noticed of the coincidence of the name of the former with that of the Greek *Οὐρανός*, which goes some way to prove that a deity of this name was worshipped by the entire Indo-Germanic race before its western branches were separated from the eastern, whilst we shall look in vain for any traces of the name Indra in the Greek mythology.

(9) *Supersession of Dyaus by Indra, according to Professors Benfey and Bréal.*

It is, however, as I have already intimated, p. 34, the opinion of other writers that Indra was rather the successor of Dyaus than of Varuṇa. Thus in a note (occasioned by the word *sthâtar*) to his translation of R.V. i. 33, 5 (Orient und Occident, i. 48, 1862), Professor Benfey writes: "It may be distinctly shewn that Indra took the place of the god of the heaven, who in the Vedas is invoked in the vocative as Dyaush pitar (R.V. vi. 51, 5). This is proved by the fact that this phrase is exactly reflected in the Latin (Diespiter? and Jupiter (for Dyouspiter) and in the Greek *Ζεῦ πατὲρ* (which is consequently to be taken for *Ζεὺς πατὲρ*), as a religious formula fixed, like many others, before the separation of the languages. When the Sanskrit people left the common country where for them, as well as for the other kindred tribes, the brilliant radiance of heaven (*divant*, part. from *div*, to shine . . .) appeared to them, in consequence of the climate there prevailing, as the holiest thing, and settled in the sultry India, where the glow of the heaven is destructive, and only its rain operates beneficently, this aspect of the celestial deity must have appeared the most adorable, so that the epithet Pluvius in a certain measure absorbed all the other characteristics of Dyaush pitar. This found its expression in

the name Ind-ra, in which we unhesitatingly recognize a word (which arose in some local dialect, and was then diffused with the spread of the worship) standing for sind-ra, which again was derived from syand, 'to drop.' . . .[208] The conceptions which had been attached to Dyaus, Jous, Ζεύς, were then transferred to Indra, and accordingly we find the epithet stator, which in Latin is attached to Juppiter, applied to him." In this view Professor Benfey is followed by M. Michel Bréal, in his "Hercule et Cacus," p. 101. After giving in Section V. an account of the myth of Indra and Vṛittra, this able writer proceeds in the following section to explain its formation. I translate a few sentences from p. 101: "The first thing which ought to strike us is that the hero of the myth is not the same in the Indian, as in the classical mythology. The name Indra has nothing in common with Zeus; further Indra is an exclusively Indian god, created at an epoch when the ancestors of the European races had been already separated from their brothers in Asia; in reading the Vedas we are in some sort spectators of his first appearance, which nearly coincides with the composition of the earliest hymns. But we have already said that the Vedic mythology is extremely floating, that the attributes of one god are easily transferred to another, and that in place of Indra, other gods are often invoked as the conquerors of Vṛittra. We are authorized then to think that in this myth Indra occupies the place of some more ancient divinity. The name of this god, which we may give with perfect certainty, is Dyaus, or Dyaushpitar, the Heaven, father of beings. Dyaus is the first god of the Indo-European nations: maintained in his supreme rank by the Greeks and Latins, he has fallen from it in the Vedas, although he is there sometimes invoked, chiefly in company with the goddess Pṛithivī (the Earth)."

[208] Professor Müller assigns the same sense to Indra, in his Lectures on Language, ii. 430, note, where he writes: *Indra*, a name peculiar to India, admits but of one etymology, *i.e.* it must be derived from the same root, whatever that may be, which in Sanskrit yielded *indu*, drop, sap. It meant originally the giver of rain, the Jupiter pluvius, a deity in India more often present to the mind of the worshipper than any other. Cf. Benfey, Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 49." Professor Roth, in his Lexicon, *s.v.* thinks the word comes from the root *in* or *inv*, with the suffix *r*, preceded by epenthetic *d*, and means "the overcomer," "the powerful." The old Indian derivations may be found, as he remarks, in Nir. x. 8. See also Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 34, referred to by Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 136.

But whatever may be the case as regards Dyaus, the increasing popularity of Indra may, no doubt, as Professor Roth supposes, have tended also to eclipse the lustre of Varuṇa.

(10) *Opinions of Professors Roth, Whitney, Spiegel, and Dr. F. Windischmann, on the question whether Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda are historically connected.*

If Professor Roth's opinion,[209] that there is not merely an analogy, but an actual historical connection between the Ādityas and the Amshaspands of the Zend Avesta, be well founded, it will be made out that Varuṇa, who is one of the Ādityas, must have been worshipped by the Aryans before the separation of the Persian from the Indian branch of that family. And this conclusion will be confirmed if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Whitney,[210] that Ahura-Mazda is a development of Varuṇa.

I learn, however, from a communication with which I have lately been favoured by Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, that that eminent Zend scholar is unable to recognize any *similarity* between Ahura-Mazda and Varuṇa, and considers the connection of the Amshaspands with the Ādityas to be very doubtful.[211] The *late* Dr. Windischmann

209 Journ. Germ. Orient. Society, vi. 69, 70.

210 Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 327. "Ahura Mazdā, Ormuzd, himself is," he writes, "as is hardly to be doubted, a development of Varuṇa, the Ādityas are correlatives of the Amshaspands, there even exists in the Persian religion the same close connection between Ahura Mazdā and Mithra as in the Indian between Mitra and Varuṇa." There is no doubt that the term *Asura*, "spirit," which is frequently applied to Varuṇa and to Mitra, and also to Indra and others of the Vedic gods, is the same word which, in its Zend form, Ahura, makes up, with the addition of Mazda, the appellation of the supreme and benevolent deity of the Iranian mythology. Professor Müller regards the names Ahuro Mazdāo as corresponding to the Sanskrit *Asuro-medhas*, the "wise spirit" (Lectures on the Science of Language, first series, 1st edition, p. 195). See also Professor Benfey's Glossary to the Sāmaveda (1848) *s.v. medhas*, from which it appears that that scholar had adopted the same identification, and considers the existing reading of R.V. viii. 20, 17, *asurasya vedhasaḥ*, to be a corruption of *asurasya medhasaḥ*. But *vedhas* occurs elsewhere as an epithet of the gods, *e.g.* of Vishṇu in i. 156, 2, 4. In the last of these verses he is styled *mārutasya vedhasaḥ*.

211 In regard to Ahura-Mazda and the Amshaspands, Professor Spiegel has, as he informs me, collected all the positive information he could obtain in the Avesta, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his translation, pp. iii. ff.

also, as Professor Spiegel informs me, held Ahura Mazda to be a purely Iranian god (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 122). And such of the grounds for regarding Varuṇa as an older deity than Indra as might otherwise have been derived from the Zend Avesta, would be a good deal weakened if we could look upon the Indra or Andra of the Zend books as standing for the same god who was known in India under the former name (see Spiegel's Avesta, i. 10), and as representing a deity who had at one time been an object of worship common both to the Indian and Persian Aryans, but who after the separation of the two tribes was degraded by the latter into an evil spirit. For while Indra would thus be proved to have been known before the period of that separation, he might also have been at one time a god held by both divisions of the Āryas in high consideration as well as Varuṇa. I learn, however, from Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books in reference to this name are not sufficient to afford a basis for any positive conclusions.[212]

(11) *Whether there are any passages in the hymns which decisively shew that Indra was superseding Varuṇa.*

Beyond the fact noticed by Roth, that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last than in the earlier books of the Rig-veda, I have not observed in the hymns themselves anything that can

[212] The identification of Andra with Indra was, as Professor Spiegel tells me, first proposed by Burnouf (Yaśna 526 ff.), where a translation is given of the passage in which Andra is mentioned. It is rendered thus by Spiegel himself, in his Avesta, i. 176: "I fight with Indra, I fight with S'auru, I fight with the Däeva Naoghaithi, to drive them away from the dwelling, the village, the castle, the country." The name Indra or Andra, as Prof. Spiegel further informs me, occurs only in one other passage (Westergaard, Zendavesta, p. 475), which he (Prof. S.) believes to be interpolated. It contains merely the name, and consequently throws no further light on the position of the god in the Avesta. The information found in the later Parsee books regarding Indra or Andra is also meagre (compare Spiegel's Avesta, ii. 35). On this subject Professor Spiegel makes the following remarks, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Avesta, p. lxxxi.: "It is said by some that the Andra of the Avesta is the Indra of the Vedas, that Näoghaithya answers to Nāsatyas, and Saurva to Sarva. Here from a real fact a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The names are the same in both religious systems; but how far the things resemble each other can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haoma, etc.; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question."

be construed as a decisive proof that the worship of Indra was superseding that of Varuṇa during the period of their composition. It is true that even in the earlier parts of the Veda the number of hymns addressed to the former god is much greater than that in which the latter is celebrated. But I have not discovered any expressions which would distinctly indicate that the popularity of the one was waning, and that of the other increasing. There are, however, some passages which, though they do not afford any clear indications in support of such a supposition, are, at all events, not inconsistent with its correctness. Thus there are several hymns in which Indra is associated with Varuṇa[213] as an object of celebration, and where the two are described as acting in concert, viz., i. 17; iv. 41; iv. 42; vi. 68; vii. 82; vii. 83; vii. 84; vii. 85; etc.; and this association of the two might have arisen from the worshippers of Indra desiring to enhance the dignity of that god by attaching him to the older and more venerable deity. In vii. 34, 24, Varuṇa is said to have Indra for his friend (*Varuṇaḥ Indrasakhā*), but this cannot well bear the interpretation that some of their worshippers had been in the habit of regarding them as rivals and enemies, as in i. 22, 19, Vishṇu is called the intimate friend of Indra (*Indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā*). Indra and Varuṇa are called the two monarchs, *samrājā*, and the supporters of all creatures[214] (i. 17, 1, 2); fixed in their designs, *dhṛita-vratā* (vi. 68, 10). Varuṇa is supplicated along with Indra to discharge a gleaming and violent thunderbolt against the worshippers' enemy (*didyum asminn ojishṭham ugrā ni vadhishṭam vajram*, iv. 41, 4), though in most other places (see above) Indra alone is regarded as the thunderer. In vii. 82, 2, it is said that one of the two, Varuṇa, is called *samrāṭ*, monarch (as he is in various places, see above, p. 60), and the other, Indra, is called *svarāṭ*, independent ruler (iii. 46, 1, and elsewhere; see i. 61, 9, above); and their separate relations and functions are described in other parts of this and the following hymns, vii. 82, 5: *Indrā-varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā | kshemeṇa Mitro Varuṇaṁ duvasyati Marudbhir ugraḥ śubham anyaḥ īyate | 6. Ajāmim aryaḥ śnathayantam ātirad dabhrebhir anyaḥ pra vṛiṇoti bhūyasaḥ |* "Indra

[213] In A.V. iv. 25, 1, 2, Varuṇa and Vishṇu are worshipped together.

[214] *Dharttārā charshaṇīnām.* The same epithet is applied to Mitra and Varuṇa in v. 67, 2; and Varuṇa is called *charshaṇī-dhṛit*, "supporter of creatures," in iv. 1, 2.

and Varuṇa, when ye formed all these creatures of the world by your power, Mitra waits upon Varuṇa with tranquility, whilst the other fierce (god *i.e.* Indra) is resplendent along with the Maruts. 6. The one overcomes the destructive enemy; the other with few repels many." vii. 83, 9: *Vṛittrāṇi anyaḥ samitheshu jighnate vratāni anyaḥ abhi rakshate sadā* | "The one (Indra) loves to slay enemies in battle; the other (Varuṇa) always maintains his ordinances." vii. 84, 2: *Pari no helo Varuṇasya vṛijyāḥ urum naḥ Indraḥ kṛiṇavad u lokam* | "Do thou remove from us the wrath of Varuṇa; may Indra open to us an ample space." vii. 85, 3: *Krishṭīr anyo dhārayati praviktāḥ vṛittrāṇi anyaḥ apratīni hanti* | "The one sustains the separate creatures; the other slays unequalled enemies." So, too, their joint action is described in other verses. Thus they are said to have dug the channels of the rivers, to have impelled the sun in the sky (vii. 82, 3: *anu apām khāni atṛintam ojasā ā sūryam airayatam divi prabhum*), and to have made all creatures (ibid. 5). All the other gods are said to have infused strength and vigour into these two in the highest heaven (ibid. 2: *viśve devāsaḥ parame vyomani sam vām ojo vṛishaṇā sam balam dadhuḥ*). These passages are consistent with the supposition that the two gods were felt to have been rivals, and that the author of the hymn sought to reconcile their conflicting claims, but they are not conclusive, for Vishṇu and Indra are also joined together in the same way in some hymns, i. 155; vi. 69; vii. 99, 4 ff. (see the 4th Vol. of this work, pp. 64, 71, 74 ff.); as are also Agni and Indra in others, i. 21; i. 108; i. 109; iii. 12; v. 86; vi. 59; Indra and Vāyu in iv. 46-48; Indra and Pūshan in vi. 57; Indra and Soma in vi. 72; vii. 104.

A number of verses occur in different parts of the Rig-veda (viz. i. 133, 1; iv. 23, 7; v. 2, 3, vii. 18, 16; x. 27, 6; x. 48, 7) in which the epithet *anindra*, "one who is no worshipper of Indra," is employed; but it does not appear that it is applied to persons who were not worshippers of Indra in particular, as distinguished from other Āryan gods, but either to the aboriginal tribes, who did not worship either him or any other Āryan god, or to irreligious Āryas, or rather, perhaps generally, to evil spirits as the enemies of Indra. In other places (as I have above noticed, p. 104,) we find sceptical doubts expressed regarding Indra.

The twelfth hymn of the second book is devoted to the glorification

of Indra. The first and second verses are as follows: 1. *Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat | yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetām nṛimṇasya mahnā sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | 2. *Yaḥ pṛithivīm vyathamānām adṛimhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt | yo antariksham vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | "1. He who, as soon as born, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force: at whose might the two worlds trembled, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth, who settled the agitated mountains, who meted out the vast atmosphere, who established the sky,—he, o men, is Indra." The following verses all end in the same way, by declaring that Indra is he who had performed the several acts, or possessed the various powers, which they specify. This might appear as a polemical assertion, against gainsayers, of Indra's claims to recognition as a fit object of worship.[215]

In x. 48, 11, Indra is introduced as saying: *Ādityānām Vasūnām rudriyāṇām devo devānām na mināmi dhāma | te mā bhadrāya śavase tatakshur aparājitam astṛitam ashāḷham* | "I, a god, do not assail the rank (or glory) of the Ādityas, the Vasus, or the sons of Rudra, who have fashioned me for glorious power, and made me unconquerable, irreversible, and unassailable."

In viii. 51, 2, it is said: *Ayujo asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛishṭīr ayāsyaḥ | purvīr ati pra vavṛidhe viśvā jātāni ojasā ityādi* | 7. *Viśve te Indra vīryam devāḥ anu kratum daduḥ* | 12. *Satyam id vai u tam vayam Indram stavāma nānṛitam | mahān asunvato vadho bhūri jyotīmshi sunvataḥ* | "2. Without a fellow, unequalled by men, Indra, alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power many tribes and all creatures. 7. All the gods yield to the Indra in valour and strength. 12. May we praise Indra truly and not falsely: great destruction falls upon him who pours out no libations to Indra,[216] while he who does offer them is blessed with abundant light."

In iv. 30, 1 ff. Indra is described as having no superior or equal (*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛitrahan | nakir eva yathā*

[215] There is another hymn (x. 86), each verse of which ends with the words "Indra is superior to all;" but the drift of the hymn is too obscure to admit of my determining whether it has any polemical tendency or not.

[216] This sentiment appears to be repeated from i. 101, 4.

tvam), and as having alone conquered all the gods in battle. And in vii. 21, 7, it is said that even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (*devāś chit te asuryyāya pūrve anu kshatrāya mamire sahāṁsi*). In the following passages (formerly quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 85 ff.), it is said that all of the gods are unable to frustrate the mighty deeds and counsels of Indra (ii. 32, 4); that no one, whether god or man, either surpasses or equals him (vi. 30, 4); that no one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to him (vii. 32, 23); and that by battle he has acquired ample space (or wealth) for the gods (vii. 98, 3). It is even said (i. 101, 3) that Varuṇa and Sūrya are subject to the command of Indra (*yasya vrate Varuṇo yasya Sūryaḥ*); and in x. 89, 8, 9, the latter is besought to destroy the enemies of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (thereby evincing, of course, his superiority to those three gods) (*pra ye Mitrasya Varuṇasya dhāma yujaṁ na janāḥ minanti Mitram* | 9. *Pra ye Mitram pra Aryamaṇaṁ durevāḥ pra sangiraḥ pra Varuṇam minanti* | *ni amitreshu vadham Indra tumraṁ vrishan vrishāṇam arushaṁ śiśīhi*).

All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rig-veda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra and Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate[217] (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration. Thus in ii. 38, 9, it is said that neither Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, nor Rudra can resist the ordinance of Savitṛi (*na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ*); and in vii. 38, 4, that the divine Aditi, and the kings Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman unite to magnify the same deity (*abhi yaṁ devī Aditiḥ griṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur jushāṇā* | *abhi samrājo Varuṇo griṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ*). Again, in i. 156, 4, it is declared that king Varuṇa and the Aśvins submit to the power of Vishṇu (*tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratum sachante Mārutasya vedhasaḥ*). In i. 141, 9, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman are said to triumph through Agni when he blazes forth (*tvayā hi Agne Varuṇo*

[217] See Müller's Anc. Ind. Lit. pp. 532 ff.

dhṛitavrato Mitraḥ śáśadre Aryamā). In iv. 5, 4, the same god is besought to consume those enemies who menace the stable abodes[218] of Varuṇa and the wise Mitra (*pra tān Agnir babhasat . . . pra ye minanti Varuṇasya dhāma priyā Mitrasya chetato dhruvāṇi*). If, therefore, we were to infer from passages like i. 101, 3 (which declares Varuṇa and Sūrya to be subject to Indra), that the worship of Indra was beginning to gain ground on that of Varuṇa, we should have, in like manner, to conclude from the other texts just cited, that the worship of Savitṛi, or Vishṇu, or Agni, was beginning to supersede that of all the other deities who are there subordinated to them, not excepting Indra himself.

(12) *Indra as represented in the hymns;—a metrical sketch.*

In the following verses I have endeavoured to combine in one picture the most salient and characteristic points in the representations of Indra, which are contained in the hymns. It will be seen that some parts of the sketch are translations, nearly literal, of verses occurring there; that other portions are condensed summaries of epithets, or descriptions, which are by far too numerous and too similar to each other to be all reproduced in detail; and that a third class of passages contains an amplification, and not an approximate rendering, of the texts of the original on which they are founded.

(1) *Invitation of Indra to the sacrifice.*

Hear, Indra, mighty Thunderer, hear,
Bright regent of the middle sphere;
List while we sweetly sing thy praise,
In new, and well-constructed, lays,
Hymns deftly framed by poet skilled,
As artizans a chariot build.
Come, Indra, come, thou much-invoked,
Our potent hymn thy steeds has yoked;
Thy golden car already waits
Thy pleasure at thy palace-gates:

[218] Ordinances.—Roth, *s.v. dhāman.*

Friend Indra, from the sky descend,
Thy course propitious hither bend;
Come straight, and may no rival priest
Prevail to draw thee from our feast.
Let no one catch thee unawares,
Like bird the artful fowler snares.
All is prepared; the Soma draught
Is sweet as thou hast ever quaffed;
And we will feed with corn, and tend,
Thy coursers at their journey's end.
But, Indra, though of us thou thinkest,
And our libations gladly drinkest,
We, mortal men, can only share
A humble portion of thy care.
We know how many potent ties
Enchain thee in thy paradise.
Thou hast at home a lovely wife,
The charm and solace of thy life;
Thou hast a ceaseless round of joys,
Which all thy circling hours employs—
Joys such as gods immortal know,
Unguessed by mortals here below.
But, brother Indra, come, benign,
Accept our gifts, thou friend divine.
Come, Indra, come in eager haste,
Our hymns to hear, our food to taste,
Like lover lured by female charms,
Who rushes to his mistress' arms.
Accept our sweet and grateful song;
Come, we will not detain thee long.

(2) *Indra's birth.*

Hear, Indra, while thy birth we sing,
The deeds, thy greatness, glorious king.
Old father Sky[219] and mother Earth
Both quaked, confounded at thy birth.

[219] Dyaus = Ζεύς.

The Sky exclaimed, at that great sight,
"Thy father was a stalwart wight;
Of most consummate skill was he,
The god whose genius fashioned thee."
This infant of unrivalled force
Sprang forth from a transcendant source.
A blessed mother bore the child,
And fondly on her offspring smiled,
Foretelling then, with pride and joy,
The might and glory of the boy.
He needed not a tedious length
Of autumns to mature his strength;
His force he felt as soon as born,
And laughed all hostile powers to scorn.
Grasping his deadly shafts, in pride
Of prowess, thus the infant cried:—
"Where, mother, dwell those warriors fierce
Whose haughty hearts these bolts must pierce?"
And when thy father proved thy foe,
Thy fury, Indra, laid him low.
Who vainly sought thy life to take,
When thou didst sleep, when thou didst wake?
Who, Indra, in his vengeful mood,
Thy mother doomed to widowhood?
What god stood by, thy wrath to fire,
When, seizing by the foot thy sire,
Thou smot'st him dead, in youthful ire?

(3) *Indra's arrival.*

Fulfilling now our ardent prayer,
The god approaches through the air.
On, on, he comes, majestic, bright,
Our longed-for friend appears in sight.
His brilliant form, beheld afar,
Towers stately on his golden car.
Fair sunlike lustre, godlike grace,
And martial fire illume his face.

Yet not one form alone he bears,
But various shapes of glory wears,
His aspects changing at his will,
Transmuted, yet resplendent still.
In warlike semblance see him stand,
Red lightnings wielding in his hand.
The heavenly steeds, his shining team,
With all the peacock's colours gleam.
Resistless, snorting, on they fly,
As swift as thought, across the sky;
And soon bring nigh their mighty lord,
To us, his friends, a friend adored.
Now Indra from the sky descends;
Yes, yes, to us his way he wends.
Although we see him not, we know
He now is present here below.
Within our hallowed precincts placed,
He longs our grateful feast to taste.

(4) *Indra invited to drink the Soma draught.*

Thou, Indra, oft of old hast quaffed
With keen delight our Soma draught.
All gods the luscious Soma love,
But thou all other gods above.
Thy mother knew how well this juice
Was fitted for her infant's use.
Into a cup she crushed the sap,
Which thou didst sip upon her lap.
Yes, Indra, on thy natal morn,
The very hour that thou wast born,
Thou didst those jovial tastes display
Which still survive in strength to-day.
And once, thou prince of genial souls,
Men say thou drainedst thirty bowls.
To thee the soma-draughts proceed,
As streamlets to the lake they feed,
Or rivers to the ocean speed.

Our cup is foaming to the brim
With Soma pressed to sound of hymn.
Come, drink, thy utmost craving slake,
Like thirsty stag in forest lake,
Or bull that roams in arid waste,
And burns the cooling brook to taste.
Indulge thy taste, and quaff at will,
Drink, drink again, profusely swill,
Drink, thy capacious stomach fill.

(5) *Praise of Soma.*

This Soma is a god; he cures
The sharpest ills that man endures.
He heals the sick, the sad he cheers,
He nerves the weak, dispels their fears,
The faint with martial ardour fires,
With lofty thoughts the bard inspires,
The soul from earth to heaven he lifts;
So great and wondrous are his gifts.
Men feel the god within their veins,
And cry in loud exulting strains:
"We've quaffed the Soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee beyond alarm
Immortal god, we soar."
The gods themselves with pleasure feel
King Soma's influence o'er them steal;
And Indra once, as bards have told,
Thus sang in merry mood of old:—

(6) *Indra's drinking-song.*

"Yes, yes, I will be generous now,
And grant the bard a horse and cow:

I've quaffed the soma-draught.
These draughts impel me with the force
Of blasts that sweep in furious course:
I've quaffed the soma-draught.
They drive me like a car that speeds,
When whirled along by flying steeds.
These hymns approach me fondly now,
As hastes to calf the mother-cow.
I turn them over as I muse,
As carpenter the log he hews.
The tribes of men, the nations all,
I count as something very small.
Both worlds, how vast soe'er they be,
Don't equal even the half of me.
The heaven in greatness I surpass,
And this broad earth, though vast her mass,
Come, let me as a plaything seize,
And toss her wheresoe'er I please.
Come, let me smite with vigorous blow,
And send her flying to and fro.
My half is in the heavenly sphere,
I've drawn the other half down here.
How great my glory and my power!
Aloft into the skies I tower.
I'm ready now to mount in air,
Oblations to the gods to bear:
I've quaffed the Soma-draught.[290]

(7) *Indra drinks the libation.*

And not in vain the mortal prays,
For nothing loth the god obeys,
The proffered bowl he takes;
Well trained the generous juice to drain,
He quaffs it once, he quaffs again,
Till all his thirst he slakes.

[290] This "drinking song" is a translation, as we have already seen, p. 91, nearly literal, of the 119th hymn of the 10th Book of the Rig-veda.

And soon its power the Soma shows,
Through Indra's veins the influence flows,
  With fervour flushed he stands;
His forehead glows, his eyes are fired,
His mighty frame with force inspired,
  His towering form expands.
He straightway calls his brave allies,
To valorous deeds exhorts, and cries—
  "Stride, Vishṇu, forward stride;
Come, Maruts, forth with me to war,
See yonder Vṛittra stands afar,
And waits the coming of my car;
  We soon shall crush his pride."

(8) *Indra, attended by the Maruts, sets out to encounter Vṛittra.*

Amid the plaudits, long and loud,
Which burst from all the heavenly crowd,
Charmed by the sweet and magic sound
Of hymns pronounced by bards renowned,
Viewed by admiring troops of friends,
The valiant god his car ascends.
Swept by his fervid bounding steeds,
Athwart the sky the hero speeds.
The Marut-hosts his escort form,
Impetuous spirits of the storm.
On flashing lightning-cars they ride,
And gleam in warlike pomp and pride:
Each head a golden helmet crests,
And glittering mail adorns their breasts;
Spears on their shoulders rest, their hands
Bear arrows, bows, and lightning-brands.
Bright tinkling anklets deck their feet,
And thought than they is not more fleet;
Like lions' roar their voice of doom;
With iron force their teeth consume.
The hills, the earth itself, they shake,
All creatures at their coming quake;

Their headlong fury none can stay,
All obstacles are swept away.
The forest's leafy monarchs tall
Before their onset crashing fall,
As when in fierce destructive mood
Wild elephants invade a wood.

(9) *Indra's conflict with Vṛittra.*

Who is it that, without alarm,
Defies the might of Indra's arm;
That stands and sees without dismay
The approaching Maruts' dread array;
That does not shun, in wild affright,
The terrors of the deadly fight?
'Tis Vṛittra,[221] he whose magic powers
From earth withhold the genial showers,
Of mortal men the foe malign,
And rival of the race divine,
Whose demon hosts from age to age
With Indra war unceasing wage,
Who, times unnumbered, crushed and slain,
Is ever newly born again,
And evermore renews the strife
In which again he forfeits life.
Perched on a steep aerial height,
Shone Vṛittra's stately fortress bright.
Upon the wall, in martial mood,
The bold gigantic demon stood,
Confiding in his magic arts,
And armed with store of fiery darts.
And then was seen a dreadful sight,
When god and demon met in fight.
His sharpest missiles Vṛittra shot,
His thunderbolts and lightnings hot
He hurled as thick as rain.

221 The demon who personifies drought, and is also called S'ushṇa and Ahi.

The god his fiercest rage defied,
His blunted weapons glanced aside,
At Indra launched in vain.
When thus he long had vainly toiled,
When all his weapons had recoiled,
His final efforts had been foiled,
And all his force consumed,—
In gloomy and despairing mood
The baffled demon helpless stood,
And knew his end was doomed.
The lightnings then began to flash,
The direful thunderbolts to crash,
By Indra proudly hurled.
The gods themselves with awe were stilled
And stood aghast, and terror filled
The universal world.
Even Tvashṭṛi sage, whose master-hand
Had forged the bolts his art had planned,
Who well their temper knew,—
Quailed when he heard the dreadful clang
That through the quivering welkin rang,
As o'er the sky they flew.
And who the arrowy shower could stand,
Discharged by Indra's red right hand,—
The thunderbolts with hundred joints,
The iron shafts with thousand points,
Which blaze and hiss athwart the sky,
Swift to their mark unerring fly,
And lay the proudest foemen low,
With sudden and resistless blow,
Whose very sound can put to flight
The fools who dare the Thunderer's might?
And soon the knell of Vṛittra's doom
Was sounded by the clang and boom
Of Indra's iron shower;
Pierced, cloven, crushed, with horrid yell,
The dying demon headlong fell

Down from his cloud-built tower.
Now bound by Sushṇa's spell no more,
The clouds discharge their liquid store;
And, long by torrid sunbeams baked,
The plains by copious showers are slaked;
The rivers swell, and sea-ward sweep
Their turbid torrents broad and deep.
The peasant views, with deep delight
And thankful heart, the auspicious sight.
His leafless fields, so sere and sad,
Will soon with waving crops be clad,
And mother Earth, now brown and bare,
A robe of brilliant green will wear.
And now the clouds disperse, the blue
Of heaven once more comes forth to view.
The sun shines out, all nature smiles,
Redeemed from Vṛittra's power and wiles;
The gods, with gratulations meet,
And loud acclaim, the victor greet;
While Indra's mortal votaries sing
The praises of their friend and king.
The frogs, too, dormant long, awake,
And floating on the brimming lake,
In loud responsive croak unite,
And swell the chorus of delight.

(10) *Indra's greatness.*

What poet now, what sage of old,
The greatness of that god hath told,
Who from his body vast gave birth
To father Sky and mother Earth;
Who hung the heavens in empty space,
And gave the earth a stable base;
Who framed and lighted up the sun,
And made a path for him to run;
Whose power transcendent, since their birth
Asunder holds the heaven and earth,

As chariot-wheels are kept apart
By axles framed by workmen's art?
In greatness who with Him can vie,
Who fills the earth, the air, the sky,
Whose presence unperceived extends
Beyond the world's remotest ends?
A hundred earths, if such there be,
A hundred skies fall short of thee;
A thousand suns would not outshine
The effulgence of thy light divine.
The worlds, which mortals boundless deem,
To thee but as a handful seem.
Thou, Indra, art without a peer
On earth, or yonder heavenly sphere.
Thee, god, such matchless powers adorn,
That thou without a foe wast born.
Thou art the universal lord,
By gods revered, by men adored.
Should all the other gods conspire,
They could not frustrate thy desire.
The circling years, which wear away
All else, to thee bring no decay;
Thou bloomest on in youthful force,
While countless ages run their course.
Unvexed by cares, or fears, or strife,
In bliss serene flows on thy life.

(11) *Indra's relations to his worshippers.*

Thou, Indra, art a friend, a brother,
A kinsman dear, a father, mother.
Though thou hast troops of friends, yet we
Can boast no other friend but thee.
With this our hymn thy skirt we grasp,
As boys their father's garments clasp;
Our ardent prayers thy form embrace,
As women's arms their lords enlace;

They round thee cling with gentle force,
Like saddle-girth around a horse.
With faith we claim thine aid divine,
For thou art ours, and we are thine.
Thou art not deaf; though far away,
Thou hearest all, whate'er we pray.
And be not like a lazy priest,
Who battens at the dainty feast,
Sits still in self-indulgent ease,
And only cares himself to please.
Come, dole not out with niggard hand
The brilliant boons at thy command.
Thy gracious hands are wont to grant
Profusely all thy servants want.
Why is it, then, thou sittest still,
And dost not now our hopes fulfil?
If I were thou, and thou wert I,
My suppliant should not vainly cry.
Wert thou a mortal, I divine,
In want I ne'er would let thee pine.
Had I, like thee, unbounded power,
I gifts on all my friends would shower.
Shed wealth, as trees, when shaken, rain
Their ripe fruit down upon the plain.
Thy strong right hand, great god, we hold
With eager grasp, imploring gold.
Thou canst our longings all fulfil,
If such shall only be thy will.
Like headlong bull's, thy matchless force
Strikes all things down that bar thy course.
Art thou to gracious acts inclined?
Then who shall make thee change thy mind?
Abundant aids shoot forth from thee,
As leafy boughs from vigorous tree.
To wifeless men thou givest wives,
And joyful mak'st their joyless lives.

Thou givest sons, courageous, strong,
To guard their aged sires from wrong.
Lands, jewels, horses, herds of kine,—
All kinds of wealth are gifts of thine.
Thy friend is never slain; his might
Is never worsted in the fight.
Yes, those who in the battle's shock,
Thine aid, victorious god, invoke,
With force inspired, with deafening shout
Of triumph, put their foes to rout.
Thou blessest those thy praise who sing,
And plenteous gifts devoutly bring;
But thou chastisest all the proud,
The niggard, and the faithless crowd,
Who thine existence doubt, and cry
In scorn, "No Indra rules on high."
The rich can ne'er thy favourites be,
The rich who never think of thee.
When storms are lulled, and skies are bright,
Wine-swillers treat thee with despite.
When clouds collect and thunders roar,
The scoffers tremble and adore.
No deed is done but thou dost see;
No word is said unheard by thee.
The fates of mortals thou dost wield;
To thy decree the strongest yield.
Thou dost the high and fierce abase,
The lowly raisest in their place.
But thy true friends secure repose,
By thee redeemed from all their woes,
From straits brought forth to ample room,
To glorious light from thickest gloom.
And thou dost view with special grace,
The fair-complexioned Aryan race,
Who own the gods, their laws obey,
And pious homage duly pay.

Thou giv'st us horses, cattle, gold,
As thou didst give our sires of old.
Thou sweep'st away the dark-skinned brood,
Inhuman, lawless, senseless, rude,
Who know not Indra, hate his friends,
And spoil the race which he defends.
Chase, far away the robbers chase,
Slay those barbarians black and base;
And save us, Indra, from the spite
Of sprites that haunt us in the night,
Our rites disturb by contact vile,
Our hallowed offerings defile.
Preserve us, friend, dispel our fears,
And let us live a hundred years.
And when our earthly course we've run,
And gain'd the region of the Sun,
Then let us live in ceaseless glee,
Sweet nectar quaffing there with thee.

SECTION VII.

PARJANYA.

The following hymn, R.V. v. 83, affords a picturesque description of Parjanya, the thundering rain-god:

v. 83, 1. *Achha vada tavasaṁ gīrbhir ābhiḥ stuhi Parjanyaṁ namasā āvivāsa | kanikradad vṛishabho jīradānuḥ reto dadhāti oshadhīshu garbham* | 2. *Vi vṛikshān hanti uta hanti rakshaso viśvam bibhāya bhuvanam mahāvadhāt | uta anāgāḥ īshate vṛishṇyāvato yat Parjanyaḥ stanayan hanti dushkṛitaḥ* | 3. *Rathīva kaśayā 'śvān abhikshipann āvir dūtān kṛiṇute varshyān aha | dūrāt siṁhasya stanathāḥ ud īrate yat Parjanyaḥ kṛiṇute varshyaṁ nabhaḥ* | 4. *Pra vātāḥ vānti patayanti vidyutaḥ oshadhīr jihate pinvate svaḥ | irā viśvasmai bhuvanāya jāyate yat Parjanyaḥ pṛithivīṁ retasā 'vati* | 5. *Yasya vrate pṛithivī namnamīti yasya vrate śaphavaj jarbhurīti | yasya vrate oshadhīr viśvarūpāḥ sa naḥ Parjanya mahi śarma yachha* | 6. *Divo no vṛishṭim Maruto raridhvam pinvata vṛishṇo aśvasya dhārāḥ | arvāñ etena stanayitnunā ā ihi nishinchann asuraḥ pitā naḥ* | 7. *Abhi kranda stanaya garbham ā dhāḥ udanvatā pari diya rathena | dṛitiṁ su karsha nishitam nyancham ... bhavantu udvato nipādāḥ* | 8. *Mahāntaṁ kośam ud acha nishincha ... dantāṁ kulyāḥ vishitāḥ purastāt | ghṛitena dyāvā-pṛithivī vi ... suprapāṇam bhavatu aghnyābhyaḥ* | 9. *Yat Parjanya kanikradat ... yan haṁsi dushkṛitaḥ | prati idaṁ viśvam modate yat kincha pṛithivyām adhi* | 10. *Avarshīr varsham ud u su gṛibhāya akar dhanvāni ... etavai u | ajījanaḥ oshadhīr bhojanāya kam uta prajābhyo ... nīshām* |

1. "Address the powerful (god) with these words; laud Parjanya; worship him with reverence: the procreative and stimulating fructifier, resounding, sheds his seed and impregnates the plants. 2. He splits the trees, he destroys the Rakshases; the whole creation is afraid of

the mighty stroke; even the innocent man flees before the vigorous god, when Parjanya thundering smites the evil doers.[222] 3. Like a charioteer urging forward his horses with a whip, the god brings into view his showery scouts. From afar the lion's roarings arise, when Parjanya charges the clouds with rain. 4. The winds blow, the lightnings fall, the plants shoot up; the heaven fructifies; food is produced for all created things, when Parjanya, thundering, replenishes the earth with moisture. 5. Parjanya, before whose agency the earth bows down, at whose operation all hoofed cattle quiver; by whose action plants (spring up) of every form; do thou grant us thy mighty protection. 6. Grant to us, Maruts, the rain of the sky; replenish the streams of the procreative horse; come hither with this thy thunder, our divine father, shedding waters. 7. Resound, thunder, impregnate, rush hither and thither with thy watery chariot. Draw on forward with thee thy opened and inverted water-skin; let the hills and dales be levelled. 8. Raise aloft thy vast water-vessel, and pour down showers; let the discharged rivulets roll on forward; moisten the heaven and earth with fatness; let there be well-filled drinking-places for the cows. 9. When thou, Parjanya, resounding and thundering, dost slay the evil-doers, the whole universe rejoices, whatever lives upon the earth. 10. Thou hast shed down rain; now desist; thou hast made the waterless wastes fit to be traversed; thou hast generated plants for food, and thou hast fulfilled the desires of living creatures."[223]

Parjanya is also celebrated in two other hymns of the Rig-veda, viz., vii. 101, 102. The latter consists of only three verses, and the former is less spirited and poetical than that which I have translated. It assigns to Parjanya, however, several grander epithets and functions than are found in the other, as it represents this deity as the lord of all moving creatures (vii. 101, 2: *yo viśvasya jagato devaḥ īśe*); declares

[222] There does not seem to be any sufficient reason to understand evildoers here, and in verse 9, of the cloud demons, who withold rain, or simply of the malignant clouds, as Sāyaṇa in his explanation of verse 9 (*pāpakṛito meghān*) does. The poet may naturally have supposed that it was exclusively or principally the wicked who were struck down by thunderbolts. Dr. Bühler thinks the cloud-demons are meant (Orient und Occident, i. 217, note 2).

[223] This last clause is translated according to Professor Roth's explanation, *s.v.* *manīshā*. Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, renders "verily thou hast obtained laudation from the people," and Dr. Bühler gives the same sense: "thou hast received praise from the creatures." *Prajābhyaḥ* may of course be either a dative or ablative.

that all worlds (or creatures), and the three spheres abide in him (ibid. 4: *yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvaḥ*); that in him is the soul of all things moving and stationary[224] (ibid. 6: *tasminn ātmā jagataś tasthushaś cha*); and designates him as the independent monarch (ibid. 5: *svarāje*). In vii. 102, 1, he is called the son of Dyaus or the Sky (*Divas putrāya*). Parjanya is also mentioned in various detached verses in the R.V., viz. iv. 57, 8; v. 63, 4, 6; vi. 52, 6; vii. 35, 10; viii. 6, 1; viii. 21, 18; ix. 2, 9; ix. 22, 2; x. 66, 6; x. 98, 1, 8; x. 169, 2. In vi. 49, 6; vi. 50, 12; x. 65, 9; x. 66, 10, he is conjoined with Vāta the wind (*Parjanya-vātā*, *Vātā-parjanyā*), and in vi. 52, 16, with Agni (*Agniparjanyau*). In ix. 82, 3, he is called the father of the great leafy plant soma (*Parjanyaḥ pitā mahishasya parṇinaḥ* | compare ix. 113, 3).

Parjanya forms the subject of two papers by Dr. G. Bühler, the one in English in the Transactions of the London Philological Society for 1859, pp. 154 ff., and the other in German in Benfey's Orient und Occident, vol. i. (1862) pp. 214 ff. The latter of these papers is not however, a translation of the former. The former contains an English version of the hymns R.V. v. 83; vii. 101, and vii. 102; to which the German article adds a translation of A.V. iv. 15, a hymn consisting of sixteen verses. The English paper contains a comparison of Parjanya with the Lithuanian god Perkunas, the god of thunder, which is not reproduced in the German essay. Dr. Bühler holds Parjanya to have been decidedly distinct from Indra (Transact. Phil. Soc. p. 167, and Or. und Occ. 229). In the English paper he says (p. 161): "Taking a review of the whole, we find that Parjanya is a god who presides over the lightning, the thunder, the rain, and the procreation of plants and living creatures. But it is by no means clear whether he is originally a god of the rain, or a god of the thunder." He inclines however to think that from the etymology of his name, and the analogy between him and Perkunas, he was originally the thunder-god (pp. 161–167). In his German essay, his conclusion is (p. 226) that Parjanya is "the god of thunderstorms and rain, the generator and nourisher of plants and living creatures."

[224] Compare i. 115, 1, where the same thing is said of Sūrya.

SECTION VIII.

VAYU.

Vâyu, the wind, as we have already seen, is often associated with Indra. See also i. 2, 4; i. 14, 3; i. 23, 2; i. 135, 4 ff. (*â vâṁ ratho niyutvân vakshad avase abhi prayâṁsi sudhitâni vîtaye vâyo havyâni vîtaye | pibatam madhvo andhasaḥ pûrvapeyaṁ hi vâṁ hitam* | "Let your car with team of horses bring you to our aid; and to the offerings which are well-arranged for eating; Vâyu, the oblations (are well-arranged) for eating. Drink of the soma, for to you twain belongs the right to take the first draught;" and see the next verse); i. 139, 1; ii. 41, 3; iv. 46, 2 ff.; iv. 47, 2 ff.; v. 51, 4, 6 f.; vii. 90, 5 ff.; vii. 91, 4 ff.; x. 65, 9; x. 141, 4. The two gods appear to have been regarded by the ancient expositors of the Veda as closely connected with each other; for the Nairuktas, as quoted by Yâska (Nirukta, vii. 5), while they fix upon Agni and Sûrya as the representatives of the terrestrial and celestial gods respectively, speak of Vâyu and Indra in conjunction, as deities, either of whom may represent those of the intermediate sphere: *Tisraḥ eva devatâḥ iti Nairuktâḥ Agniḥ pṛithivî-sthâno Vâyur vâ Indro vâ antariksha-sthânaḥ sûryo dyu-sthânaḥ* | "There are three gods according to the Nairuktas, viz., Agni, whose place is on earth, Vâyu, or Indra, whose place is in the air, and Sûrya, whose place is in the heaven," etc.

Vâyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-veda. If we except the allegorical description in the Purusha Sûkta, x. 90, 13, where he is said to have sprung from the breath of Purusha (*prâṇâd Vâyur ajâyata*), or unless we understand vii. 90, 3 (*râye nu yaṁ jajnatuḥ rodasî ime* | "He whom the two worlds generated for wealth") to assert that he was produced by heaven and earth, I am aware of no passage where the parentage of Vâyu is declared. He is, however,

said to be the son-in-law of Tvashṭṛi (viii. 26, 21 f. *tava Vâyo ṛitaspate Tvashṭur jâmâtar adbhuta | avâṁsi â vṛiṇîmahe* | 22. *Tvashṭur jâmâtaraṁ vayam îśânaṁ râyaḥ îmahe | sutâvanto Vâyuṁ dyumnâ janâsaḥ* | 21. "We ask thy succours, o Vâyu, lord of rites, wondrous son-in-law of Tvashṭṛi. 22. We men offering libations resort to Vâyu, Tvashṭṛi's son-in-law, the lord of wealth, and seek for splendour"); but his wife's name is not given.[225] But few epithets are applied to him. He is called *darśata*, "sightly," "beautiful," or "conspicuous" (i. 2, 1), and *supsarastama*, "most handsome in form" (viii. 26, 24). He is naturally described as *krandad-ishṭi*, "rushing noisily onwards" (x. 100, 2). Together with Indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (*divispṛiśâ, manojavâ, viprâ, sahasrâkshâ*, i. 23, 2, 3). He moves in a shining car, drawn by a pair of red or purple horses (i. 134, 3: *Vâyur yunkte rohitâ Vâyur aruṇâ*), or by several teams of horses, *chandreṇa rathena, niyutvatâ rathena* (iv. 48, 1; i. 134, 1; i. 135, 4; iv. 47, 1), His team is often said to consist of ninety-nine, of a hundred, or even of a thousand horses, yoked by his will, i. 135, 1, 3 (*sahasreṇa niyutâ | niyudbhiḥ śatinîbhiḥ | sahasriṇîbhiḥ* |); ii. 41, 1 (*sahasriṇo rathâsaḥ*); iv. 48, 4, 5 (*vahantu tvâ manoyujo yuktâso navatir nava*); vii. 91, 6; vii. 92, 1, 5. As before mentioned (p. 85), Indra and Vâyu frequently occupy the same chariot, iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2 (*Indra-sârathiḥ | Vâyo*); vii. 91, 5 (*Indravâyû sarathaṁ yâtam arvâk*), which has its framework of gold, which touches the sky, and is drawn by a thousand horses, iv. 46, 3, 4 (*â vâṁ sahasraṁ harayaḥ Indravâyû abhi prayaḥ | vahantu somapîtaye | rathaṁ hiraṇyavandhuram*[226] *Indravâyû svadharam | â hi sthâtho divispṛiśam*). Vâyu, like the other gods, is a drinker of soma. In fact, he alone, or in conjunction with Indra, was, by the admission of the other gods, entitled to the first draught of this libation, i. 134, 1; i. 135, 1, 4 (*tubhyaṁ hi pûrvapîtaye devâḥ devâya yemire* | 4. *Pûrvapeyaṁ hi vâṁ hitam*); iv. 46, 1 (*tvaṁ hi pûrvapâḥ asi*); v. 43, 3; vii. 92, 2 (*pra yad vâṁ madhvaḥ agriyam bharanti adhvaryavaḥ*); viii. 26, 25.[227] It is

[225] Sâyaṇa gives no help. He merely says: *eshâ kathâ itihâsâdibhir avagantavyâ* | "This story is to be learned from the Itihâsas, etc." In the Section on Tvashṭṛi we shall see that according to R.V. x. 17, 1 f. he had a daughter called Saraṇyu, who was the wife of Vivasvat; but Vivasvat is not identical with Vâyu.

[226] Regarding the word *vandhura* see a note in the Section on the Aśvins.

[227] On this subject we find the following story in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, ii. 25:—

remarkable that Vāyu is but rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm; but in one place (i. 134, 4) he is said to have begotten them from the rivers of heaven (*ajanayo Maruto vakshaṇābhyo divaḥ ā vakshaṇābhyaḥ*); and in another place (i. 142, 12) to be attended by Pūshan, the Maruts and the Viśve devas (*Pūshaṇvate Marutvate viśvadevāya Vāyave*).

The following hymns are addressed to Vāta (another name of the god of the wind). The imagery in the first is highly poetical:

x. 168, 1. *Vātasya nu mahimānam rathasya rujann eti stanayann asya ghoshaḥ | divispṛig yāti aruṇāni kṛiṇvann uto eti pṛithivyāḥ reṇum asyan* | 2. *Sam prerate anu vātasya vishṭhāḥ ā enaṁ gachhanti samanaṁ na yoshāḥ | tābhiḥ sayuk sarathaṁ devaḥ īyate asya viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā* | 3. *Antarikshe pathibhir īyamāno na ni viśate katamach chana ahaḥ | apāṁ sakhā prathamajāḥ ṛitāvā kva svij jātaḥ kutaḥ ābabhūva | ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati devaḥ eshaḥ | ghoshāḥ id asya śṛiṇvire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya havishā vidhema* |

"1. (I celebrate) the glory of Vāta's chariot; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy: and he comes propelling the dust of the earth. 2. The

Devāḥ vai Somasya rājno 'grapeye na samapādayann "aham prathamaḥ pibeyam" "aham prathamaḥ pibeyam" ity eva akāmayanta | te sampādayanto 'bruvan "hanta ājim iyāma sa yo naḥ ujjeshyati sa prathamaḥ somasya pāsyati" iti | "tathā" iti | te ājim ayuḥ | teshām ājiṁ yatām abhisṛishṭānāṁ Vāyur mukham prathamaḥ pratyapadyata atha Indro 'tha Mitrāvaruṇāv atha Aśvinau | so 'ved Indro Vāyum ud vai jayati iti tam anu parāpatat | sa ha "nāv atha ujjayāva" iti | sa "na" ity abravīd "aham eva ujjeshyāmi" iti | "tṛitīyam me 'tha ujjayāva" iti | "na" iti ha eva abravīd "aham eva ujjeshyāmi" iti | "turīyam me 'tha ujjayāva iti | "tathā" iti | taṁ turīye 'tyārjata | tat turīya-bhāg Indro 'bhavat tribhāg Vāyuḥ | tau saha eva Indravāyū udajayatāṁ saha Mitrāvaruṇau saha Aśvinau | "The gods did not agree in regard to the first draught of king Soma; but each of them desired, 'Let me drink first,' 'let me drink first." But coming to an arrangement, they said: 'Come, let us run a race, and the victor shall first drink the Soma.' 'Agreed,' said they all. They ran a race accordingly; and when they started and ran, Vāyu first reached the goal, then Indra, then Mitra and Varuṇa, and last the Aśvins. Indra thought he might beat Vāyu, and he followed him closely; and said 'Let us two now be the victors.' 'No,' rejoined Vāyu, 'I alone shall be the winner.' 'Let us so win together that I shall have a third (of the draught),' said Indra. 'No,' said Vāyu, 'I alone shall be the winner.' 'Let us so win together that I shall have the fourth,' continued Indra. 'Agreed,' said Vāyu. He gave him a right to the fourth, so Indra has one share out of four and Vāyu three. So Indra and Vāyu won together, as did Mitra and Varuṇa, and the two Aśvins respectively." See the story of another similar settlement by a race in the Ait. Br. iv. 7 f.

gusts (?) of the air rush after him, and congregate in him as women in an assembly. Sitting along with them on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along. 3. Hasting forward, by paths in the atmosphere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists.[228] His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vāta let us worship with an oblation."

x. 186, 1. *Vātaḥ ā vātu bheshajaṁ śambhu mayobhu no hṛide* | 2. *Pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārishat* | *uta Vāta pitā 'si naḥ uta bhrātā uta naḥ sakhā* | *sa no jīvātave kṛidhi* | 3. *Yad ado Vāta te gṛihe amṛitasya nidhir hitaḥ* | *tato no dehi jīvase* |

"1. Let Vāta, the wind, waft to us healing,[229] salutary, and auspicious, to our heart: may he prolong our lives. 2. And, Vāta, thou art our father, our brother, and our friend: cause us to live. 3. From the treasure of immortality, which is deposited yonder in thy house, o Vāta, give us to live."

Here the same property is ascribed to Vāta which is elsewhere ascribed to Rudra, that of bringing healing.

[228] Compare St. John's Gospel, iii. 8: The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.
[229] Compare i. 89, 4.

SECTION IX.

THE MARUTS.

(1) *Their parentage, epithets, characteristics, and action.*

The Maruts, or Rudras, the gods of the tempest,[230] who form a large troop of thrice sixty (viii. 85, 8: *triḥ shashṭis tvā Maruto vavṛidhānāḥ*), or of only twenty-seven (i. 133, 6: *trisaptaiḥ śūra satvabhiḥ*),[231] are the sons of Rudra and Pṛiśni[232] (*Rudrasya maryāḥ* | *Rudrasya sūnavaḥ* | *Rudrasya sūnūn* | *Rudrasya putrāḥ* | *idam pitre marutām uchyate vachaḥ* | *pitar marutām . . . Rudra* | *Pṛiśniṁ vochanta mātaram* | *adha pitaram ishmiṇaṁ Rudraṁ vochanta* | *yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshāṁ sudughā Pṛiśniḥ sudinā marudbhyaḥ* | *Pṛiśnimātaraḥ* | *asūta Pṛiśnir mahate raṇāya tvesham ayāsām Marutām anīkam* | *Gomātaraḥ* | *Gaur dhayati Marutāṁ śravasyur mātā maghonām* |),[233] or the speckled cow (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1 f.; i. 114, 6; i. 168, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2;

[230] Prof. Benfey, in a note to R.V. i. 6, 4, says that the Maruts (their name being derived from *mar*, 'to die,') are personifications of the souls of the departed.

[231] See also A.V. xiii. 1, 3, where the same smaller number is given: *trishaptāso marutaḥ svādusammudaḥ*. Sāyaṇa interprets the words of R.V. viii. 28, 5, *saptānāṁ sapta ṛishṭayaḥ* | "The seven have seven spears," by saying that it refers to an ancient story of Indra severing the embryo of Aditi into seven parts, from which sprang the Maruts according to the Vedic text: "The Maruts are divided into seven troops." The same story is told at greater length by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 114, 6, where, however, it is said to be Diti, mother of the Asuras, whose embryo Indra severed first into seven portions, each of which he then subdivided into seven. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 256.

[232] This word is regarded as a personification of the speckled clouds in Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 39, p. 145. In his Lexicon the same scholar says that like other designations of the cow, the word is employed in various figurative and mythical references, to denote the earth, the clouds, milk, the variegated or starry heaven. On ii. 34, 2, Sāyaṇa refers (as an alternative explanation) to a story of Rudra, as a bull, begetting the Maruts on Pṛiśni, the Earth, in the form of a cow.

[233] The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 2, 11, 4, says: *Pṛiśniyai vai payaso maruto jātāḥ* | "The Maruts were born from Pṛiśni's milk."

v. 42, 15; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; v. 59, 6; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 7, 3, 17; viii. 20, 17; viii. 83, 1). They are, however, said to be like sons to Indra (*sa sūnubhir na Rudrebhiḥ*, i. 100, 5); and they are also called *sindhu-mātaraḥ*, children of the ocean, whether we suppose this to be the aerial or terrestrial sea (x. 78, 6), and sons of Heaven, *divas-putrāsaḥ* (x. 77, 2), and *Divo maryāḥ*, iii. 53, 13; v. 59, 6. See Müller's Trans. of R.V. p. 93. In v. 56, 8, mention is made of the chariot of the Maruts "in which Rodasī stood bringing enjoyments, in company with the Maruts" (*ā yasmin tasthau suraṇāni bibhratī sachā marutsu Rodasī*). On this Sāyaṇa remarks that Rodasī is the wife of Rudra and mother of the Maruts; or that Rudra is the Wind (Vāyu), and his wife the intermediate or aerial goddess. (*Rodasī Rudrasya patnī marutām mātā | yadvā Rudro Vāyuḥ | tat-patnī mādhyamikā devī*). They are frequently associated with Indra, as we have already seen;—(compare the expressions which describe them as his allies and friends, and as increasing his strength and prowess, at the same time that they celebrate his greatness: *Marutvantam Indram | Indra-jyeshṭhāḥ marud-gaṇāḥ | sakhibhiḥ svebhir evaiḥ | ye te śushmaṁ ye tavishīm avardhann archantaḥ Indra marutas te ojaḥ | piba Rudrebhiḥ saganaḥ | ye tvā anu ahan Vṛittram adadhus tubhyam ojaḥ | archanti tvā Marutaḥ pūtadakshās tvam eshām ṛishir Indrāsi dhīraḥ | Rudrāsaḥ Indravantaḥ | ayam Indro Marut-sakhā | Bṛihad Indrāya gāyata marutaḥ* | i. 23, 7, 8; i. 100, 1 ff.; i. 101, 1, ff.; iii. 32, 2, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 1, ff.; iii. 51, 7 ff.; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; v. 57, 1; vii. 32, 10; vii. 42, 5; viii. 36, 1 ff; viii. 52, 10; viii. 65, 1 ff; viii. 78, 1 ff.; viii. 85, 7 ff.; x. 73, 1; x. 99, 5; x. 113, 3);—but they are also celebrated separately in numerous hymns (as i. 37; i. 38; i. 39; i. 64; i. 85; i. 86; i. 87; i. 88; i. 166, which, with others, are rendered into English and illustrated in the 1st vol. of Professor Müller's Translation of the R.V.; see also i. 167; i. 168; v. 52; v. 53; v. 54; v. 55; v. 56; vii. 56; vii. 57; vii. 58, etc.) They are favourite deities of some of the rishis, and are often praised in highly poetical strains. They are like blazing fires, free from soil, of golden or tawny hue, and of sunlike brilliancy (*ye agnayo na śośuchann idhānāḥ | areṇavaḥ | hiraṇyāsaḥ | sūryatvachaḥ | aruṇapsavaḥ* | vi. 66, 2; vii. 59, 11; viii. 7, 7). They are also compared to swans with black plumage (*haṁsāso nīla-pṛishṭhāḥ*, vii. 59, 7); and are sometimes said to be playful as children or calves (*krīḷanti*

krīḍāḥ | *śiśūlāḥ na krīḷayaḥ sumātaraḥ* | *vatsāso na prakrīḷinaḥ* [i. 166, 2; vii. 56, 16; x. 78, 6). They are thus apostrophized in v. 54, 11: *aṁseshu vaḥ rishṭayaḥ patsu khādayo vakshassu rukmāḥ Maruto rathe śubhaḥ* | *agnibhrājaso vidyuto gabhastyoḥ śiprāḥ śīrshashu vitatāḥ hiraṇyayīḥ* | "Spears rest upon your shoulders, ye Maruts; ye have anklets on your feet, golden ornaments on your breasts, lustre in your cars, fiery lightnings in your hands, and golden helmets[234] placed upon your

[234] In ii. 34, 3, the epithet of *hiraṇya-śiprāḥ* is applied to these deities. This Sāyaṇa explains by *suvarṇamaya-śirastrāṇāḥ*, "with golden helmets." That one sense of *śiprā* (feminine) is "a head-dress, or a helmet," is settled by the verse in the text, v. 54, 11, where the words are *śiprāḥ śīrshasu vitatāḥ hiraṇyayīḥ*, "golden helmets are stretched or (placed) upon your heads;" and also by viii. 7, 25, where it is said, *śiprāḥ śīrshan hiraṇyayīḥ . . . vyanjata śriye*, "they displayed for ornament golden helmets on their heads." In the first of these passages, Sāyaṇa interprets *śiprāḥ* as meaning a 'turban,' in the second a 'helmet.' It thus appears that *śiprāḥ*, in these texts at least, must mean something external to the head, and not a feature of the face as *śipra* is often interpreted, when applied to Indra. Thus *suśipra* is explained by Sāyaṇa on i. 9, 3, as meaning *śobhana-hano śobhana-nāsika vā*, "having handsome jaws, or a handsome nose;" since Yaska, he says, makes *śipra* to mean one or other of these two parts of the face (Nirukta, vi. 17). The same explanation is given by Sāyaṇa on i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; and i. 101, 10. On iii. 30, 3, however, the same commentator says: *śipra-śabdena śirastrāṇam abhidhīyate* | *śobhana-śirastrāṇopetaḥ* | *yadvā śobhana-hanumān* | "By the word *śipra*, a helmet is signified. *Suśipra* therefore means 'having a handsome helmet,' or it means 'having handsome jaws.' On iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; he returns to the latter interpretation. On viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; he again gives the alternative explanation as on iii. 30, 3. Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *śipra* and its derivatives, of which the following are the most important parts: *S'ipra* in the dual means jaws (i. 101, 10; iii. 32, 1; v. 36, 2; viii. 65, 10; x. 96, 9; x. 105, 5). *S'ipravat* means "having large jaws" (vi. 17, 2). *S'iprin* means the same, and is used only of Indra (i. 29, 2; i. 84, 1; iii. 36, 10, etc. etc.). *S'ipriṇī*, as Professor Aufrecht considers, means "a draught (imbibed by the jaws);" and he translates i. 30, 11, thus: "(Partake, our friend, wielder of the thunderbolt, of the draughts of us thy friends the soma-drinkers, thou who art fond of Soma." *S'iprṇīvat* (x. 105, 5) will thus be "he who possesses the draught." *Siprāḥ* in v. 54, 11, and viii. 7, 25, are "visors," the two parts of which are compared to two jaws. *Ayaḥ-śipra*, used of the Ṛibhus (iv. 37, 4) will consequently mean "having iron visors." The word occurs in other compounds, to which I need not here refer. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the armour of India to know whether anything like a visor was or is used by warriors in that country. It is, however, customary for the Hindus in particular circumstances (as for protection from the heat, and also from the cold, and for purposes of disguise) to wear their turbans not only wrapped horizontally round their heads, but also to tie another cloth perpendicularly under their chins and over the tops of their heads, thus enclosing the sides of their faces. This is called in the vernacular Hindī *ḍhāṭhā bāndhnā*. The word *ḍhaṭhā* is explained in Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary, *s.v.* as "a handkerchief tied over the turband and over the ears."

heads." Compare i. 64, 4; i. 166, 10; ii. 34, 2, 3 (*dyāvo na stṛibhiś chitayanta khādinaḥ* | "adorned with rings, they were conspicuous like the sky with its stars"); v. 53, 4 (where, in addition to their ornaments and their weapons, they are said to have been decorated with garlands: *ye anjishu ye vāśīshu svabhānavaḥ srakshu rukmeshu khādishu* | *śrāyāḥ ratheshu dhanvasu*); v. 55, 1; v. 57, 5, 6 (every glory is manifested in their bodies: *viśvā vaḥ śrīr adhi tanūshu pipiśe*); v. 58, 2 (*khādihastam*); vii. 56, 11, 13 (*aṁseshu vo Marutaḥ khādayaḥ*[225] | "on your shoulders, Maruts, are rings"); viii. 7, 25; viii. 20, 4 (*śubhrakhādayaḥ*), 11, 22; x. 78, 2. They are armed with golden weapons, and with lightnings, dart thunderbolts, gleam like flames of fire, and are borne along with the fury of boisterous winds (*vidyunmahaso naro aśmadidyavo vātatvisho Marutaḥ*, v. 54, 3); viii. 7, 4, 17, 32 (*vajrahastaiḥ . . . marudbhiḥ . . . hiraṇyavāśībhiḥ*); x. 78, 2, 3 (*vātāso na ye dhunayo jigatnavo agnīnāṁ na jihvāḥ virokinaḥ*); they split Vṛittra into fragments (viii. 7, 23: *vi vṛittram parvaśo yayuḥ*); they are clothed with rain (*varshanirṇijaḥ*, v. 57, 4); they create darkness even during the day, with the rain-clouds distribute showers all over the world, water the earth, and avert heat i. 38, 9 (*divā chit tamaḥ kṛiṇvanti parjanyena udavāhena* | *yat pṛithivīṁ vyundanti*); v. 54, 1 (*śardhāya mārutāya . . . gharma-stubhe*); v. 55, 5 (*ud īrayatha Marutaḥ samudrato yūyaṁ vṛishṭiṁ varshayatha purīshiṇaḥ*); viii. 7, 4 (*vapanti maruto miham* | 16. *ye drapsāḥ iva rodasī dhamanti anu vṛishṭibhiḥ*).[226] They open up a path for the sun, viii. 7, 8 (*sṛijanti raśmim ojasā panthāṁ sūryāya yātave*). They cause the mountains, the earth, and both the worlds to quake, i. 39, 5 (*pra vepayanti parvatān*); i. 87, 3 (*rejate bhūmiḥ*); v. 54, 1, 3 (*parvatachyutaḥ*); v. 60, 2 f. (*vo bhiyā pṛithivī chid rejate parvataś chit* | *parvataś chin mahi vṛiddho bibhāya divaś chit sānu rejata svane vaḥ*); vii. 57, 1 (*ye rejayanti rodasī chid urvī*); viii. 7, 4; viii. 20, 5. They rend trees, and, like wild elephants, they devour the forests, i. 39, 5; i. 64, 7 (*vi vinchanti vanaspatīn* | *mṛigāḥ iva hastinaḥ*

[225] On the sense of the word *khādi* see Müller's Trans. of the R.V. p. 102 and 218.

[226] In a hymn of the A.V. iv. 27, verse 3, the Maruts are said to give an impulse to the milk of cows, the sap of plants, the speed of horses (*payo dhenūnāṁ rasam oshadhīnāṁ javam arvatāṁ kavayo ye invatha*); and in the 4th verse they are described as raising the waters from the sea to the sky, and as discharging them from the sky on the earth (*apaḥ samudrād divam udvahanti divas pṛithivīm abhi ye sṛijanti*).

khādatha vanā). They have iron teeth (*ayodaṁshṭrān*, i. 88, 5); they roar like lions (*siṁhāḥ iva nānadati*, i. 64, 8); all creatures are afraid of them, i. 85, 8 (*bhayante viśvā bhuvanā marudbhyaḥ*. Their weapons are of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows (*vāśīmantaḥ rishṭimantaḥ | ishumanto nishanginaḥ*), i. 37, 2; v. 57, 2. Their coursers are swift as thought (*manojuvaḥ*, i. 85, 4). They ride, with whips in their hands (*kaśāḥ hasteshu*, i. 37, 3; i. 168, 4), in golden cars (*hiraṇyarathāḥ*, v. 57, 1), with golden wheels (*hiraṇyebhiḥ pavibhiḥ | hiraṇya-chakrān*, i. 64, 11; i. 88, 5), drawn by ruddy and tawny horses (with which the chariots are said to be winged), and flashing forth lightnings, or formed of lightning, i. 88, 1, 2 (*ā vidyunmadbhiḥ rathebhir rishṭimadbhir aśvaparṇaiḥ | aruṇebhiḥ piśangair aśvaiḥ*); iii. 54, 13 (*vidyudrathāḥ Marutaḥ rishṭimantaḥ*); v. 57, 4 (*piśangāśvāḥ aruṇāśvāḥ*). The animals by which these chariots are described as being drawn are designated in some places by the epithet *prishatīḥ* (i. 37, 2; i. 39, 6; i. 85, 5; viii. 7, 28), which Professor Wilson—following Sāyaṇa on Rig-veda, i. 37, 2[237]—renders by "spotted deer." But in i. 38, 12, the horses (*aśvāsaḥ*) of the Maruts are spoken of, as is also the case in viii. 7, 27, where they (the horses) are called *hiraṇya-pāṇibhiḥ*, "golden-footed;" though in the next verse (28) the *prishatīḥ* are again spoken of, as well as a *prashṭiḥ rohitaḥ*, which we find also in i. 39, 6, and which Sāyaṇa understands to denote either a swift buck, or a buck yoked as a leader to the does. In i. 87, 4, the troop of Maruts itself receives the epithet *prishad-aśva*, "having spotted horses." This is, indeed, explained by Sāyaṇa in the sense of "having does marked with white spots instead of horses;"[238] but in his notes on v. 54, 2, 10, and v. 55, 1, where the Maruts' horses are again spoken of (*na vo aśvāḥ śrathayanta | īyante aśvaiḥ suyamebhir āśubhiḥ*), he does not repeat this explanation. In v. 55, 6, where the Maruts are described as having yoked *prishatīḥ* (feminine) as horses (*aśvān*, masculine,) to their chariots, Sāyaṇa says we may either understand "spotted mares," or suppose the word "horse" to stand for

[237] *Prishatyo vindu-yuktāḥ mṛigyo Marud-vāhana-bhūtāḥ | "prishatyo Marutām" iti Nighaṇṭāv uktatvāt.*

[238] Benfey, in his translation of this verse (Orient and Occident, ii. 250) retains the sense of antelopes. In vii. 56, 1, the Maruts are styled *svaśvāḥ*, "having good horses," which Sāyaṇa explains *śobhana-vāhāḥ*, "having good carriers."

doe (*prishatīḥ . . . prishad-varṇāḥ vaḍavāḥ* | *sārangī vā atra aśva-śabda-vāchyā*). In his note on *prishatībhiḥ* in ii. 34, 3, he says they may be either does marked with white spots, or mares; and he interprets *prishatīḥ* in v. 57, 3, by *aśvāḥ*, mares. Professor Aufrecht, who has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *prishatīḥ*, is of opinion that, looking to all the passages where it occurs in connection with the Maruts, it must mean mares.[230] Perhaps it is best to hold with Professor Müller (Trans. of R.V. i. p. 59) that the Vedic poets admitted both ideas, as we find "that they speak in the same hymns, and even in the same verse, of the fallow deer, and also of the horses of the Maruts."

In the following verses, viii. 83, 9 ff., high cosmical functions are ascribed to the Maruts: *ā ye viśvā pārthivāni paprathan rochanā divaḥ* | *Marutaḥ somapītaye* | 10. *Tyān nu pūtadakshaso divo vo Maruto huve asya somasya pītaye* | 11. *Tyān nu ye vi rodasī tastabhur Maruto huve* | *asya somasya pītaye* | 12. *Taṁ nu Mārutaṁ gaṇaṁ girishṭhāṁ vrishaṇaṁ huve* | *asya somasya pītaye* | 9 and 10. "I invite to drink this soma the Maruts who stretched out all the terrestrial regions, and the luminaries of the sky; I call from the heaven those Maruts of pure

[230] Professor Aufrecht has pointed out a number of passages regarding the sense of the words *prishad-aśva* and *prishat*, as Rāyamukuṭa on Amara, the Vāj. Sanh. xxiv. 11, 18; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 5, 1, 10, and v. 5, 2, 9. He has also indicated another verse of the Rig-veda (v. 58, 6), where *prishatībhis* in the feminine is joined with *aśvaiḥ* in the masculine (where Professor Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 59, would translate, "when you come with the deer, the horses, and the chariots"); and remarks that viii. 54, 10, 11, could not mean that the rishi received a thousand antelopes. (The words are these: *dātā me prishatīnāṁ rājā hiraṇyavīnām* | *mā devāḥ maghavā rishat* | 11. *Sahasre prishatīnām adhi śchandram brihat prithu* | *śukraṁ hiraṇyam ādade* | "O gods, may the bountiful king, the giver to me of the gold-decked *prishatīs*, never perish! 11. I received gold, brilliant, heavy, broad, and shining, over and above a thousand *prishatīs* (probably speckled cows)." Sāyaṇa represents Indra as the bountiful patron here, and makes the worshipper pray to the gods that Indra may not perish, an erroneous interpretation, surely. Professor Roth appears, from a remark under the word *eta* (vol. i. p. 1091 of his Dict.) to have at one time regarded *prishatyaḥ* as a kind of deer. In his explanation of this latter word itself, however (in a later part of his Lexicon, which perhaps had not reached me when this note was first written), he says that it is a designation of the team of the Maruts; and according to the ordinary assumption of the commentators, which, however, is not established either by the Nirukta, or by any of the Brāhmanas known to us, denotes spotted antelopes. There is nothing, however, he goes on to say, to prevent our understanding the word (with Mahīdhara on Vāj. Sanh. ii. 16) to mean spotted mares, as mention is frequently enough made of the horses of the Maruts.

power. 11. I call to drink this soma those Maruts who held apart the two worlds. 12. I call to drink this soma that vigorous host of Maruts which dwells in the mountains."

The Maruts or Rudras (like their father Rudra; see the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 253, 259, 261, 263 f., 333 ff.), are in one hymn, viii. 20, 23, 25, supplicated to bring healing remedies, which are described as abiding in the Sindhu, the Asiknī, the seas, and the hills (*maruto mārutasya naḥ ā bheshajasya vahata | yad Sindhau yad Asiknyām yat samudreshu . . . yat parvateshu bheshajam*).

(2) *Relations of the Maruts to Indra;—the rival claims of the two parties.*

Professor Wilson is of opinion (Rig-veda ii., Indroduction p. vii. and notes pp. 145 and 160), that in a few hymns some traces are perceptible of a dispute between the votaries of the Maruts and those of Indra in regard to their respective claims to worship. Thus in hymns 165 and 170 of the first book of the Rig-veda we find dialogues, in the first case between Indra and the Maruts, and in the second between Indra and Agastya, in which the rival pretensions of these deities appear. Indra asks, i. 165, 6: *kva syā vo Marutaḥ svadhā āsīd yan mām ekam samadhatta Ahihatye | ahaṁ hi ugras tavishas tuvishmān viśvasya śatror anamaṁ vadhasnaiḥ* | 7. *Bhūri chakartha yujyebhir asme samānebhir vṛishabha pauṁsyebhiḥ | bhūrīṇi hi kṛiṇavāma śavishṭha Indra kratvā Maruto yad vaśāma* | 8. *Vadhīṁ Vṛittram marutaḥ indriyeṇa svena bhāmena* | "Where was your inherent power, ye Maruts, when ye involved me alone[240] in the conflict with Ahi? It was I who, fierce, strong, and energetic, overturned my enemies with my shafts." The Maruts rejoin: "7. Vigorous god, thou hast done great things with us for thy helpers, through our equal valour; for, O strong Indra, we Maruts by our power can perform many great exploits when we desire." Indra replies: "8. By my own prowess, Maruts, I slew Vṛittra, mighty in my wrath," etc.

Of hymn i. 170, the Nirukta says, i. 5, that "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On which Indra came and complained." (*Agastyaḥ Indrāya havir nirupya Marudbhyaḥ sampradītsāṁ chakāra | sa Indraḥ etya*

[240] See above, p. 93, note.

paridevayānchakre). The Maruts reply, i. 170, 2: *kiṁ naḥ Indra jighāṁsasi bhrātaro marutas tava | tebhiḥ kalpasva sādhuyā mā naḥ samaraṇe vadhīḥ* | 3. *Kiṁ no bhrātar Agastya sakhā sann ati manyase | vidma hi te yathā mano asmabhyam in na ditsasi* | "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray."[241] Indra then says to Agastya, v. 3. "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend, disregard us? For we know how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything."—See Roth's Elucidations of Nirukta, p. 6.) In i. 171, 4, also, the rishi, after imploring the favour of the Maruts, says to them apologetically: *asmād ahaṁ tavishād īshamāṇaḥ Indrād bhiyā Maruto rejamānaḥ | yushmabhyaṁ havyā niśitāni āsan tāni āre chakṛima mṛiḷata naḥ* | "I fled, trembling through fear of the mighty Indra. Oblations were prepared for you; we put them away; be merciful to us." (Compare R.V. iv. 18, 11; viii. 7, 31, and viii. 85, 7, quoted above, pp. 92 ff., note.) See Professor Muller's translation of i. 165, and the full illustrations he gives of its signification in his notes, pp. 170 ff., 179, 184, 186, 187, 189. This hymn is referred to in the following short story from the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa, ii. 7, 11, 1: *Agastyo marudbhyaḥ ukshṇaḥ praukshat | tān Indraḥ ādatta | te enaṁ vajram udyatya abhyāyanta | tān Agastyaś chaiva Indraś cha kayāśubhīyena aśamayatām | tān śāntān upāhvayata yat kayāśubhīyam bhavati śāntyai | tasmād ete aindrāmārutāḥ ukshāṇaḥ savanīyāḥ bhavanti | trayaḥ prathame 'hann ālabhyante | evaṁ dvitīye | evaṁ tritīye | pancha uttame 'hann ālabhyante* | "Agastya was immolating bulls to the Maruts. These bulls Indra carried off. The Maruts ran at him brandishing a thunderbolt. Agastya and Indra pacified them with the *kayāśubhīya*" (referring to R.V. i. 165, 1, of which the first verse begins with the words *kayā śubhā*). "Indra invited them to the ceremony when pacified, for the *kayāśubhīya* is used for pacification. Hence these bulls are to be offered both to Indra and the Maruts. Three are sacrificed on the first day, as many on the second and third; on the last day five are immolated."

In the following passages (some of which have been already quoted) the Maruts are said to worship Indra, viz., iii. 32, 3; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; viii. 3, 7; viii. 78, 1, 3.

[241] See Roth on the sense of this text, *s.v. kalp*.

SECTION X.

SŪRYA.

two sun-gods separately celebrated in the hymns
ers presiding over day and night are, as we
by the Indian commentators to be personified
it these deities, and especially Varuna, as des
more than the mere representatives of day and
ognized as moral governors, as well as superi
omena. There are two other gods (also, as
p. 54, reckoned in a few passages as belonging
e exact personifications of the sun,[243] viz., Sūrya
under these two different appellations that
in the Rig-veda; and although it may be
e one word should be used in any particular

hymn to Helios, verses 8 ff., the sun is thus described
νει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
ἐμβεβαώς· σμερδνὸν δ' ὅγε δέρκεται ὄσσοις
ς ἐκ κόρυθος· λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτῖνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
στίλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε παρειαὶ
ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσι πρόσωπον
ής· καλὸν δὲ περὶ χροῒ λάμπεται ἔσθος
γές, πνοιῇ ἀνέμων· ὑπὸ δ' ἄρσενες ἵπποι
ὅγε στήσας χρυσόζυγον ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους
ς πέμπῃσι δι' οὐρανοῦ Ὠκεανόνδε.
Greek ideas of the divinity of the sun, moon, and stars
ne passages of Plato cited or referred to by Mr. Grote,
449, 452, 497. One of these passages, from the Laws
ἀγαθοί, καταψευδόμεθα νῦν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Ἕλληνες
ἅμα καὶ Σελήνης. Again in the Epinomis, p. 984, ...
ties, by which the stars are meant: θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς
ς καὶ ὀξύτατον ὁρῶντας πάντῃ, τοὺς πρώτους ... τὴν τῶν

rather than the other, the application of the names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the aspect under which the sun is conceived, or on some diversity in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling. Different sets of hymns are, at all events, devoted to his worship under each of these names, and the epithets which are applied to him in each of these characters are for the most part separate. In some few places, both these two names, and occasionally some others, appear to be applied to the solar deity indiscriminately, but in most cases the distinction between them is nominally, at least, preserved.

The principal hymns, or portions of hymns, in praise of, or referring to, Sūrya are the following:—i. 50, 1–13; i. 115, 1–6; iv. 13, 1–3; v. 40, 5, 6, 8, 9; v. 45, 9, 10; v. 59, 5; vii. 60, 1–4; x. 37, 1 ff.; x. 170. He is treated of in Nirukta, xii. 14–16.

(2) *Sūrya's parentage, relations to the other gods, epithets, and functions.*

In x. 37, 1, Sūrya is styled the son of Dyaus (*Divas puttrāya Sūryāya śaṁsata*). In x. 88, 11, he is called the son of Aditi (*Sūryām Āditeyam*), and by the same title in viii, 90, 11 (*Baṇ mahān asi Sūrya baḷ Āditya mahān asi*); but in other places he appears to be distinguished from the Ādityas, as in viii. 35, 13 ff. (*sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha Ādityair yātam Aśvinā*). Ushas (the Dawn) is in one place said to be his wife (*Sūryasya yoshā*, vii. 75, 5), while in another passage, vii. 78, 3, the Dawns are, by a natural figure, said to produce him (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*) along with Sacrifice and Agni, and in a third text, to reveal all the three (*prāchikitat sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*). Sūrya is described as moving on a car, which is sometimes said to be drawn by one and sometimes by several, or by seven, fleet and ruddy horses or mares[244] (i. 115, 3, 4; vii. 60, 3: *ayukta sapta haritaḥ sadhastād yāḥ īṁ vahanti sūryaṁ ghṛitāchīḥ*); vii. 63, 2 (*yad etaśo vahanti dhūrshu yuktaḥ*; compare ix. 63, 7: *ayukta sūraḥ etaśam pavamānaḥ*); x. 37, 3; x. 49, 7. His path is prepared by the Ādityas, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa, i. 24, 8 (*urum hi rājā Varuṇaś chakāre sūryāya panthām anu etavai u*); vii. 60, 4 (*yasmai Ādityāḥ adhvano radanti Mitro Aryamā Varuṇaḥ sajoshāḥ*); vii. 87, 1. Pūshan goe

[244] Indra is said to traverse the sky with the sun's horses (*ahaṁ Sūryasya par yāmi āśubhiḥ pra etaśebhir vahamānaḥ ojasā*, x. 49, 7). Compare Ovid's descriptio of Phaethon's horses, Metam. ii. 153.

as his messenger with his golden ships, which sail in the aerial ocean, vi. 58, 3 (*yās te Pūshan nāvaḥ antaḥ samudre hiraṇyayīr antarikshe charanti* | *tābhir yāsi dūtyaṁ sūryasya*). He is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving, i. 115, 1 (*sūryaḥ ātmā jagatas tasthushaścha*); vii. 60, 2 (*viśvasya sthātur jagataścha gopāḥ*), the vivifier (*prasavitā*)[245] of men, and common to them all, vii. 63, 2, 3 (*sādhāraṇaḥ sūryo mānushāṇām* | *ud u eti prasavitā janānām*). Enlivened by him men pursue their ends and perform their work, vii. 63, 4 (*nūnaṁ janāḥ sūryeṇa prasūtāḥ ayann arthāni kriṇavann apāṁsi*). He is far-seeing, all-seeing, beholds all creatures, and the good and bad deeds of mortals,[246] i. 50, 2, 7; vi. 51, 2; vii. 35, 8; vii. 60, 2; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1, 4; x. 37, 1 (*sūrāya viśvachakshase* | *paśyan janmāni sūrya* | *sūryaḥ uru-chakshāḥ* | *riju marteshu vrijinā cha paśyan* | *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni chashṭe* | *dūredriśe*). He is represented as the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, and sometimes of Agni also, i. 115, 1; vi. 51, 1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1 (*chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya Agneḥ* | *chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya* | *namo Mitrasya Varuṇasya chakshase*). In one passage, vii. 77, 3, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to bring the eye of the gods, and

[245] This word and others derived from the same root *su* or *sū*, are, as we shall shortly see, very frequently applied to Savitri. In x. 66, 2, the gods are said to be *Indra-prasūtāḥ*.

[246] The same thing is naturally and frequently said of the sun in classical literature. Thus Homer says, Iliad, iii. 277:

ἠέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις· κ.τ.λ.

and again in the Iliad, xiv. 344 f.:

οὐδ' ἂν νῶϊ διαδράκοι ἠέλιός περ,
οὗτε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράασθαι·

And in the Odyssey, viii. 270 f.:

ἄφαρ δέ οἱ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν
Ἥλιος, ὅ σφ' ἐνόησε μιγαζομένους φιλότητι.

So too Æschylus in the Prometheus Vinctus:

καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

And Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 12:

Τῆς Ῥέας φασὶ κρύφα τῷ Κρόνῳ συγγενομένης αἰσθόμενον ἐπαράσασθαι τὸν Ἥλιον·

So too Ovid, Metamorph. iv. 171 f.:

Primus adulterium Veneris cum Marte putatur
Hic vidisse deus: videt hic deus omnia primus.

and verses 195 ff.:

qui que omnia cernere debes,
Leucotheen spectas: et virgine figis in una
quos mundo debes oculos.

lead on the bright and beautiful horse, by which the sun seems to be intended (*devānām chakshuḥ subhagā vahantī śvetaṁ nayantī sudṛiśīkam aśvam*; compare vii. 76, 1: *kratvā devānām ajanishṭa chakshuḥ*).[247] In x. 85, 1, it is said that while the earth is upheld by truth, the sky is upheld by the sun (*satyenottabhitā bhūmiḥ sūryeṇottabhitā dyauḥ*). He rolls up darkness like a hide, vii. 63, 1 (*charmeva yaḥ samvivyak tamāṁsi*). By his greatness he is the divine leader (or priest) of the gods, viii. 90, 12 (*mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Indra, or *vice versâ*, Indra with him. In x. 170, 4, the epithets *viśvakarman*, the architect of the universe, and *viśvadevyavat*, possessed of all divine attributes, are applied to him (as in viii. 87, 2, Indra also is styled *viśvakarman* and *viśvadeva*). In vii. 60, 1, and vii. 62, 2, he is prayed at his rising to declare men sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, etc. (*yad adya Sūrya bravo anāgāḥ udyan Mitrāya Varuṇaya satyam*).

(3) *Subordinate position sometimes assigned to him.*

In many passages, however, the dependent position of Sūrya is asserted. Thus he is said to have been produced, or caused to shine, or to rise, or to have his path prepared, etc., by Indra, ii. 12, 7 (*yaḥ Sūryaṁ yaḥ Ushasaṁ jajāna*); iii. 31, 15 (*Indro nṛibhir ajanad dīdyānaḥ sākaṁ Sūryam ushasaṁ gātum Agnim*); iii. 32, 8 (*jajāna Sūryam ushasam*); iii. 44, 2 (*sūryaṁ haryann arochayaḥ*); iii. 49, 4 (*janitā sūryasya*); vi. 17, 5; vi. 30, 5; viii. 78, 7 (*ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*);[248] viii. 87, 2; x. 171, 4 (*tvaṁ tyam Indra sūryam paśchā santam puras kṛidhi*); by Indra and Soma, vi. 72, 2 (*ut sūryaṁ nayatho jyotishā saha*); by Agni, x. 3, 2; x. 156, 4 (*Agne nakshatram ajaram ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi | dadhaj jyotir janebhyaḥ*); by the Ushases (Dawns),

[247] In v. 59, 3, 5, and x. 10, 9, the eye of the sun is spoken of; and in x. 16, 3, the lord of eyes (*sūryaś chakshushām adhipatiḥ*), and in A.V. v. 24, 9, the sun is said to be see beyond the sky, the earth, and the waters, and to be the one eye of created things (*sūryo dyām sūryaḥ prithivīm sūryaḥ āpo 'tipaśyati | sūryo bhūtasya ekaṁ chakshur āruroha divam mahīm*).

[248] In his note on this passage (viii. 78, 7) Sāyaṇa relates a legend, that formerly the Paṇis had carried off the cows of the Angirases, and placed them on a mountain enveloped in darkness, when Indra, after being lauded by the Angirases, and supplicated to restore the cows, caused the sun to rise that he might see them.

vii. 78, 3 (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*); by Soma, vi. 44, 23 (*ayaṁ sūrye adadhāj jyotir antaḥ*); ix. 63, 7; ix. 75, 1; ix. 86, 29 (*tava jyotīṁshi pavamāna sūryaḥ*); ix. 96, 5 (*janitā sūryasya*); ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3); by Dhātṛi, x. 190, 3 (*sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam akalpayat*); by Varuṇa, i. 24, 8; vii. 87, 1 (quoted above); by Mitra and Varuṇa, iv. 13, 2 (*anu vrataṁ Varuṇo yanti Mitro yat sūryaṁ divi ārohayanti*); v. 63, 4, 7 (*sūryam ā dhattho divi*); Indra and Varuṇa, vii. 82, 3 (*sūryam airayataṁ divi prabhum*); by Indra and Vishṇu, vii. 99, 4 (*uruṁ yajnāya chakrathur u lokaṁ janayantā sūryam ushasam agnim*), and by the Angirases through their rites, x. 62, 3 (*ye ṛitena sūryam ārohayan divi aprathayan pṛithivīm mātaraṁ vi*). In passages of this description the divine personality of the sun is thrown into the background: the grand luminary becomes little more than a part of nature, created and controlled by those spiritual powers which exist above and beyond all material phenomena. The divine power of Mitra and Varuṇa is said to be shown in the sky, where Sūrya moves a luminary and a bright agent [or instrument] of theirs; whom again they conceal by clouds and rain, v. 63, 4 (*māyā vām Mitrāvaruṇā divi śritā sūryo jyotiś charati chitram āyudham | tam abhreṇa vṛishṭyā gūhatho divi*). He is declared to be god-born, x. 37, 1; to be the son of the sky, ibid. (*devajātāya ketave Divas putrāya Sūryāya*); to have been drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden (x. 72, 7, see above, p. 48); to have been placed by the gods in heaven, x. 88, 11 (*yadā id enam adadhur yajniyāso divi devāḥ sūryam āditeyam*), where he is identified with Agni; and to have sprung from the eye of Purusha, x. 90, 13 (*chakshoḥ sūryo ajāyata*).[249] He is also said to have been overcome and despoiled by Indra, x. 43, 5 (*saṁvargaṁ yan maghavā sūryam jayat*),[250] who, in some obscure verses is alluded to as having carried off one of the wheels of his chariot, i. 175, 4; iv. 28, 2; iv. 30, 4; v. 29, 10.

(4) *Translation of a hymn to Sūrya.*

I subjoin, with a translation, the greater part of the picturesque, if somewhat monotonous, hymn, i. 50: *Ud u tyaṁ jātavedasaṁ devaṁ*

[249] In the A.V. iv. 10, 5, the sun is said to have sprang from Vṛittra (*Vṛitrāj jāto divākaraḥ*).

[250] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 92 f.

vahanti ketavaḥ | dṛiśe viśvāya sūryam | 2. Apa tye tāyavo yathā nakshattrā yanti aktubhiḥ | sūrāya viśvachakshase | 3. Adṛiśram asya ketavo vi raśmayo janān anu | bhrājanto agnayo yathā | 4. Taraṇir viśvadarśato jyotishkṛid asi sūrya | viśvam ā bhāsi rochanam | 5. Pratyāṅ devānām viśaḥ pratyaññ ud eshi mānushān | pratyaṅ viśvam svar dṛiśe | 6. Yena pāvaka chakshasā bhuraṇyantam janān anu | tvam Varuṇa paśyasi | 7. Vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithu ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya | 8. Sapta tvā harito rathe vahanti deva sūrya | śochishkeśam vichakshaṇa | 9. ayukta sapta śundhyuvaḥ sūro rathasya naptyaḥ | tābhir yati svayuktibhiḥ | 10. Ud vayam tamasas pari jyotish paśyantaḥ uttaram | devam devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam |

1. "The heralds[251] lead aloft this god Sūrya, who knows all beings, (manifesting him) to the universal gaze. 2. (Eclipsed) by thy rays, the stars slink away, like thieves, before thee the all-beholding luminary. 3. His rays revealing (his presence) are visible to all mankind, flaming like fires. 4. Traversing (the heavens), all-conspicuous, thou createst light, o Sūrya, and illuminatest the whole firmament. 5. Thou risest in the presence of the race of gods, of men, and of the entire heaven, that thou mayest be beheld. 6. With that glance of thine wherewith, o illuminator, o Varuṇa, thou surveyest the busy race of men,[252] 7. thou, o Sūrya, penetratest the sky, the broad firmament, measuring out the days with thy rays, spying out all creatures. 8. Seven ruddy mares bear thee onward in thy chariot, o clear-sighted Sūrya, the god with flaming locks. 9. The sun has yoked the seven brilliant mares, the daughters of the car; with these, the self-yoked, he advances. 10. Gazing towards the upper light beyond the darkness, we have ascended to the highest luminary, Sūrya, a god among the gods."[253]

[251] In his translation of R.V. i. 166, 1, Professor Müller renders *ketu* by *herald* (see pp. 197, and 201), a sense which suits the verse before us very well.

[252] See Professor Benfey's translation, and note (Orient und Occident, i. p. 405), and the passage of Roth's Abhandlungen (Dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda) p. 81 f., to which he refers; and in which that writer regards the reading *janān* as standing for *janām*, the acc. sing., the last syllable being lengthened on account of the metre.

[253] I subjoin a metrical translation of these verses:

1. By lustrous heralds led on high,
The omniscient Sun ascends the sky,
His glory drawing every eye.

The Atharva-veda contains a long hymn to Sūrya, xiii. 2, partly made up of extracts from the Rig-veda.

The Mahābhārata (iii. 166 ff.) also has a hymn to the same god, in which he is styled "the eye of the world, and the soul of all embodied creatures," v. 166 (*tvam bhāno jagataś chakshus tvam ātmā sarva-dehinām*); the source of all beings, the body of observances performed by those who practise ceremonies, the refuge of the Sānkhyas, the highest object of Yogins, the unbolted door, the resort of those seeking emancipation, etc., etc.; v. 166 f. (*tvaṁ yoniḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tvam āchāraḥ kriyāvatām | tvaṁ gatiḥ sarva-sānkhyānāṁ yogināṁ tvaṁ parāyaṇam | anāvṛitārgaladvāraṁ tvam gatis tvam mumukshatām*); and his celestial chariot (*divyaṁ ratham*) is referred to (v. 170). He is also, we are told, said by those who understand the computation of time, to be the beginning and end of that period of a thousand yugas known as the day of Brahmā (*yad aho Brahmaṇaḥ proktaṁ sahasra-yuga-sammitam | tasya tvam ādir antaś cha kālajnaiḥ samprakīrttitaḥ*); the lord of the Manus, of their sons, of the world sprung from Manu, and of all the lords of the Manvantaras. When the time of the mundane dissolution has arrived, the Samvarttaka fire, which reduces all things to ashes, issues from his wrath (vv. 185 f.; compare the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 43 f. and 207).

2. All-seeing Sun, the stars so bright,
Which gleamed throughout the sombre night,
Now scared, like thieves, slink fast away,
Quenched by the splendour of thy ray.
3. Thy beams to men thy presence shew;
Like blazing fires they seem to glow.
4. Conspicuous, rapid, source of light,
Thou makest all the welkin bright.
5. In sight of gods, and mortal eyes,
In sight of heaven thou scal'st the skies.
6. Bright god, thou scann'st with searching ken
The doings all of busy men.
7. Thou stridest o'er the sky; thy rays
Create, and measure out, our days;
Thine eye all living things surveys.
8. 9. Seven lucid mares thy chariot bear,
Self-yoked, athwart the fields of air,
Bright Sūrya, god with flaming hair.
10. That glow above the darkness we
Beholding, upward soar to thee,
For there among the gods thy light
Supreme is seen, divinely bright.

Savitur jushāṇā | abhi samrājo Varuṇo griṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ). He is lord of all desirable things, and sends blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth, i. 24, 3; ii. 38, 11 (*īśānām vāryāṇām | asmabhyam tad divo adbhyaḥ prithivyās tvayā dattam kāmyam rādhaḥ ā gāt | śam yat stotribhyaḥ āpaye bhavāti uruśamsāya Savitar jaritre*). He impels the car of the Aśvins before the dawn, i. 34, 10 (*yuvor hi pūrvam Savitā ushaso ratham ritāya chitram ghritavantam ishyati*). He is *prajāpati*,[257] the lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and of the world, and is supplicated to hasten to his worshippers with the same eagerness as cattle to a village, as warriors to their horses, as a cow to give milk to her calf, as a husband to his wife, iv. 53, 2; iv. 54, 4; x. 149, 1, 4[258] (*Divo dharttā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ | Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adrimhat | 4. Gāvaḥ iva grāmam yuyudhir ivāśvān vāśrena vatsam sumanāḥ duhānā | patir iva jāyām abhi no ni etu dhartā divaḥ Savitā viśvavāraḥ*). In v. 82, 7, he is called *viśvadeva*, "in all attributes a god." He measured (or fashioned) the terrestrial regions, v. 81, 3 (*yaḥ parthivāni vi mame*). He bestows immortality on the gods, iv. 54, 2 = Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 54 (*devebhyo hi prathamam yajniyebhyo amritatvam suvasi bhāgam uttamam*), as he did on the Ṛibhus, who by the greatness of their merits attained to his abode, i. 110, 2, 3 (*charitasya bhūmanā agachhata Savitur dāśusho griham | tat Savitā vo amritatvam āsuvat*). In x. 17, 4, he is prayed to convey the departed spirit to the abode of the righteous (*yatrāsate sukrito yatra te yayus tatra tvā devaḥ Savitā dadhātu*). He is supplicated to deliver his worshippers from sin, iv. 54, 3 (*achittī yach chakrima daivye jane .... | deveshu cha Savitar mānusheshu cha tvam no attra suvatād anāgasaḥ*).

Savitṛi is sometimes called *apām napāt*, son of the waters (x. 149, 2), an epithet which is more commonly applied to Agni.

[257] In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 1 (p. 117), it is said, *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asrijata*, "Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛi, created living beings." On the relation of Savitṛi and Prajāpati see Weber, "Omina und Portenta," pp. 386, 392; and the passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 3, 5, 1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitṛi with Prajāpati, *Yo hy eva Savitā sa Prajāpatir iti vadantaḥ*, etc., etc.

[258] It is not clear whether it is Savitṛi or the aerial ocean (*samudra*) from which earth, atmosphere, and sky are said in x. 149, 2, to have sprung. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 96.

...m yajato brihantam ā asthād ratham savitā chitrabhā-
...śyāvāḥ śitipādaḥ akhyan ratham hiraṇyapraügaṁ vahan-
...ratno antarikshaprāḥ vahamāno aśvaiḥ). Surrounded by
...re, hiraṇyayīm amatim (iii. 38, 8; vii. 38, 1; vii. 45,
...ates the atmosphere, and all the regions of the earth,
...iv. 14, 2; iv. 53, 4; v. 81, 2 (vi suparṇo antarikshāṇi
... vi akhyat kakubhaḥ prithivyāḥ | ūrdhvaṁ ketuṁ savitā
...ir viśvasmai bhuvanāya krinvan | adābhyo bhuvanāni pra
...ākam akhyat Savitā). His robust and golden arms
...ches out to bless, and infuse energy into
...tmost ends of heaven, ii. 38, 2; iv. 53, 3,
...viśvasya hi śrushṭaye devaḥ ūrdhvaḥ pra bā...
... pra bāhū asrāk Savitā savimani | ud u sya...
... ayaṁsta savanāya sukratuḥ | ud asya bāhū...
...ā divo antān anashṭām). In one place, how...
...d ayohanu, the iron-jawed, though even there...
...hat ayas, which ordinarily means iron, is to...
... ancient paths in the sky are said to be free...
...panthāḥ Savitaḥ pūrvyāso areṇavaḥ sukritāḥ...
...e Varuṇa and others of the gods) asura, a...
...v. 53, 1). His will and independent auth...
...ndra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, or by...
..., 9; v. 82, 2 (nakir asya tāni vratā deva...
...ya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā...
... svayaśastaraṁ Savituḥ kach chana priyam...
... observes fixed laws, iv. 53, 4; x. 34, 8...
...Savitā 'bhirakshate | Savitā satyadharmā).
... lead, v. 81, 3 (yasya prayāṇam anu anye...
...ters and the wind obey his ordinance, ii. 38,...
...ā nimrigrāḥ ayaṁ chid vāto ramate parijman)...
...rated by the Vasus, by Aditi, by the royal Varu...
...ryaman, vii. 38, 3, 4 (api stutaḥ Savitā devo...
...o griṇanti | abhi yam devī Aditir griṇāti savaṁ...
...alled hiraṇya-bāhu, golden-armed, vii. 34,...
... like Savitri, i. 95, 7. In vii. 79, 2, the D... Agni is
...stretches out his arms. In i. 190, 3, also ... arms are said
... vii. 62, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are supplicated ... the arms of
...ed to stre...

dāśusho gṛiham | 3. *Tat Savitā vo amṛitatvam āsuvat* | "Sons of Sudhanvan (Ṛibhus), by the greatness of your deeds ye arrived at the house of the bountiful Savitṛi. 3. Savitṛi bestowed on you (*āsuvat*) that immortality."

i. 159, 5. *Tad rādho adya Savitur vareṇyaṁ vayaṁ devasya prasave manāmahe* | "That desirable wealth we to-day seek through the favouring impulse of the divine Savitṛi."

ii. 38, 1. *Ud u syaḥ devaḥ Savitā savāya śaśvatamaṁ tad-apāḥ vahnir asthāt* | "The god Savitṛi hath arisen to impel (or vivify) us, he who continually so works, the supporter."

iii. 33, 6 (Nir. ii. 26). *Devo anayat Savitā supāṇis tasya vayam prasave yāmaḥ urvīḥ* | "The god Savitṛi hath led (us, *i.e.* the waters); by his propulsion we flow on broadly."

iii. 56, 6. *Trir ā divaḥ Savitaḥ vāryāṇi dive dive āsuva trir no ahnaḥ* | 7. *Trir ā divaḥ Savitā soshavīti rājānā Mitrāvaruṇā supāṇī* | "Thrice every day, o Savitṛi, send us desirable things from the sky. 7. Thrice Savitṛi continues to send down (these things to us) from the sky; and so also do the fair-handed Mitra and Varuṇa."

iv. 53, 3. *Pra bāhū asrāk Savitā savīmani niveśayan prasuvann aktubhir jagat* | 6. *Bṛihatsumnaḥ prasavitā niveśano jagataḥ sthātur ubhayasya yo vaśī* | *sa no devaḥ Savitā śarma yachhatu* | "Savitṛi hath stretched out his arms in his vivifying energy (*savīmani*[260]), stablishing and animating all that moves by his rays. 6. May that god Savitṛi, who bestows great happiness, the vivifier, the stablisher, who is lord both of that which moves and of that which is stationary, bestow on us protection."

iv. 54, 3. *Achitti yach chakṛima daivye jane dīnair dakshaiḥ prabhūti pūrushatvatā* | *deveshu cha Savitar mānusheshu cha tvaṁ no atra suvatād anāgasaḥ* | "Whatever (offence) we have committed by want of thought, against the divine race, by feebleness of understanding, by violence, after the manner of men, and either against gods or men, do thou, o Savitṛi, constitute (*suvatāt*) us sinless."

v. 82, 3. *Sa hi ratnāni dāśushe suvāti Savitā Bhagaḥ* | 4. *Adya no devaḥ Savitaḥ prajāvat sāvīḥ saubhagam* | *parā dushvapnyaṁ sava* | 5. *Viśvāni deva Savitar duritāni parā suva yad bhadraṁ tan na āsuva* | 6. *Anāgasaḥ Aditaye devasya Savituḥ save* | *viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi*

[260] This word also occurs in Sāma-veda, i. 464.

ṁ satpatiṁ sūktair adya vṛiṇīmahe | satyasavaṁ Savi-
he, Savitri, who is Bhaga, (or the protector, bhaga),
o his worshipper. 4. Send (sāvīḥ) to-day, o divine
ity with progeny: send away (parā-suva) sleeplessness
, 4, where a similar expression (apa suva) is employed
Sūrya). 5. Send away, o divine Savitri, all calamities;
s what is good. 6. May we, becoming sinless towards
the influence (sava) of the divine Savitri, possess all
. 7. We seek to-day, with hymns, for Savitri, who
nergy (*satya-sava*[361]), and all divine attributes, the

u syaḥ devaḥ Savitā hiraṇyayā bāhū ayaṁsta
savasya vayaṁ Savituḥ savīmani śreshṭhe sy
viśvasya dvipado yaś chatushpado niveśa
| 6. *Vāmam adya Savitar vāmam u śvo*
aṁ sāvīḥ | "The potent god Savitri hath
rms to vivify (or impart energy). 2. May
t vivifying power (compare x. 36, 12) of
the bestowal of wealth by thee, who com
ify the entire two-footed and four-footed
y, Savitri, what is desirable; send it to us

u tishṭha Savitaḥ . . . ā nṛibhyo marttabhojanaṁ
ṁ devī Aditir griṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur
uṇo griṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ
ling (*āsuvānaḥ*) to men the food which is fit
(*i.e.* Savitri) the goddess Aditi praises, welcom
of the divine Savitri, whom Varuṇa, Mitra, and
ncert."
adya devaḥ Savitā suvāti syāma asya ratnino
in the distribution (of wealth) which the opulent
to-day."
devo yātu Savitā suratno antariksha-prāḥ vaha
āso naryā purūṇi niveśayan cha prasuvan cha bh
Savitā sahāvā sāvishad vasupatir vasūni | "Ma
t is applied to him in x. 36, 13. It occurs also in the

god Savitṛi approach, rich in treasures, filling the atmosphere, borne by horses, holding in his hand many gifts suitable for men, stablishing and vivifying the world. 3. May the powerful god Savitṛi, lord of wealth, send us riches."

viii. 91, 6. *Āsavaṁ Savitur yathā Bhagasyeva bhujiṁ huve* | *Agniṁ samudravāsasam* | "I invoke the sea-clothed Agni, as (I invoke) the vivifying power (*savam* [262]) of Savitṛi and the bounty of Bhaga."

x. 35, 7. *Śreshṭham no adya Savitar vareṇyam bhāgam āsuva sa hi ratnadhāḥ asi* | "Send us to-day, o god Savitṛi, a most excellent and desirable portion, for thou art the possessor of riches."

x. 36, 14. *Savitā naḥ suvatu sarvatātim* | "May Savitṛi send (*suvatu*) all prosperity," etc.

x. 100, 8. *Apa amīvāṁ Savitā sāvishad nyak* | "May Savitṛi remove (*apasāvishat*) sickness."

x. 139, 1. *Sūryaraśmir harikeśaḥ purastāt Savitā jyotir ud ayān ajasram* | *tasya Pūshā prasave yāti vidvān sampaśyan viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ* | "Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitṛi raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy (*prasave*) the wise Pūshan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian."

Compare A.V. v. 24, 1; vii. 14, 1, 3; vii. 15, 1.

The preceding passages will suffice to show the extent to which this play on words is carried in the hymns addressed to Savitṛi.

Derivatives from the same root are, as we have already seen, also applied to Sūrya, as *prasavitā* and *prasūtaḥ*, in R.V. vii. 63, 2 and 4; and *apasuva* in x. 37, 4; to Indra (*haryaśva-prasūtāḥ*, iii. 30, 12); to Varuṇa (*parāsuva*, ii. 28, 9); and to Mitra, Aryaman, Savitṛi, and Bhaga (*suvāti*, vii. 66, 4). In vii. 77, 1, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to rouse (*prasuvantī*) all living creatures into motion. In viii. 18, 1, the impulse, vivifying power, or favouring aid (*savīmani*) of the Ādityas is referred to.

(3) *Savitṛi, sometimes distinguished from, sometimes identified with, Sūrya.*

Savitṛi is sometimes expressly distinguished from Sūrya. Thus he is said in i. 35, 9, to approach, or (according to Prof. Benfey's rendering) to

[262] In i. 164, 26, and ix. 67, 25, particularly in the latter passage, *sava* may mean a libation of soma. Compare *brahmasavaiḥ* in ix. 67, 24.

...ti sūryam); as in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless towards
...o attra Savitā damūnāḥ anāgaso vochati Sūryāya); and in
...nbine with the rays of Sūrya (uta Sūryasya raśmibhiḥ
...n explanation of the last passage, Sāyaṇa remarks, that
...g the sun is called Savitṛi, and from his rising till his
...udayāt pūrvabhāvī Savitā | udayāstamayavarttī Sūryaḥ
...arly Yāska says, Nirukta xii. 12: tasya kālo yadā dyaur
...ākīrṇaraśmir bhavati | "the time of Savitṛi's appearance
...s has been removed, and the rays of light ... become
...sky." If so, his action must also extend to a later peri...
...n vii. 66, 4, he is prayed along with Mitra ...
...yaman and Bhaga, to vivify the worshipper ...
...n (yad adya sūre udite anāgāḥ Mitro Arya...
Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitṛi is termed ...
the rays of Sūrya;" and in ... the 8th and
... 8: śam naḥ Sūryaḥ urucakshāḥ | 10: śaṁ ...
...aḥ), as well as in x. 181, 3 (Dhātur dyutānāt ...
...d abharan gharmam etc), the two gods are ...
...s we are to suppose (but apparently without ...
passage the writer means to identify all the ...
...named, viz. Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, and Sūrya ...
...here several gods are mentioned besides ...
two appear to be distinguished: abodhi Agnir ...
...Ushāś chandrā mahī āvo archishā | ayukshātām ...
...āsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat prithak | "Agni has ...
Sūrya rises; the great and bright Ushas has ...
; the Aśvins have yoked their car to go; Savitṛi ...
...ving creature." In other texts, however, the ...
be employed indiscriminately to denote the ...
...4, 2 (ūrdhvam ketum Savitā devo aśrej jyotir viśvasmai ...
... | ā aprāḥ dyāvā-prithivī antarikshaṁ vi Sūryo ...

...here that, though the godhead of Savitṛi and Sūrya ...
...om their representing different forms, be spoken of as ...
...d approached (yadyapi savitṛi-sūryayor ekadevatātvam ...
...-gantavya-bhāvaḥ).
...ace (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and A...
...s sinless towards Varuṇa.

mibhiś chekitānaḥ); x. 158, 1 (*Sūryo no divas pātu* . . . | 2. *Josha Savitaḥ* . . . | 3. *Chakshur no devaḥ Savitā* . . . | 5. *Susandṛiśaṁ tvā vayam prati paśyema Sūrya*). In i. 35, 7, also the name Sūrya may be employed as synonymous with Savitṛi, which is found in the other verses of the hymn, although, as we have already seen, the two deities appear to be distinguished in verse 9. See also i. 124, 1; and vii. 63, 1—4 (when the word Sūrya is used in verses 1, 2, and 3, and Savitṛi in verse 4, and where the functions expressed by the derivatives of the root *su*, which, as we have seen, are most generally assigned to Savitṛi, are in verses 2 and 4 predicated of Sūrya).

In v. 81, 4 and 5 (*uta Mitro bhavasi deva dharmabhiḥ* | 5. *Uta Pūshā bhavasi deva yāmabhiḥ*), Savitṛi is identified with Mitra and Pūshan, or is, at least, described as fulfilling the proper function of those gods. And similarly in v. 82, 1, 3, and vii. 38, 1, 6 (unless with Prof. Roth, *s.v.* we take *Bhaga* as a simple epithet), Savitṛi seems to be identified with the god of that name. On the other hand, he is clearly distinguished from these and other deities, in such texts as iii. 54, 11, 12; vi. 49, 14; vi. 50, 1, 13; viii. 18, 3; viii. 91, 6; x. 139, 1.

The word Savitṛi is not always a proper name; but is sometimes used as an epithet. Thus in ii. 30, 1, it seems to express an attribute of Indra; and in iii. 55, 19, and x. 10, 5 (*devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*), to be, as well as *viśvarūpa*, an epithet of Tvashṭṛi. As applied to this god, it probably means rather the generator, than the vivifier.

bring Sūrya (*veti sūryam*);[263] in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless towards Sūrya[264] (*devo no attra Savitā damūnāḥ anāgaso vochati Sūryāya*); and in v. 81, 4, to combine with the rays of Sūrya (*uta Sūryasya raśmibhiḥ samuchyasi*). In explanation of the last passage, Sāyaṇa remarks, that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛi, and from his rising till his setting Sūrya (*udayāt pūrvabhāvī Savitā | udayāstamayavarttī Sūryaḥ iti*). And similarly Yāska says, Nirukta xii. 12: *tasya kālo yadā dyaur apahatatamaskā ākīrṇaraśmir bhavati* | "the time of Savitṛi's appearance is when darkness has been removed, and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky." If so, his action must also extend to a later period of the day, as in vii. 66, 4, he is prayed along with Mitra (the god of the day) and Aryaman and Bhaga, to vivify the worshipper after the rising of the sun (*yad adya sūre udite anāgāḥ Mitro Aryamā | suvāti Savitā Bhagaḥ*). Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitṛi is termed *sūrya-raśmi*, "invested with the rays of Sūrya;" and in the 8th and 10th verses of vii. 35 (verse 8: *śam naḥ Sūryaḥ uruchakshāḥ* | 10: *śaṁ no devaḥ Savitā trāyamāṇaḥ*), as well as in x. 181, 3 (*Dhātur dyutānāt Savituś cha Vishṇor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam etc*), the two gods are separately mentioned, unless we are to suppose (but apparently without reason) that in the last passage the writer means to identify all the four gods who are there named, viz. Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, and Sūrya. In i. 157, 1 also, where several gods are mentioned besides Sūrya and Savitṛi, the last two appear to be distinguished: *abodhi Agnir jmaḥ udeti Sūryo vi Ushāś chandrā mahī āvo archishā | ayukshātām Aśvinā yātave ratham prāsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat pṛithak* | "Agni has awoke from the earth: Sūrya rises; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her radiance; the Aśvins have yoked their car to go; Savitṛi has vivified each moving creature." In other texts, however, the two names appear to be employed indiscriminately to denote the same deity, viz. in iv. 14, 2 (*ūrdhvaṁ ketum Savitā devo aśrej jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛiṇvan | ā aprāḥ dyāvā-pṛithivī antarikshaṁ vi Sūryo raś-*

[263] Sāyaṇa remarks here that, though the godhead of Savitṛi and Sūrya is identical, they may yet, from their representing different forms, be spoken of as respectively approaching and approached (*yadyapi savitṛi-sūryayor ekadevatātvaṁ tathāpi mūrtti-bhedena gantṛi-gantavya-bhāvaḥ*).

[264] As in another place (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and Aditi, to declare the worshippers sinless towards Varuṇa.

Pūshan are i. 42; i. 138; vi. 53–56; vi. 58; and x. 26. In ii. 40, he is invoked along with Soma, and in vi. 57, in company with Indra. The single or detached verses of other hymns in which he is mentioned are numerous. In addition to the epithets above specified by Professor Roth, I note the following, and others will be found, in the hymns which are translated below: *agohya*, not to be hidden (x. 64, 3); *anarvan*, resistless (vi. 48, 15); *abhyardhayajvan*, bringing blessings (vi. 50, 5);[266] *asura*, divine (v. 51, 11); *kshayadvīra*, ruler of heroes (i. 106, 4); *tavyas*, strong, and *tura*, vigorous (v. 43, 9); *tuvijāta*, of powerful nature (i. 138, 1); *purandhi*, wise (ii. 31, 4); *purūvasu*, abounding in wealth (viii. 4, 15); *mantumat*, wise in counsel (i. 42, 5); *maṁhishṭha*, most bountiful (viii. 4, 18); *mayobhū*, beneficent (i. 138, 2); *vājin*, bestower of food (i. 106, 4); *śakra*, powerful, (viii, 4, 15); *viśvadevya*, distinguished by all divine attributes (x. 92, 13); *viśvasaubhaga*, bestowing all blessings (i. 42, 6); *viśvavedas*, knowing all things (i. 89, 6); *hiraṇyavāśimattama*, skilful wielder of a golden spear (i. 42, 6); and Soma is said to be like Pūshan an impeller of the soul (*dhījavana*). He is the lord of all things moving and stationary, the inspirer of the soul, an unconquerable protector and defender, and is besought to give increase of wealth, i. 89, 5 (*tam īśānam jagatas tastushas patim dhiyañjinvam avase hūmahe vayam | Pūshā no yathā vedasām asad vṛidhe rakshitā pāyur adabdhaḥ svastaye* | compare ii. 1, 6). He is besought to maintain his friendship steadfast like a skin without holes and well filled with curds; he is declared to transcend mortals, and to be equal to the gods, in glory; and is prayed to protect his servants in battle and to defend them as of old, vi. 48, 18 (*dṛiter iva te avṛikam astu sakhyam | achhidrasya dadhanvataḥ supūrṇasya dadhanvataḥ* | 19. *Paro hi martyair asi samo devair uta śriyā | abhi khyaḥ Pūshan pṛitanāsu nas tvam ava nūnam yathā purā*). He is said to regard, and to see clearly and at once, all creatures, iii. 62, 9 (*yo viśvā abhi vipaśyati bhuvanā saṁ cha paśyati | sa naḥ Pūshā 'vitā bhuvat*), and in x. 139, 1, is associated

[266] "Spenden entgegenbringend" (Roth). Yāska (Nir. vi. 6) explains the compound as *abhyardhayan yajati*, "one who increasing, worships," and Sāyaṇa expands this into "prospering his worshippers" (*stotṛīn abhyardhayan samṛiddhān kurvan yo yajati dhanena pūjayati tādṛiśaḥ*); Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 75, inclines to the same interpretation.

SECTION XII.

PŪSHAN.

I commence my description of this deity by translating the account given of him in the Sanskrit and German Lexicon of Messrs. Böthlingk and Roth, vol. iv. p. 854 f.

(1) *Functions and epithets of Pūshan.*

"Pūshan is a protector and multiplier of cattle (*paśupā*) and of human possessions in general (*pushṭimbhara*, R.V. vi. 3, 7). As a cowherd he carries an ox-goad (vi. 53, 9; vi. 58, 2) and he is drawn by goats (*ajāśva*). In character he is a solar deity,[265] beholds the entire universe, and is a guide on roads and journies (i. 42, 1; x. 17, 6; x. 59, 7; x. 85, 26; A.V. vi. 73, 3), and to the other world (*pathaspati*, *prapathya* (x. 17, 3, 5; A.V. xvi. 9, 2; xviii. 2, 53). He is called the lover of his sister Sūryā (vi. 55, 4, 5; vi. 58, 4). He aids in the revolutions of day and night (i. 23, 13–15); and shares with Soma the guardianship of living creatures (*Soma-pūshaṇau*, ii. 40, 1 ff.). He is invoked along with the most various deities, but most frequently with Indra (*Indrā-pūshaṇau*, i. 162, 2; vii. 35, 1), and Bhaga (iv. 30, 24; v. 41, 4; v. 46, 2; x. 125, 2. Compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 4, 3, 3; Kāty. Sr. v. 13, 1). His most remarkable epithets, in addition to those above specified, are *āghṛiṇi*, *kapardin*, *karambhād*, *dasra*, *dasma*, *dasmavarchas*, *narāśaṁsa* (R.V. i. 106, 4; x. 64, 3) *vimucho napāt*, *vimochana*. Compare especially the hymns R.V. vi. 53–58; x. 26." The reader can also consult the remarks on this god given in the Introductions to Professor Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda, vol. i. p. xxxv. and vol. iii. p. xii.

The hymns which are exclusively devoted to the celebration of

[265] In Nir. vii. 9, where R.V. x. 17, 3, is quoted, Yāska explains the words *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* there applied to Pūshan, by *sarveshām bhūtānām gopāyitā ādityaḥ* | "the sun, the preserver of all beings."

A.V. xvi. 9, 2. *Tad Agnir āha tad u Somaḥ āha Pushā mā dhāt sukṛitasya loke* | "Agni says, and Soma says, 'may Pūshan place me in the world of righteousness.'"

A.V. xviii. 2, 53. *Agnīshomā pathikṛitā syonaṁ devebhyo ratnaṁ dadhathur vi lokam* | *upa preshyatam Pūshaṇaṁ yo vahāti ajayānaiḥ pathibhis tattra gachhatam* | "Agni and Soma, makers of paths, ye have prepared for the gods, as a treasure, a beautiful world; go thither and send hither to us Pūshan, who shall conduct us by direct roads."[369]

In R.V. i. 23, 13 f. the glowing Pūshan is prayed to bring hither, like a lost beast, the supporter of the sky, who is surrounded by brilliant grass;[370] and is said to have found the king so designated, who had been concealed (*ā Pūshan chitrabarhisham āghṛiṇe dharuṇaṁ divaḥ āja nashṭaṁ yathā paśum* | 14. *Pūshā rājānam āghṛiṇir apagūḷhaṁ guhā hitam* | *avindach chitrabarhisham*).

In one passage, i. 23, 8, the other gods are designated by the appellation of *pūsharāti*, "bestowers of Pūshan's gifts," or "having Pūshan as their chief giver."

(2) *Hymns addressed to Pūshan.*

I shall now translate some of the hymns addressed to Pūshan, from which it will appear that the character of this god is not very distinctly defined; and that it is difficult to declare positively what province of nature or of physical action he is designed to represent, as is at once manifest in the case of Dyaus, Pṛithivī, Agni, Indra, Parjanya, and Sūrya:

i. 42, 1. *Sam Pūshann adhvanas tira vi aṁho vimucho napāt* | *sakshva deva pra nas puraḥ* | 2. *Yo naḥ Pūshann agho vṛiko duśśevaḥ ādideśati* | *apa sma tvam patho jahi* | 3. *Apa tyam paripanthinam mushīvāṇaṁ huraśchitam* | *dūram adhi sruter aja* | 4. *Tvaṁ tasya dvayāvino aghaśaṁsasya kasya chit* | *padā 'bhi tishṭha tapushim* | 5. *Ā tat te dasra mantumaḥ Pūshann avo vṛiṇīmahe* | *yena pitṝn achodayaḥ* | 6. *Adha no*

[369] Prof. Roth, *s.v.* takes *ajayānaiḥ* as = *anjoyānaiḥ*.

[370] Professor Roth understands this epithet *chitrabarhis* to mean "having glittering straw," or "having around him straw in the form of jewels," and applies it to the moon. Prof. Benfey, following Sāyaṇa, considers that Soma is the deity intended, and renders the word *chitrabarhis* by "reposing on a rich covering." The reference seems obscure.

with *Savitṛi* and is described as moving onward under his impulse, and as knowing and perceiving all creatures, a guardian (*tasya Pūshā prasave yāti vidvān sampaśyan viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ*). He is connected with the marriage ceremonial in x. 85, 26 and 37, being besought to take the bride's hand and lead her away (verse 26. *Pūshā tvā ito nayatu hastagṛihya*), and to bless her in her conjugal relation (37. *tām Pūshan śivatamām ā īrayasva*);[267] and in another place he is prayed to give his worshippers their share of damsels, ix. 67, 10 (*avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani ā bhakshad kanyāsu naḥ*). According to Professor Roth (as quoted above) Pūshan is not only the tutelary god of travellers, but also, like Savitṛi and Agni, and the Greek Hermes, a ψυχοπομπός, who conducts departed spirits on their way to the other world, and in proof of this, as we have seen, he refers to R.V. x. 17, 3, 5, and two passages from the A.V. These texts are as follows: R.V. x. 17, 3 ff. (verses which, as I learn from Professor M. Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmāns,[268] p. xi. ff., are directed to be recited during the cremation of the body): *Pūshā tvā itaś chyāvayatu pra vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ* | *sa tvā etebhyaḥ pari dadat pitṛibhyo Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ* | 4. *Āyur viśvāyuḥ pari pāsati tvā Pūshā tvā pātu prapathe purastāt* | *yatrāsate sukṛito yatra te yayus tatra tvā devaḥ Savitā dadhātu* | 5. *Pūshā imāḥ āśāḥ anu veda sarvāḥ so asmān abhayatamena neshat* | *svastidāḥ āghṛiṇiḥ sarvavīro aprayuchhan puraḥ etu prajānan* | 6. *Prapathe pathām ajanishṭa Pūshā prapathe divaḥ prapathe pṛithivyāḥ* | *ubhe abhi priyatame sadasthe ā cha parā cha charati prājanan* | "3. May Pūshan convey thee away hence, the wise, the preserver of the world, who loses none of his cattle; may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni (entrust thee) to the gracious gods. 4. May life, full of vitality, protect thee: May Pūshan convey thee onward on thy distant road; May Savitṛi place thee where the righteous abide, in the place whither they have gone. 5. Pūshan knows all these regions: may he conduct us in perfect security; blessing, glowing, all-heroic, may he go before us, watchful and understanding. 6. Pūshan was born to move on distant paths, on the far road of heaven and the far road of earth. He goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes."

[267] See Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 186, and 190.
[268] Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. ix., at the end.

vi. 53, 1. *Vayam u tvā pathas pate ratham na vājasātaye | dhiye Pūshann ayujmahi* | 2. *Abhi no naryam vasu vīram prayata-dakshiṇam | vāmam gṛihapatim naya* | 3. *Aditsantam chid āghṛiṇe Pūshan dānāya chodaya | paṇeś chid vi mrada manaḥ* | 4. *Vi patho vājasātaye chinuhi vi mṛidho jahi sādhantām ugra no dhiyaḥ* | 5. *Pari tṛindhi paṇīnām ārayā hṛidayā kave | athem asmabhyam randhaya* | 6. *Vi Pūshann ārayā tuda paṇer ichha hṛidi priyam | athem asmabhyam randhaya* | 7. *Ā rikha kikirā kṛiṇu paṇīnam hṛidayā kave | athem* . . . | 8. *Yām Pūshan brahmachodinīm ārām bibharshi āghṛiṇe | tayā samasya hṛidayam ā rikha kikirā kṛiṇu* | 9. *Yā te ashṭrā goopaśā āghṛiṇe paśusādhanī | tasyās te sumnam īmahe* | 10. *Uta no goshaṇim dhiyam aśvasām vājasām uta | nṛivat kṛiṇuhi vītaye* |

"1. Pūshan, we have attached thee, lord of roads, to our hymn, as a chariot (is yoked) for the acquisition of food. 2. Bring to us wealth suitable for men, and a manly estimable householder, who shall bestow on us gifts. 3. Impel to liberality, o glowing Pūshan, even the man who would fain bestow nothing: soften the soul even of the niggard. 4. Open up paths by which we may obtain food; slay our enemies; let our designs succeed, o glorious god. 5. O wise god, pierce the hearts of the niggards with an awl; and then make them subject to us. 6. Pierce them with an awl, o Pūshan; seek (for us) that which is dear to the niggard's heart; and then make them subject to us. 7. Penetrate and tear the hearts of the niggards, o wise god, and then subject them to us. 8. With that prayer-stimulating goad which thou carriest, glowing Pūshan, penetrate and tear the heart of every such man. 9. From that goad of thine, which is furnished with leathern thongs,[273] and guides cattle, we seek for prosperity. 10. Grant that our hymn may produce for us cattle, horses, food, for our enjoyment abundantly."

vi. 54, 1. *Sam Pūshan vidushā naya yo anjasā 'nuśāsati | yaḥ eva idam iti bravat* | 2. *Sam u Pūshṇā gamemahi yo gṛihān abhiśāsati | ime eva iti cha bravat* | 3. *Pūshṇaś chakram na rishyati na kośo ava padyate | no asya vyathate paviḥ* | 4. *Yo asmai havishā 'vidhat na tam Pūshā 'pi mṛishyate | prathamo vindate vasu* | 5. *Pūshā gāḥ anu etu naḥ Pūshā rakshatu arvataḥ | Pūshā vājam sanotu naḥ* | 6. *Pūshann anu pra gāḥ*

273 See Bohtlingk and Roth, *s.v. goopaśa*.

ehi yajamānasya sunvataḥ | asm
mākīm rishat mākīm sam śāri
Śṛiṇvantam Pūshaṇam vayam ir
īmahe | 9. Pūshan tava vrate vay
iha smasi | 10. Pari Pūshā paras
no nashṭam ājatu |

"1. May we, o Pūshan, meet w
direct us, and say 'so it is.'[274]
shall point out a house, and shall
not shattered, nor does its box fall
not hostile to the man who offers hi
obtain wealth. 5. May Pūshan f
horses; may he give us food. 6.
shipper who offers soma-libations,
let nothing be lost, or injured, or
the cows) all safe. 8. We seek a
who never loses property, who is l
through thy appointment, never fa
worshippers. 10. May Pūshan stre
and drive hither our lost property."

vi. 55, 1. Ehi vām vimucho nap
tasya no bhava | 2. Rathītamam k
sakhāyam īmahe | 3. Rāyo dh
to dhīvato sakhā | 4. Pūshaṇam
r yo jāraḥ uchyate | 5. Mātu
tu naḥ | bhrātā Indrasya sakhā m
mbhās te janaśriyam | devam vah

1. Come hither, glowing god, tho
ioteer of our rite. 2. We seek r
arioteers, the god with braided ha
friend. 3. Thou art a stream of opu
deity, drawn by goats, and the frien

[274] Sāyana says that this verse is to be mutter
ṭa-dhanam anvichhatā etaj japyam), and
erstands the wise man of one who shall poin
perty.

[275] See Prof. Wilson's note in loco. Sāyana
Pūshan meet with a man who shall shew us the

4. Let us praise Pūshan, the god drawn by goats, the giver of food, who is called the lover of his sister.[276] 5. I address the husband of his mother;[277] may he hear us, the lover of his sister, the brother of Indra, and my friend. 6. May the surefooted[278] goats, supporting Pūshan, the god who visits mankind, bring him hither upon his chariot."

vi. 56, 1. *Yaḥ enam ādideśati "karambhād" iti Pūshaṇam | na tena devaḥ ādiśe* | 2. *Uta gha sa rathītamaḥ sakhyā satpatir yujā | Indro vṛitrāṇi jighnate* | 3 (Nir. ii. 6). *Uta adaḥ parushe gavi sūraś chakraṁ hiraṇyayam | ni airayad rathītamaḥ* | 4. *Yad adya tvā purushṭuta bravāma dasra mantumaḥ | tat su no manma sādhaya* | 5. *Imaṁ cha no gaveshaṇaṁ sātaye sīshadho gaṇam | ārāt Pūshann asi śrutaḥ* | 6. *Ā te svastim īmahe āreaghām upāvasum | adya cha sarvatātaye śvaś cha sarvatātaye* |

"1. By him who designates Pūshan by saying 'this is the eater of meal and butter,' the god cannot be described. 2. Indra too, the lord of the good, the most skilful of charioteers, seeks to slay his enemies in company with his friend. 3. And this most skilful charioteer drove that golden wheel of the sun through the speckled cloud.[279] 4. Accomplish for us, o wonder-working and wise deity, that desire which we shall address to thee to-day. 5. And direct this exploring band of ours to the attainment of their object: for, Pūshan, thou are renowned afar. 6. We seek thy blessing, which drives away calamity, and brings opulence near, for full prosperity to-day, and for full prosperity to-morrow."

vi. 57, 1. *Indrā nu Pūshaṇā*[280] *vayaṁ sakhyāya svastaye huvema vājasātaye* | 2. *Somam anyaḥ upāsadat pātave chamvoḥ sutam | karambham*[281]

[276] Ushas, according to Sāyaṇa; and Sūryā, according to Prof. Roth. See the last verse of vi. 58, below.

[277] Sāyaṇa renders *mātuḥ* by *nirmātryāḥ rātreḥ*, "the constructress, Night."

[278] Roth, *s.v.* says *niśṛimbha* perhaps means "sicher auftretend;" Wilson renders "harnessed;" Sāyaṇa *niśrathya sambadhya hartāraḥ*. All seems guess work.

[279] Prof. Roth translates this verse as follows in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 19: "Er hat dort durch den krausen Wolkenzug der Sonne goldenes Rad hindurchgelenkt, der trefliche Fuhrmann (Püschan). "He has guided the golden wheel of the sun through the curled train of clouds, the excellent driver (Pūshan)." In his Lexicon he renders the word *parusha* by "variegated," etc.

[280] Compare iii. 57, 2, and vi. 17, 11, where Pūshan and Vishṇu are said to have purified three bowls of Soma for Indra (*Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāṁsi dhāvan vṛitrahaṇam madiram aṁśum asmai*).

[281] iii. 52 7.

ihi yajamānasya sunvataḥ | *asmākaṁ stuvatām uta* | 7. *Mākir neśat mākīṁ rishat mākīṁ saṁ śāri kevaṭe* | *atha arishṭābhir ā gahi* | 8. *Sṛiṇvantam Pūshaṇaṁ vayam iryam anashṭa-vedasam* | *īśānaṁ rāyaḥ īmahe* | 9. *Pūshan tava vrate vayaṁ na rishyema kadāchana* | *stotāras te iha smasi* | 10. *Pari Pūshā parastād hastaṁ dadhātu dakshiṇam* | *punar no nashṭam ājatu* |

"1. May we, o Pūshan, meet with a wise man who shall straightway direct us, and say 'so it is.'[274] 2. May we meet with Pūshan,[275] who shall point out a house, and shall say 'it is this.' 3. Pūshan's wheel is not shattered, nor does its box fall, nor is its rim broken. 4. Pūshan is not hostile to the man who offers him an oblation; that man is the first to obtain wealth. 5. May Pūshan follow our kine; may he protect our horses; may he give us food. 6. Pūshan, follow the kine of the worshipper who offers soma-libations, and of us when we do the same. 7. Let nothing be lost, or injured, or fall into a pit; but come to us with (the cows) all safe. 8. We seek after Pūshan who hears us, the alert, who never loses property, who is lord of wealth. 9. Pūshan, may we, through thy appointment, never fall into calamity; we are here, thy worshippers. 10. May Pūshan stretch out his right hand far and wide, and drive hither our lost property."

vi. 55, 1. *Ehi vāṁ vimucho napād āghṛiṇe saṁ sachāvahai* | *rathīr ṛitasya no bhava* | 2. *Rathītamaṁ kaparddinam īśānaṁ rādhaso mahaḥ* | *rāyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe* | 3. *Rāyo dhārā 'si āghṛiṇe vasoḥ rāśir ajāśva* | *dhīvato dhīvato sakhā* | 4. *Pūshaṇaṁ nu ajāśvam upa stoshāma vājinam* | *svasur yo jāraḥ uchyate* | 5. *Mātur didhishum abravaṁ svasur jāraḥ śriṇotu naḥ* | *bhrātā Indrasya sakhā mama* | 6. *Ā ajāsaḥ Pūshaṇaṁ rathe niśṛimbhās te janaśriyam* | *devaṁ vahantu bibhrataḥ* |

"1. Come hither, glowing god, the deliverer, may we meet; be the charioteer of our rite. 2. We seek riches from thee, the most skilful of charioteers, the god with braided hair, the lord of great wealth, and our friend. 3. Thou art a stream of opulence, a heap of riches, o glowing deity, drawn by goats, and the friend of every devout contemplator.

[274] Sāyaṇa says that this verse is to be muttered by a man seeking for lost property (*nashṭa-dhanam anvichhatā etaj japyam*), and refers to Gṛihya Sūtras, iii. 9. He understands the wise man of one who shall point out the mode of recovering such property.

[275] See Prof. Wilson's note *in loco*. Sāyaṇa explains: "May we by [the favour of] Pūshan meet with a man who shall shew us the house in which our lost cattle are."

In ii. 40, Soma and Pūshan are celebrated conjointly as the generators of wealth, of heaven and earth, and the born preservers of the world, and as made by the gods the centre-point of immortality (*Somapūshaṇā jananā rayīṇāṁ jananā divo jananā prithivyāḥ | jātau viśvasya bhuvanasya gopau devāḥ akriṇvann amritasya nābhim*, verse 1); they hide the hated darkness (*imau tamāṁsi gūhatām ajushṭhā*, ibid. 2); they impel the chariot with seven wheels which traverses the air, but is not all-pervading, which revolves in all directions, is yoked by the mind, and shines with seven rays (*Somāpūshaṇā rajaso vimānaṁ saptachakraṁ ratham aviśvaminvam | vishuvritam manasā yujyamānaṁ taṁ jinvatho vrishaṇā pancharaśmim*, verse 3); the one of them (Pūshan) is said to make his abode in the heaven, the other (Soma) on the earth and in the air (*divi anyo sadanaṁ chakre uchchā prithivyām anyo adhi antarikshe*, verse 4); the one (Soma) to have generated all creatures, and the other (Pūshan) to move onward beholding the universe (*viśvāni anyo bhuvanā jajāna viśvam anyo abhichakshāṇaḥ eti*, verse 5).

In the concluding verse of R.V. i. 138, the poet tells Pūshan that he seeks with gentle hymns to attract his attention, and that he does not treat the god with haughtiness or contempt, or reject his friendship (*o su tvā vavritīmahi stomebhir dasma sādhubhiḥ | na hi tvā Pūshann atimanye āghriṇe na te sakhyam apahnuve*).

In x. 26, he is said to be the fulfiller of prayers, and the stimulator of sages (*matīnaṁ cha sādhanaṁ viprāṇāṁ cha ādhavam*, verse 4); to be the promoter[283] of sacrifices, to impel the horses of chariots, to be a rishi friendly to men, and a protecting friend of the wise man (*pratyardhir yajnānām aśvahayo rathānām | rishiḥ sa yo manurhito viprasya yavayat-sakhaḥ*, verse 5), the unshaken friend, born of old, of every suppliant (*viśvasya arthinaḥ sakhā sanojāḥ anapachyutaḥ*).

283 Prof. Roth, *s.v.* thinks the word *pratyardhi*, which occurs also in x. 1, 5, may mean "entitled to the half of," "having an equal share in." Compare *abhy-ardhayajvan* above, p. 172, and note.

anyaḥ ichhati | 3. *Ajāḥ anyasya vahnayo harī anyasya sambhṛitā* | *tābhyām vṛittrāṇi jighnate* | 4. *Yad Indro anayad rito mahīr apo vṛishantamaḥ* | *tatra Pūshā 'bhavat sachā* | 5. *Tām Pūshṇaḥ sumatim vayām vṛikshasya pra vayām iva* | *Indrasya cha ā rabhāmahe* | 6. *Ut Pūshaṇam yuvāmahe abhīśūn iva sārathiḥ* | *mahyai Indram svastaye* |

"1. Let us invoke Indra and Pūshan to be our friends, to bless us and to grant us food. 2. Of these two gods, the one (Indra) comes to drink the soma poured out from the ladles, and the other (Pūshan) desires meal and butter. 3. Goats convey the one, and two harnessed brown horses the other: borne by them he seeks to slay his enemies. 4. When the most vigorous Indra brought the great flowing waters, Pūshan was there with him. 5. We lay hold of that goodwill of Pūshan and of Indra, as we seize the branch of a tree. 6. We stir up Pūshan and Indra to bring us great prosperity, as a charioteer shakes his reins."

vi. 58, 1 (= S.V. i. 75). *S'ukram te anyad yajatam te anyad vishurūpe ahanī dyaur ivāsi* | *viśvāḥ hi māyāḥ avasi svadhāvo bhadrā te Pūshann iha rātir astu* | 2. *Ajāśvaḥ paśupāḥ vājapastyo dhiyamjinvo bhuvane viśve arpitaḥ* | *ashṭrām Pūshā śithirām udvarīvṛijat sanchakshāṇo bhuvanā devaḥ īyate* | 3. *Yās te Pūshan nāvo antaḥ samudre hiraṇyayīr antarikshe charanti* | *tābhir yāsi dūtyam sūryasya kāmena krita*[262] *śravaḥ ichhamānaḥ* | 4. *Pūshā subandhur divaḥ ā pṛithivyāḥ iḷaspatir maghavā dasmavarchāḥ* | *yam devāso adaduḥ Sūryāyai kāmena kṛitam tavasam svancham* |

"1. One of thine (appearances) is bright, the other is venerable; thy two periods are diverse; thou art like Dyaus: for, o self-dependent god, thou exercisest all wondrous powers. O Pūshan, may thy gifts be beneficent. 2. Borne by goats, guardian of cattle, lord of a house overflowing with plenty, an inspirer of the soul, abiding within the whole creation, Pūshan has grasped his relaxed goad; the god moves onward beholding all creatures. 3. With those golden ships of thine, which sail across the aerial ocean, thou actest as the messenger of the Sun, desiring food, o god, subdued by love. 4. Pūshan is the close associate of [or the bond uniting?] heaven and earth, the lord of nourishment, the magnificent, of wondrous lustre. Him, vigorous and rapid, subdued by love, the gods gave to Sūryā."

[262] See next verse, and vi. 49, 8, where the same phrase occurs.

chakshase jagaj jyotish krinoti sūnarī | *apa dvesho maghonī duhitā divaḥ ushāḥ uchhad apa sridhaḥ* | 9. *Ushaḥ ā bhāhi bhānunā chandreṇa duhitar divaḥ* | *āvahantī bhūri asmabhyam saubhagaṁ vyuchhantī divishṭishu* | 10. *Viśvasya hi jīvanam prāṇanaṁ tve vi yad uchhasi sūnari* | *sā no rathena bṛihatā vibhāvari śrudhi chitramaghe havam* | [i. 49, 1. *Usho bhadrebhir ā gahi divaś chid rochanād adhi* | *vahantu aruṇapsavaḥ upa tvā somino gṛiham* | 2. *Supeśasaṁ sukhaṁ rathaṁ yam adhyasthāḥ ushas tvam* | *tena suśravasaṁ janam prāva adya duhitar divaḥ* | vi. 65, 2. *Vi tad yayur aruṇayugbhir aśvaiś chitraṁ bhānti ushasaś chandrarathāḥ* | vii. 75, 6. *Prati dyutānām arushāso aśvāś chitrāḥ adṛiśrann ushasaṁ vahantaḥ* | *yāti śubhrā viśvapiśā rathena* |]. i. 48, 12. *Viśvān devān ā vaha somapītaye antarikshād ushas tvam* |

"1. Dawn on us with prosperity, o Ushas, daughter of the sky, with great glory, o luminous and bountiful goddess, with riches. 2. (These dawns) bringing horses and cows, and all-bestowing, have oftentimes hastened to shine.[284] Awake for me joyful voices (or hymns)[285] o Ushas, and send us the wealth of the magnificent. 3. Ushas has dawned (before); let her now dawn (again), the goddess who impels our chariots, which at her arrivals are borne forward, like wealth-seekers in the ocean.[286] 4. Kaṇva, the chief of his race, here celebrates the name of those wise men who at thy approaches, o Ushas, direct their thoughts to liberality. 5. Like an active woman, Ushas advances cherishing[287] (all things); she hastens on arousing footed creatures,[288] and

[284] The word *vastave* is so rendered by Benfey. See his translation, in loco, and his Glossary to the Sāma-veda, *s.vv. ush*, and *vas*, and *vastu*; and Roth *s.v. ush*. 2.

[285] Benfey renders *sūnṛitāḥ* here by "Herrlichkeiten," 'glorious things;' but in i. 92, 7, and i. 113, 12, he translates the same word by "beautiful hymns." A note on it by Professor Aufrecht will be found further on.

[286] The sense of *dadhrire* in this clause is not very clear. Prof. Wilson renders after Sāyaṇa: "chariots, which are harnessed at her coming; as those who are desirous of wealth send ships to sea." Prof. Benfey explains: "carts, which roll at her approach, like wealth-seekers in the sea;" *i.e.*, as he adds in a note: "The waggons full of wealth are driven hither by the dawn; they are so full as to reel and swing about." It is difficult to see how this sense can be extracted from the words.

[287] Sāyaṇa makes *prabhunjatī* = *prakarsheṇa sarvam pālayantī*. Benfey renders it "ruling," and Roth *s.v.* "rendering service."

[288] Professors Benfey and Bollensen (Orient und Occident, ii. 463) both explain *jarayantī* here in the sense of "setting in motion," or "arousing," the former deriving it from the root *jar*, "to hasten," and the latter from *jar* = *gar*, "to wake."—See Bollensen's remarks in pp. 463–465. In other places, as we shall see, and as he allows, it must be rendered "making old."

SECTION XIII.

USHAS.

This goddess, who corresponds to the 'Ἠώς (Æolic Αὐώς) of the Greeks, and to the Aurora of the Latins, is a favourite object of celebration with the poets of the Rig-veda, and the hymns addressed to her are among the most beautiful—if not the most beautiful—in the entire collection. The following are those which are specially dedicated to her honour, viz., i. 48; i. 49; i. 92; i. 113; i. 123; i. 124; iii. 61; iv. 51; iv. 52; v. 79; v. 80; vi. 64; vi. 65; vii. 75–81; x. 172. She is also invoked or referred to in numerous detached verses.

To give an idea of the manner in which Ushas is described and celebrated, I shall quote the larger portion of three hymns, of which the second and third are more remarkable than the first (introducing here and there some parallel passages from other quarters), and I shall afterwards give a summary of the principal attributes and functions which are attributed to her.

(1) *Three hymns to Ushas.*

i. 48, 1. *Saha vāmena naḥ Usho vi uchha duhitar Divaḥ* | *saha dyumnena bṛihatā vibhāvari rāyā devi dāsvatī* | 2. *Aśvavatir gomatīr viśvasuvido bhūri chyavanta vastave* | *udīraya prati mā sūnṛitāḥ ushaś choda rādho maghonām* | 3. *Uvāsa ushāḥ uchhāt cha nu devī jīrā rathānām* | *ye asyāḥ ācharaṇeshu dadhrire samudre na śravasyavaḥ* | 4. *Usho ye te yāmeshu yunjate mano dānāya sūrayaḥ* | *attrāha tat kaṇvaḥ eshām kaṇvatamo nāma gṛiṇāti nṛiṇām* | 5. *Ā gha yosheva sūnarī ushāḥ yāti prabhunjatī* | *jarayantī vṛijanam padvad īyate ut pātayati pakshiṇaḥ* | 6. *Vi yā sṛijati samanam vi arthinaḥ padam na veti odatī* | *vayo nakis te paptivāṁsaḥ āsate vyushṭau vājinīvati* | [i. 124, 12 = vi. 64, 4. *Ut te vayaś chid vasater apaptan naraś cha ye pitubhājo vyushṭau* | see also i. 48, 9]. i. 48, 7. *Esha ayukta parāvataḥ sūryasyodayanād adhi* | *śatam rathebhiḥ subhagā ushāḥ iyam vi yāti abhi mānushān* | 8. *Viśvam asyāḥ nanāma*

āvar tamaḥ | [i. 123, 10. *Kanyeva tanvā śāśadānā eshi devi devam iyakshamāṇam* | *saṁsmayamānā yuvatiḥ purastād āvir vakshāṁsi kṛiṇushe vibhātī* | 11. *Susankāśā mātṛimṛishṭeva yoshā āvis tanvaṁ kṛiṇushe dṛiśe kam* | i. 124, 4 (=Nirukta, iv. 16). *Upo adarśi śundhyuvo na vaksho nodhāḥ ivāvir akṛita priyāṇi* | *admasad na sasato bodhayantī śaśvattamā āgāt punar eyushīṇām* | 7 (=Nir. iii. 5). *Abhrātā iva puṁsaḥ eti pratīchī garttārug iva sanaye dhanānām*[291] | *jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ ushāḥ hasreva ni riṇīte apsaḥ* | v. 80, 5. *Eshā śubhrā na tanvo vidānā ūrdhveva snātī dṛiśaye no asthāt* | vi. 64, 2. *Āvir vakshaḥ kṛiṇushe śumbhamānā devi rochamānā mahobhiḥ* | compare v. 80, 46]. i. 92, 5. *Prati archiḥ ruśad asyāḥ adarśi vi tishṭhate bādhate kṛishṇam abhvam*[292] | *svaruṁ na peśo vidatheshu anjan chitraṁ divo duhitā bhānum aśret* | 6. *Atārishma tamasas pāram asya ushāḥ uchhantī vayunā kriṇoti* | *śriye chhando na smayate vibhātī supratīkā saumanasāya ajīgaḥ* | 7. *Bhāsvatī netrī sūnṛitānāṁ divaḥ stave duhitā Gotamebhiḥ* | *prajāvato nṛivato aśvabudhyān usho goagrān upa māsi vājān* | 8. *Ushas tam aśyāṁ yaśasaṁ suvīrāṁ dāsapravargaṁ rayim aśvabudhyam* | *sudaṁsasā śravasā yā vi bhāsi vājaprasūtā subhage bṛihantam* | 9. *Viśvāni devī bhuvanā 'bhichakshya pratīchī chakshur urviyā vibhāti* | *viśvaṁ jīvaṁ charase bodhayantī viśvasya vācham avidat manāyoḥ* | 10. *Punaḥ punar jāyamānā*[293] *purāṇī samānaṁ varṇam abhi śumbhamānā* | *śvaghnīva kṛitnur vijaḥ āminānā martasya devī jarayantī āyuḥ* |*11. *Vyūrṇatī divo antān abodhi upa svasāraṁ sanutar yuyoti* | *praminatī manushyā yugāni yoshā jārasya chakshasā vibhāti* | [i. 115, 2. *Sūryo devīm Ushashaṁ rochamānām maryo na yoshām abhi eti paśchāt* | vii. 75, 4. *Divo duhitā bhuvanasya patnī* | 5. *Vājinīvatī sūryasya yoshā*]. i. 92, 12. *Paśūn na chitrā subhagā prathānā sindhur na kshodaḥ urviyā vi aśvait* | *aminatī daivyāni vratāni sūryasya cheti raśmibhir dṛiśānā* | 13. *Ushas tat chitram ābhara asmabhyaṁ vājinīvati* | *yena tokaṁ cha tanayaṁ cha dhāmahe* | 14. *Usho adyeha gomati aśvāvati vibhāvari* | *revad asme vi uchha sūnṛitāvati* | 15. *Yukshva hi vājinīvati aśvān adya aruṇān ushaḥ* | *atha no viśvā saubhagāni āvaha* |

[291] Compare R.V. ix. 96, 20.

[292] Compare iv. 51, 9: *Gūhantīḥ abhvam asitaṁ ruśadbhir śukrās tanūbhiḥ śuchayaḥ* | "The bright lucid Dawns concealing the black abyss with their radiant bodies."

[293] Compare i. 123, 2: *Uchchā vi akhyad yuvatiḥ punarbhūḥ* | "The youthful (goddess) born anew, has shone forth on high." iii. 61, 1: *Purāṇī devi yuvatiḥ purandhir anu vrataṁ charasi* | "Thou, o goddess, old, (and yet) young, wise, movest at thy will."

makes the birds fly aloft. 6. She sends forth both the active and the beggars (to their occupation); lively, she loves not to stand still; the flying birds no longer rest after thy dawning, o bringer of food.[199] [i. 124, 12. The birds fly up from their nests, and men seeking food, leave their homes.] 7. She has yoked (her horses) from the remote rising-place of the sun; this auspicious Ushas advances towards men with a hundred chariots. 8. Everything that moves bows down before her glance; the active goddess creates light; by her appearance the magnificent daughter of the sky drives away our haters; Ushas has repelled our enemies. 9. Shine forth, Ushas, daughter of the sky with brilliant radiance, bringing to us abundant prosperity, dawning upon our devotions. 10. In thee, when thou dawnest, o lively goddess, is the life and the breath of all creatures; resplendent on thy massive car hear our invocation. [i. 49, 1. Come, Ushas, even from the light of the sky, by auspicious (paths); let the ruddy (horses) bring thee to the house of the offerer of soma. 2. Protect to-day, o Ushas, daughter of the sky, the prosperous man with that beautifully formed and pleasant chariot on which thou standest. vi. 65, 2. They went apart with their ruddy-yoked horses; the Dawns on the luminous cars shine brilliantly. vii. 75, 6. The bright and ruddy steeds were beheld bearing onward the shining Ushas. The lustrous goddess moves in a chariot beautified with all sorts of ornaments]. i. 48, 12. Ushas, bring all the gods to drink our soma."

i. 92, 1 (=S.V. ii. 1105). *Etāḥ u tyāḥ Ushasaḥ ketum akrata pūrve 'rdhe rajaso*[200] *bhānum anjate | nishkṛiṇvānāḥ āyudhānīva dhṛishṇavaḥ prati gāvo arushīr yanti mātaraḥ* | 2 (= S.V. ii. 1106). *Ud apaptann aruṇāḥ bhānavo vṛithā svāyujo arushīr gāḥ ayukshata | akrann ushāso vayunāni pūrvathā ruśantam bhānum arushīr aśiśrayuḥ* | 3 (=S.V. ii. 1107). *Archanti nārīr apaso na vishṭibhiḥ samānena yojanena ā parāvataḥ | isham vahantīḥ sukṛite sudānave viśvā id aha yajamanaya sunvate* | 4. *Adhi peśāṁsi vapate nṛitūr iva aporṇute vakshaḥ usreva barjaham | jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛiṇvatī gāvo na vrajaṁ vi ushāḥ*

[199] *vājinīvatī* is explained by Yāska, Nir. xi. 26, and xii. 6, by *annavatī;* and by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 3, 10, by *annavat-kriyāvatī*, "mistress of rites possessing food." These senses of the word seem uncertain.

[200] Compare i. 124, 51: *pūrve 'rdhe rajaso aptyasya gavāṁ janitrī akṛita pra ketum* | "The mother of the cows has displayed her signal in the eastern part of the watery firmament."

woman, like one rising out of the water in which she has been bathing. vi. 64, 2. Thou, full of brightness, displayest thy bosom, o goddess, shining in thy glory]. i. 92, 5. Her bright ray has been perceived; it extends and pierces the black abyss. The daughter of the Sky has assumed a brilliant glow, like the decorations of the sacrificial post on festivals. 6. We have crossed over this darkness; Ushas dawning restores consciousness; radiant, she smiles like a flatterer seeking his own advantage; fair in her aspect, she has awakened all creatures to cheerfulness. 7. The shining daughter of the skies, leader of cheerful voices (or hymns),[299] has been lauded by the Gotamas. Ushas, thou distributest resources in offspring, men, horses, and kine. 8. Blessed Ushas, thou who, animated by strength, shinest forth with wonderful riches, may I obtain that renowned and solid wealth, which consists in stout sons, numerous slaves, and horses. 9. Directing her eyes towards all creatures, the goddess shines before them far and wide. Rousing into motion every living thing, she notices the voice of every adorer. 10. Born again and again, though ancient, shining with an ever uniform hue, (she goes on) wasting away the life of mortals, carrying it away as a clever gambler the stakes.[300] 11. She is perceived revealing the ends of the sky; she chases far away her sister (Night). Wearing out the lives of men, the lady shines with the light of her lover (the sun). [i. 115, 2. The sun follows the shining goddess Ushas, as a man, coming after, approaches a woman. vii. 75, 4. Daughter of the Sky, mistress of the world, food-providing wife of the sun.] i. 92, 12. The bright, and blessed goddess has widely diffused her rays, as if she were driving forth cattle in various directions, or as a river

boldly to men, as a warrior on a chariot goes forth proudly to conquer booty (comp. ix. 96, 20), as a decorated wife in presence of her husband, so Ushas unveils before the eyes of men all her beauty, smiling as it were in the sure consciousness of its overpowering effect." This explanation seems to express well the import of the word *sāśadānā* as interpreted in a previous note.

299 See above, note 285.

300 Sāyana takes *śvaghnī* for a "fowler's wife" (*vyādha-strī*), and *vijaḥ* for "birds." See Wilson in loco. Benfey takes *vijaḥ* for "dice," and explains the clause as denoting a cunning gambler who tampers with the dice, by shaving them down. See his note. Bollensen, Orient und Occident, ii. 464, translates: "as a fortunate gamester carries off the gains." The phrase *vijaḥ iva ā mināti* occurs again in R.V. ii. 125, where Sāyana takes *vijaḥ* for *udvejakaḥ*, "a vexer." So uncertain are his explanations!

"1. These Dawns have become conspicuous; they display their lustre in the eastern hemisphere; like bold warriors drawing forth their weapons, the ruddy mother-cows advance. 2. The rosy beams have flashed up spontaneously; they have yoked the self-yoked ruddy cows. The Dawns, as of old, have brought us consciousness; the red cows have assumed a brilliant lustre. 3. Like women active in their occupations, they shine from afar along a common track, bringing sustenance to the pious and liberal worshipper, and all things to the man who offers libations of soma. 4. Ushas, like a dancer, puts on her gay attire; she displays her bosom as a cow its udder: creating light for all the world, she has dissipated the darkness, as cattle (abandon) their stall.[294] [i. 123, 10. Like a maid triumphing[295] in her (beautiful) form, thou, goddess, advancest to meet the god who seeks after thee (the sun); smiling, youthful, and resplendent, thou unveilest thy bosom in front. 11. Like a fair girl adorned by her mother, thou displayest thy body to the beholder. i. 124, 4. She has been beheld like the bosom of a bright maiden.[296] Like Nodhas,[297] she has revealed things that we love. Awaking the sleepers like an inmate of the house, she has come, the most perpetual of all the females who have returned. 7. As a woman who has no brother appears in presence of (another) man, as a man mounted on a chariot goes forth in pursuit of wealth, as a loving wife shews herself to her husband, so does Ushas, as it were, smiling, reveal her form.[298] v. 80, 5. She displays her person like a fair

[294] "As cattle of their own accord go quickly to their own cowpen"—Sāyaṇa. "As cows open their stall"—Benfey. See his note in loco.

[295] The word so rendered is *śaśadānā*.—Sāyaṇa explains it "becoming manifest." The word, however, as appears from the context, as well as other passages in which it occurs, i. 33, 13; i. 116, 2; i. 124, 6; i. 141, 9; vii. 98, 4; vii. 104, 24; x. 120, 5, has evidently the sense assigned to it by Roth, in Illust. of Nir. p. 83, where he renders it by "triumphing," in i. 33, 13, and x. 120, 5. In the passage before us he makes it mean "distinguished by beauty." Benfey explains it by "triumphing" in i. 33, 13, and i. 116, 2. His translation of the R.V. does not extend beyond the 118th hymn of the 1st Maṇḍala.

[296] Sāyaṇa, following Yāska, explains *śundhyuvo na vakshaḥ*, as the "rays on the breast of the sun," or as "the breast of a particular white water bird." Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 44, translates "as the breast of a pure virgin."

[297] This is the name of a Rishi. Roth thinks it may be an appellative here. Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. p. 107, thinks it may have the general meaning of poet.

[298] Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 25, says "The sense of the verse appears to be: "as a brotherless maiden, who after her father's death has no longer any home, turns more

ye aparishu paśyān | 12. Yāvayaddveshā ritapāḥ ṛitejāḥ sumnāvarī sūnṛitā īrayantī | sumangalīr bibhratī devavītim ihādya Ushāḥ śresṭhatamā vi uchha | 13. Śaśvat purā ushāḥ vi uvāsa devī atho adya idaṁ vi āvo maghonī | atho vi uchhād uttarān anu dyūn ajarā 'mṛitā charati svadhābhiḥ | 14. Vi anjibhir divaḥ ātāsu adyaud apa kṛishṇāṁ nirṇijaṁ devī āvaḥ | prabodhayantī aruṇebhir aśvair ā ushāḥ yāti suyujā rathena | 15. Āvahantī poshyā vāryāṇi chitraṁ ketuṁ kṛiṇute chekitānā | īyushīṇām upamā śaśvatīnāṁ vibhātīnām prathamā ushāḥ vi aśvait | [i. 124, 2 … Aminatī daivyāni vratāni praminatī manushyā yugāni | īyushīṇā[m] … upamā śaśvatīnām āyatīnām prathamā ushāḥ vy adyaut |] i. 113, 1[6] … Ud īrdhvaṁ jīvo asur naḥ āgād apa prāgāt tamaḥ ā jyotir eti | ar… panthāṁ yātave Sūryāya aganma yatra pratirante āyuḥ | 17. Syūma… vāchaḥ ud iyartti vahniḥ stavāno rebhaḥ ushaso vibhātīḥ | adya tad u… griṇate maghoni asme āyur ni didīhi prajāvat | 18. Yāḥ gomatīr u… sah sarvavīrāḥ vyuchhanti dāśushe martyāya | vāyor iva sūnṛitā… udarke tāḥ aśvadāḥ aśnavat somasutvā | 19. Mātā devānām Aditer… kaṁ yajnasya ketur bṛihatī vi bhāhi | praśastikṛid brahmaṇe no vi… ā no jane janaya viśvavāre | 20. Yat chitram apnaḥ ushaso vahanti ī… śaśamānāya bhadram | tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ … Pṛithivī uta Dyauḥ |

"1. "This light has arrived, the greatest of all lights; the … and brilliant illumination has been born. Inasmuch as she … has been produced for the production of Savitṛi, the N… made way for Ushas. [i. 124, 8. The sister (Night) … way for her elder sister (Ushas); and departs, after she … were, looked upon her]. i. 113, 2. The fair and bri… with her bright child (the Sun) has arrived; to he… (Night) has relinquished her abodes; kindred to one a… mortal, alternating, Day and Night go on changing col… same is the never-ending path of the two sisters, which … commanded by the gods. They strive not, they rest n… Night and Dawn, concordant, though unlike. 4. The … leader of joyful voices (or hymns), has been perceived; … for us the doors (of the sky): setting in motion all … she has revealed to us riches; Ushas has awakened … [i. 48, 15. Ushas, as thou hast by thy light opened … doors of heaven, etc.] i. 113, 5. (Arousing) the pro…

rolling down its floods; maintaining the ordinances of the gods, she is perceived, made visible by the rays of the sun. 13. Ushas, provider of food, bring us that brilliant fortune whereby we may possess offspring. 14. Ushas, resplendent, awaking cheerful voices (or hymns), dawn richly upon us to-day, bringing cows and horses. 15. Yoke to-day, Ushas, thy ruddy steeds, and then bring us all blessings."

i. 113, 1 (=S.V. ii. 1099; Nir. ii. 19). *Idaṁ śreshṭhaṁ jyotishāṁ jyotir āgāt chitraḥ praketo ajanishṭa vibhvā | yathā prasūtā Savituḥ savāya eva rātrī Ushase yonim araik* | [i. 124, 8. *Svasā svasre jyāyasyai yonim araig apaiti asyāḥ pratichakshya iva*] i. 113, 2 (= S.V. ii. 1100; Nir. ii. 20). *Ruśadvatsā ruśatī śvetyā āgād araig u kṛishṇa sadanāni asyāḥ | samānabandhū amṛite anūchī dyāvā varṇaṁ charataḥ āmināne* | 3 (= S.V. ii. 1101). *Samāno adhvā svasror anantas tam anyā 'nyā charato devaśishṭe | na methete na tasthatuḥ sumeke naktoshāsā samanasā virūpe* | 4. *Bhāsvatī netrī sūnṛitānām acheti chitrā vi duro naḥ āvaḥ | prārpya jagad vi u no rāyo akhyad ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | [i. 48, 15. *Usho yad adya bhānunā vi dvārāv ṛiṇavo divaḥ | ityādi*] i. 113, 5. *Jihmaśye charitave maghonī ābhogaye ishṭaye rāye u tvam | dabhram paśyadbhyaḥ urviyā vi chakshe ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | 6. *Kshattrāya tvaṁ śravase tvam mahīyai ishṭaye tvam artham iva tvam ityai | visadṛiśā jīvitā 'bhiprachakshe ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | 7. *Eshā divo duhitā pratyadarśi vyuchhantī yuvatiḥ śukravāsāḥ*[301] | *viśvasyeśānā pārthivasya vasvaḥ usho adyeha subhage vi uchha* | 8. *Parāyatīnām anu eti pāthaḥ āyatīnām prathamā śaśvatīnām | vyuchhantī jīvam udīrayantī ushāḥ mṛitaṁ kaṁ chana bodhayantī* | [i. 123, 8. *Sadṛiśīr adya sadṛiśīr id u śvo dīrghaṁ sachante Varuṇasya dhāma | anavadyās triṁśataṁ yojanāni ekaikā kratūm pari yanti sadyaḥ* | 9. *Jānatī ahnaḥ prathamasyo nāma śukrā kṛishṇād ajanishṭa śvitīchī | ṛitasya yoshā na mināti dhāma ahar ahar nishkṛitam ācharantī*] i. 113, 9. *Usho yad agniṁ samidhe chakartha vi yad āvaś chakshasā sūryasya | yad mānushān yakshyamāṇān ajīgas tad deveshu chakṛishe bhadram apnaḥ* | 10. *Kiyati ā tat samayā bhavāti yāḥ vyūshur yāś cha nūnaṁ vyuchhān | anu pūrvāḥ kṛipate vāvaśānā pradīdhyānā josham anyābhir yāti* | 11. *Īyus te ye pūrvatarām apaśyan vyuchhantīm ushasam martyāsaḥ | asmābhir u nu pratichakshyā abhūd ā u te yanti*

[301] Compare vii. 77, 2: *Viśvam pratīchī saprathāḥ ud asthād ruśad vāso bibhratī śukram aśvait.*

ye aparīshu paśyān | 12. *Yāvayaddveshā ritapāḥ ritejāḥ sumnāvarī sūnritā īrayantī* | *sumangalīr bibhratī devavītim ihādya Ushāḥ śreshṭhatamā vi uchha* | 13. *Śaśvat purā ushāḥ vi uvāsa devī atho adya idam vi āvo maghonī* | *atho vi uchhād uttarān anu dyūn ajarā 'mritā charati svadhābhiḥ* | 14. *Vi anjibhir divaḥ ātāsu adyaud apa krishṇām nirṇijam devī āvaḥ* | *prabodhayantī aruṇebhir aśvair ā ushāḥ yāti suyujā rathena* | 15. *Āvahantī poshyā vāryāṇi chitram ketum kriṇute chekitānā* | *īyushīṇām upamā śāśvatīnām vibhātīnām prathamā ushāḥ vi aśvait* | [i. 124, 2. *Aminatī daivyāni vratāni praminatī manushyā yugāni* | *īyushīṇām upamā śaśvatīnām āyatīnām prathamā ushāḥ vy adyaut* |] i. 113, 16. *Ud īrdhvam jīvo asur naḥ āgād apa prāgāt tamaḥ ā jyotir eti* | *araik panthām yātave Sūryāya aganma yatra pratirante āyuḥ* | 17. *Syūmanā vāchaḥ ud iyartti vahniḥ stavāno rebhaḥ ushaso vibhātīḥ* | *adya tad uchha griṇate maghoni asme āyur ni didīhi prajāvat* | 18. *Yāḥ gomatīr ushasaḥ sarvavīrāḥ vyuchhanti dāśushe martyāya* | *vāyor iva sūnritānām udarke tāḥ aśvadāḥ aśnavat somasutvā* | 19. *Mātā devānām Aditer anīkam yajnasya ketur brihatī vi bhāhi* | *praśastikrid brahmaṇe no vi uchha ā no jane janaya viśvavāre* | 20. *Yat chitram apnaḥ ushaso vahanti ījānāya śaśamānāya bhadram* | *tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ sindhuḥ Prithivī uta Dyauḥ* |

"1. "This light has arrived, the greatest of all lights; the glorious and brilliant illumination has been born. Inasmuch as she (Ushas) has been produced for the production of Savitri, the Night has made way for Ushas. [i. 124, 8. The sister (Night) has made way for her elder sister (Ushas); and departs, after she has, as it were, looked upon her]. i. 113, 2. The fair and bright Ushas, with her bright child (the Sun) has arrived; to her the dark (Night) has relinquished her abodes; kindred to one another, immortal, alternating, Day and Night go on changing colour. 3. The same is the never-ending path of the two sisters, which they travel, commanded by the gods. They strive not, they rest not, the prolific Night and Dawn, concordant, though unlike. 4. The shining Ushas, leader of joyful voices (or hymns), has been perceived; she has opened for us the doors (of the sky): setting in motion all moving things, she has revealed to us riches; Ushas has awakened all creatures. [i. 48, 15. Ushas, as thou hast by thy light opened to us the two doors of heaven, etc.] i. 113, 5. (Arousing) the prostrate sleeper to

move, (impelling) another to enjoyment, to the pursuit of wealth, (enabling) those who see but a little way, to see far; Ushas has awakened all creatures. 6. (Arousing) one to seek royal power, another to follow after fame, another for grand efforts, another to pursue as it were his particular object,—Ushas awakes all creatures to consider their different modes of life. 7. She, the daughter of the sky, has been beheld breaking forth, youthful, clad in shining attire: mistress of all earthly treasures, auspicious Ushas, shine here to-day. 8. Ushas follows the track of the Dawns that are past, and is the first of the unnumbered Dawns that are to come, breaking forth, arousing life, and awaking every one that was dead. [i. 123, 8. Alike to-day, alike to-morrow, they observe the perpetual ordinance of Varuṇa. Spotless, they each instantaneously shoot forward thirty yojanas, their destined task.[302] 9. Knowing the indication of the earliest day, the bright, the lucid (goddess) has been born from the black (gloom). The female does not transgress the settled ordinance, coming day by day to the appointed place.] i. 113, 9. Inasmuch as thou hast made Agni to be kindled, hast shone forth by the light of the sun, and hast awakened the men who are to offer sacrifice, thou hast done good service to the gods. 10. How great is the interval that lies between[303] the Dawns which have arisen, and those which are yet to arise? Ushas yearns longingly after the former Dawns, and gladly goes on shining with the others (that are to come). 11. Those mortals are gone who saw the earliest Ushas dawning; we shall gaze upon her now; and the men are coming who are to behold her on future morns. 12. Repelling foes, protecting right (or rites), born in right (or rites), imparting joy, stimulating joyful voices (or hymns), bringing good fortune, promoting the feast of the gods, rise on us, Ushas, the best (of all Dawns). 13. Perpetually in former days did the divine Ushas dawn; and now to-day the magnificent goddess beams upon this world: undecaying, immortal, she marches on by her own will. 14. She has shone forth with her splendours on the borders of the sky; the bright goddess has chased away the dark veil of

[302] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kratu*.

[303] *samayā* means "near," according to Sāyaṇa. Prof. Müller, Trans. p. 220, considers it to signify "together," "at once." The rendering I have given is that of Professor Aufrecht.

Dawns, the spouses of the noble god (*yo aryapatnīr ushasaś cha-*
hich Sāyaṇa understands of the sun. Ushas is also often con-
rith the Aśvins, the time of whose manifestation, as we shall
r see, is regarded by Yāska as being between midnight and
i. 44, 2; i. 180, 1; iii. 20, 1; vii. 69, 5; vii. 72, 3, 4; viii.
x. 41, 1. They are said to associate with her, i. 183, 2 (*Divo*
Ushasā sachethe); and she is said to be their friend, iv. 52, 2
bhūd Aśvinor Ushāḥ | 3. *Uta sakhā 'si Aśvinoḥ*). In viii. 9, 17,
alled upon to awaken them (*pra bodhaya Usho Aśvinā*). Her
s said to have awoke them, iii. 58, 1 (*Ushasaḥ stomo Aśvināv*
Again, however, we are told that when the Aśvins' car is yoked,
ghter of the sky is born, x. 39, 12 (*yasya yoge duhitā jāyate*
In one place, x. 85, 19, the moon is said to be born again and
ver new, and to go before Ushas as the herald of the day (*navo*
avati jāyamāno ahnāṁ ketur ushasām eti agram). Indra is
have created, or lighted up, Ushas, ii. 12, 7 (*yaḥ sūryaṁ yaḥ*
ṁ jajāna); ii. 21, 4; iii. 31, 15; iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 2 (*haryann*
archayaḥ); vi. 17, 5. He is, however, sometimes repre-
as assuming a hostile attitude towards her. In ii. 15, 6, he is
have crushed her chariot with his thunderbolt (*vajreṇa anaḥ*
ḥ sampipesha). The same thing is repeated in iv. 30, 8 ff.
the poet, with the want of gallantry which was so cha-
tic of the ancients, does not hesitate to admire the manli-
d heroism of Indra in overcoming a female): *Etad gha id*
yam Indra chakartha pauṁsyam | *striyaṁ yad durhaṇāyuvaṁ*
uhitaram Divaḥ | 9. *Divaś chid gha duhitaram mahān mahīya-*
| *Ushasam Indra sam pinak* | 10 (= Nirukta, xi. 47). *Apa*
nasaḥ sarat sampishṭād aha bibhyushī | *ni yat sīm śiśnathad*
11 (= Nir. xi. 48). *Etad asyāḥ anaḥ śaye susampishṭaṁ vipāśi*
a sīm parāvataḥ | "8. This, Indra, was a deed of might and
s which thou didst achieve, that thou didst smite the daughter
ky, a woman who was bent on evil. 9. Thou Indra, a great
dst crush Ushas, though the daughter of the sky, who was ex-
rself. 10. Ushas fled away in terror from her shattered car,
e vigorous (Indra) had crushed it. 11. This chariot of hers lies
and dissolved, while she herself has fled afar off." These
e translated in his Illustrations of the Nirukta by Roth, who

Night, i. 113, 2, 3; x. 127, 3, and in i. 124, 8, the elder sister. Night is also in one place, x. 127, 8, called the daughter of the Sky. The two sisters are frequently conjoined in the duals *naktoshasā* and *ushasā-naktā* or otherwise, i. 13, 7; i. 90, 7; i. 96, 5; i. 122, 2; i. 186, 4; ii. 2, 2; ii. 3, 6; ii. 31, 5; iv. 55, 3; v. 41, 7; vii. 2, 6; vii. 42, 5; ix. 5, 6; x. 36, 1; x. 70, 6; x. 110, 6. In vii. 2, 6, they are compared to two great celestial females (*yoshaṇe divye mahī na ushasānaktā*), and in ii. 31, 5, they are characterized as the two blessed goddesses who are seen alternately[308] and impel all moving things (*uta tye devī subhage mithūdṛiśā ushasānaktā jagatām apījuvā | stushe |*). Ushas is also, as was to be expected, frequently brought into connection with the Sun. As we have seen above, he is called her lover, i. 92, 11, or if with Roth, *s.v. jāra*, we should understand this of Agni, the Sun is indubitably described as going after Ushas as a man after a woman, in i. 115, 2, quoted above. He is said to follow her track, v. 81, 2 (*savitā anu prayāṇam ushaso vi rājati*); and she is represented as bringing the eye of the gods and leading on the beautiful white horse (the sun), vii. 77, 3. She is declared to be the mistress of the world and the wife of the sun, vii. 75, 5 (*bhuvanasya patnī | vājinīvatī sūryasya yoshā*), as the Dawns, in the plural, are said to be in iv. 5, 13 (*kadā no devīr amṛitasya patnīḥ sūro varṇena tatanann ushasaḥ*). In iii. 61, 4, Ushas is said to be *svasarasya patnī*, which Sāyaṇa renders wife of the Sun or the Day.[309] In vii. 78, 3, the Dawns are even said to generate the sun, sacrifice and Agni (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*). Ushas and Agni are also frequently brought into conjunction, fire being always kindled for sacrificial purposes at dawn. He is called her lover, and is said to appear with, or before the dawn, i. 69, 1; i. 124, 1, 11; iii. 5, 1; iv. 13, 1; iv. 14, 1; vii. 8, 1; vii. 9, 1, 3; vii. 10, 1; vii. 67, 2; vii. 77, 1; vii. 78, 2; viii. 43, 5; x. 1, 1; x. 8, 4; x. 35, 6; x. 122, 7.[310] In one place he is represented as going to meet her as she comes, and to beg for riches (iii. 61, 6. *āyatīm Agne Ushasaṁ vibhātīṁ vāmam eshi draviṇam bhikshamāṇaḥ*). In vii. 6, 5, Agni is said to have

[308] So Professor Roth understands *mithūdṛiśā*. Sāyaṇa makes it "looking at each other."

[309] Roth, however, Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 56, says *svasara* (neuter) means only customary road, place of abode, court for cattle, but he does not advert to this passage.

[310] In x. 3, 3 (=S.V. ii. 898), Agni appears to be the lover of his sister, the Night. See Benfey's trans. of the S.V. ii. 898.

equent occurrence in the hymns, and there are also many others
ınd there, such as *maghonī* (the magnificent), *subhagā* (the fortu-
ruṇapsu (the ruddy), *ritāvarī* (the righteous), *ritapā* (the pre-
of right or of order), *ritejā* (born in right, or order), *śuchi*
), *hiraṇyavarṇā* (gold-hued), *devī* (the goddess, or the divine),
(the immortal), *raṇvasandṛik* (of pleasant aspect), *sudṛitīka*
; (the same), *supratīkā* (the brilliant), *satyaśravasī* (possessed of
ealth, or renown), *dānuchitrā* (bringing brilliant gifts), *ghṛitapra-*
hining like butter), *indratamā* (most similar to Indra), i. 30, 20;
l, 2, 7, 10; i. 92, 6–9, 14, 15; i. 113, 2, 12, 13; i. 123,
i. 134, 4; iii. 61, 2, 5; iv. 55, 9; v. 59, 8; v. 80, 1; vii. 75,
77, 2; vii. 78, 4; vii. 79, 3; vii. 81, 1; viii. 62, 16.
as is borne onward on a shining chariot, of massive construction,
decorated and spontaneously yoked (*rathena bṛihatā,—supeśasā,—*
śā,—śośuchatā,—jyotishmatā,—svadhayā yujyamānena), i. 48, 10;
2; i. 123, 7; iii. 61, 2; v. 80, 2; vii. 75, 6; vii. 78, 1, 4;
he distant east, i. 92, 1; i. 124, 5. She is also said to arrive on
lred chariots, i. 48, 7. She is drawn by ruddy horses (*aruṇebhir*
), i. 30, 22; i. 49, 1; i. 92, 15; i. 113, 4; iii. 61, 2; iv. 51, 5;
1 ff.; vii. 75, 6, or by cows or bulls of the same colour, Nighaṇṭu
R.V. i. 92, 2; i. 124, 11; v. 80, 3; and traverses rapidly a
e of thirty yojanas, i. 123, 8. Like a beautiful young woman
l by her mother, a richly decked dancing girl, a gaily attired
ppearing before her husband, or a female rising resplendent out
bath,—smiling, and confiding in the irresistible power of her
ions, she unveils her bosom to the gaze of the beholder, i. 92,
123, 10; i. 124, 4 ff.; v. 80, 4, 5; vi. 64, 2. She dispels the
ss, disclosing the treasures it had concealed; she illuminates the
revealing its most distant extremities. She is the life and
of all things, causing the birds to fly forth from their nests,
g every house, and like an active housewife arousing her house-
awakening the five races of men, yea all creatures, as if from
and sending men forth to the pursuit of their several occupations,

as derived from *ud* and the root *ṛi*, and as meaning "rising," "motion
," and compares R.V. iii. 8, 5. *Devayāḥ vipraḥ udiyartti vācham*, "The pious
raises his voice;" and vi. 47, 3. *Ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham*, "This
when drunk, raises my utterance." I note that *sūnṛitā* is invoked as a goddess
n R.V. i. 40, 3, and x. 141, 2.

adduces R.V. x. 138, 5, as referring to the same myth: *Indrasya vajrād abibhed abhiśnathaḥ prākrāmat śundhyūr ajahād Ushāḥ anaḥ* | "The bright Ushas was afraid of the destructive thunderbolt of Indra; she departed and abandoned her chariot." And in x. 73, 6, it is said that Indra destroyed certain foes like the chariot of Ushas (*avāhann Indraḥ Ushaso yathā anaḥ*).

Soma is said to have made the Dawns bright at their birth, vi. 39, 3, (*śuchijanmanaḥ Ushasaś chakāra*), and to have formed them the wives of a glorious husband, vi. 44, 23 (*ayam akṛiṇod ushasaḥ supatnīḥ*). Bṛihaspati is said to have discovered Ushas, the Sun, etc., x. 67, 5, (*Bṛihaspatir Ushasaṁ Sūryaṁ gām arkaṁ viveda*), and to have repelled the darkness by light, x. 68, 9 (*so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi*).

The early fathers, who were wise and righteous, and companions of the gods in their festivities, are said to have possessed efficacious hymns wherewith they discovered the hidden light, and generated Ushas, vii. 76, 4 (*te id devānāṁ sadhamādaḥ āsann ṛitāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* | *gūḍhaṁ jyotir pitaro anvavindan satyamantrāḥ ajanayann Ushāsam*).

(3) *Epithets, characteristics, and functions of Ushas.*

The Nighaṇṭu, i. 8, gives sixteen names of Ushas, which seem to be almost entirely epithets, viz. *vibhāvarī* (the resplendent), *sūnarī* (the beautiful), *bhāsvatī* (the shining), *odatī* (the flowing, gushing, from the root *ud*, according to Professor Roth, *s.v.*), *chitrāmaghā* (possessed of brilliant riches), *arjunī* (the white), *vājinī*, *vājinīvatī* (the bringer of food), *sumnāvarī* (the giver of joy), *ahanā*, *dyotanā* (the bright), *śvetyā* (the fair-coloured), *arushī* (the ruddy), *sūnṛitā*, *sūnṛitāvatī*, *sūnṛitāvarī* (the utterer of pleasant or sacred voices).[311] Some of these epithets

[311] Professor Aufrecht thinks that this word *sūnṛita* is to be explained as follows: He considers it to be a derivative from *nṛit*, "to be in motion," compounded with *su*. Its first meaning is 'movable' (*sūnṛitā maghāni*, R.V. vii. 57, 6), then 'brisk,' 'alert' (*sūnṛita*, predicated of Indra, viii. 46, 20; *sūnṛite* of Ushas, iv. 55, 9; i. 123, 5; 124, 10; viii. 9, 17). As a feminine substantive in the plural it means either 'activity,' or, with a supplied *gir*, "lively voices" (*sūnṛitānāṁ girām*, iii. 31, 18); *netrī sūnṛitānām* is Ushas as a stimulator, or rather, leader (χορηγός) of joyful voices (of birds, etc.); *sūnṛitā īrayantī* is just the same. Professor Aufrecht is of opinion that the words *vāyor iva sūnṛitānām udarke*, in R.V. i. 113, 18, should not be rendered as I have done in p. 190, above, but translated thus: "when fervent voices arise like the rising of the wind (*ortu vocum velut ortu venti*)." *Udarka* he

are of frequent occurrence in the hymns, and there are also many others to be found there, such as *maghonī* (the magnificent), *subhagā* (the fortunate), *aruṇapsu* (the ruddy), *ṛitāvarī* (the righteous), *ṛitapā* (the preserver of right or of order), *ṛitejā* (born in right, or order), *śuchi* (bright), *hiraṇyavarṇā* (gold-hued), *devī* (the goddess, or the divine), *amṛitā* (the immortal), *raṇvasandṛik* (of pleasant aspect), *sudṛiśīkasandṛik* (the same), *supratīkā* (the brilliant), *satyaśravasī* (possessed of real wealth, or renown), *dānuchitrā* (bringing brilliant gifts), *ghṛitapratīkā* (shining like butter), *indratamā* (most similar to Indra), i. 30, 20; i. 48, 1, 2, 7, 10; i. 92, 6–9, 14, 15; i. 113, 2, 12, 13; i. 123, 4, 6; i. 134, 4; iii. 61, 2, 5; iv. 55, 9; v. 59, 8; v. 80, 1; vii. 75, 5; vii. 77, 2; vii. 78, 4; vii. 79, 3; vii. 81, 1; viii. 62, 16.

Ushas is borne onward on a shining chariot, of massive construction, richly decorated and spontaneously yoked (*rathena bṛihatā,—supeśasā,—viśvapiśā,—śośuchatā,—jyotishmatā,—svadhayā yujyamānena*), i. 48, 10; i. 49, 2; i. 123, 7; iii. 61, 2; v. 80, 2; vii. 75, 6; vii. 78, 1, 4; from the distant east, i. 92, 1; i. 124, 5. She is also said to arrive on a hundred chariots, i. 48, 7. She is drawn by ruddy horses (*aruṇebhir aśvaiḥ*), i. 30, 22; i. 49, 1; i. 92, 15; i. 113, 4; iii. 61, 2; iv. 51, 5; v. 79, 1 ff.; vii. 75, 6, or by cows or bulls of the same colour, Nighaṇṭu i. 15; R.V. i. 92, 2; i. 124, 11; v. 80, 3; and traverses rapidly a distance of thirty yojanas, i. 123, 8. Like a beautiful young woman dressed by her mother, a richly decked dancing girl, a gaily attired wife appearing before her husband, or a female rising resplendent out of the bath,—smiling, and confiding in the irresistible power of her attractions, she unveils her bosom to the gaze of the beholder, i. 92, 4; i. 123, 10; i. 124, 4 ff.; v. 80, 4, 5; vi. 64, 2. She dispels the darkness, disclosing the treasures it had concealed; she illuminates the world, revealing its most distant extremities. She is the life and breath of all things, causing the birds to fly forth from their nests, visiting every house, and like an active housewife arousing her household, awakening the five races of men, yea all creatures, as if from death, and sending men forth to the pursuit of their several occupations,

regards as derived from *ud* and the root *ṛi*, and as meaning "rising," "motion upward," and compares R.V. iii. 8, 5. *Devayāḥ viprāḥ udiyartti vācham*, "The pious priest raises his voice;" and vi. 47, 3. *Ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham*, "This soma, when drunk, raises my utterance." I note that *sūnṛitā* is invoked as a goddess (*devī*) in R.V. i. 40, 3, and x. 141, 2.

i. 48, 5, 8, 10; i. 49, 4; i. 92, 11; i. 113, 8, 16; i. 123, 4, 6; i. 124, 12; ii. 34, 12; vii. 76, 1; vii. 79, 1 f.; vii. 80, 1, and rendering good service to the gods, by causing all worshippers to awake, and the sacrificial fires to be kindled, i. 113, 9. She is, however, entreated to arouse only the devout and liberal worshipper, and to leave the ungodly niggard to sleep on in unconsciousness, i. 124, 10; iv. 51, 3. She is young, being born anew every day, and yet she is old, nay immortal, and wears out the lives of successive generations, which disappear one after another, while she continues undecaying, i. 92, 9 ff.; i. 113, 13, 15; i. 123, 2; i. 124, 2; vii. 18, 20.

The worshippers, however, sometimes venture to take the credit of being more alert than Ushas, and of awaking her instead of being awakened by her (*prati stomair abhutsmahi*, iv. 52, 4; vii. 68, 9; vii. 81, 3; x. 88, 19; and this the Vasishṭhas claim to have been the first to do by their hymns, vii. 80, 1 (*prati stomebhir ushasam Vasishṭhāḥ gīrbhir viprāsaḥ prathamāḥ abudhran*); and in one place she is solicited to make no delay, that the sun may not scorch her like a thief or an enemy, v. 79, 9 (*vi uchha duhitar Divo mā chiraṁ tanuthāḥ apaḥ | na it tvā stenaṁ yathā ripuṁ tapāti sūro archishā*). She is prayed to bring the gods to drink the libations of Soma, i. 48, 12. Agni and the gods generally are described as waking with Ushas (*usharbudhaḥ*), i. 14, 9; i. 44, 11; i. 92, 18; iii. 2, 14; iv. 6, 8; vi. 4, 2; vi. 15, 1; ix. 84, 4.

As we have already seen from the hymns which have been translated, she is frequently asked to bring, or dawn (as in former times) on the worshipper with, various sorts of wealth, children, slaves, etc., to afford protection, and to prolong life, i. 30, 22; i. 48, 1 ff., 9, 11, 15; i. 92, 8, 13 ff.; iv. 51, 7; vii. 41, 7; vii. 75, 2; vii. 77, 5; to revolve like a wheel ever new, iii. 61, 3; to confer renown and glory on the liberal benefactors of the poet, v. 79, 6 f. (comp. i. 48, 4); to drive away sleeplessness to Trita Āptya, viii. 47, 14–16.

The worshippers in one place ask that they may obtain from her riches, and stand to her in the relation of sons to a mother (vii. 81, 4: *tasyās te ratnabhājaḥ īmahe vayaṁ syāma mātur na sūnavaḥ*).

In x. 58, 8, the souls of the departed are said to go to the sun and to Ushas.

METRICAL SKETCH OF USHAS.

When thou dost pierce the murky gloom,
Birds flutter forth from every brake,
All sleepers as from death awake,
And men their myriad tasks resume.

Some, prosperous, wake in listless mood,
And others every nerve to strain
The goal of power or wealth to gain,
Or what they deem the highest good.

But some to holier thoughts aspire,
In hymns the race celestial praise,
And light, on human hearths to blaze,
The heaven-born sacrificial Fire.

And not alone do bard and priest
Awake;—the gods thy power confess
By starting into consciousness
When thy first rays suffuse the east;

And hasting downward from the sky,
They visit men devout and good,
Consume their consecrated food,
And all their longings satisfy.

Bright goddess, let thy genial rays
To us bring stores of envied wealth
In kine and steeds, and sons, with hea
And joy of heart, and length of days.

Fair Ushas, though through years untold
  Thou hast lived on, yet thou art born
  Anew on each succeeding morn,
And so thou art both young and old.

As in thy fated ceaseless course
  Thou risest on us day by day,
  Thou wearest all our lives away
With silent, ever-wasting, force.

Their round our generations run:
  The old depart, and in their place
  Springs ever up a younger race,
Whilst thou, immortal, lookest on.

All those who watched for thee of old
  Are gone, and now 't is we who gaze
  On thy approach; in future days
Shall other men thy beams behold.

But 't is not thoughts so grave and sad
  Alone that thou dost with thee bring,
  A shadow o'er our hearts to fling;—
Thy beams returning make us glad.

Thy sister, sad and sombre Night
  With stars that in the blue expanse
  Like sleepless eyes mysterious glance,
At thy approach is quenched in light;—

And earthly forms, till now concealed
  Behind her veil of dusky hue,
  Once more come sharply out to view,
By thine illuming glow revealed.

Thou art the life of all that lives,
  The breath of all that breathes; the sight
  Of thee makes every countenance bright,
New strength to every spirit gives.

both by men and gods, who concentrates in his own person, and exercises in a higher sense, all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigned to a number of different human functionaries, the *adhvaryu*, *hotṛi*, *potṛi*, *neshṭṛi*, *praśāstṛi*, etc. (i. 94, 6; ii. 1, 2; ii. 5, 2 ff.; iv. 9, 3, 4; x. 2, 1 (*piprīhi devān uśato yavishṭha vidvān ṛitūn ṛitupate yajeha | ye daivyāḥ ṛitvijas tebhir Agne tvaṁ hotṛīṇām asi āyajishṭhaḥ* | "satiate and worship here the longing gods, o most youthful deity, knowing the proper seasons, and along with the divine priests, for thou, Agni, art the most adorable of hotṛis") x. 91, 8-11 (*Agniṁ hotāram paribhūtamam matim*, "Agni, the wis the most eminent of hotṛis." He is a sage, the divinest amo sages (*asuro vipaśchitām*, iii, 3, 4), intimately acquainted with the forms of worship, the wise director, the successful accomplis and the protector, of all ceremonies, who enables men to serve gods in a correct and acceptable manner, in cases where this w be beyond their own unaided skill, i. 1, 4 (*Agne yaṁ yajnam varaṁ viśvataḥ paribhūr asi | sa id deveshu gachhati* | "Agni, sacrifice which thou encompassest on every side goes to the g i. 31, 1 (*tvam Agne prathamo Angirāḥ ṛishir devo devānām a śivaḥ sakhā* | "Agni, thou art the first rishi Angiras, a g auspicious friend of gods"); iii. 3, 3 (*vidathasya sādhanam* accomplisher of the ceremony"); iii. 21, 3 (*ṛishiḥ śreshṭh dhyase yajnasya prāvitā bhava* | "Thou art lighted, a most rishi; protect the sacrifice"); iii. 27, 2 (*vipaśchitaṁ yajn hanam | 7. Purastād eti māyayā vidathāni prachodayan* | sage, the accomplisher of the sacrifice. 7. He goes befo wondrous power promoting the ceremonies"); vi. 14, 2 (*ṛishiḥ*); vii. 4, 4 (*kavir akavishu prachetāḥ* | "Wise among and intelligent"); x. 2, 4 (*yad vo vayam pramināma vratā devāḥ avidushṭarāsaḥ | Agnis tad viśvam ā pṛiṇāti vidvān ṛitubhiḥ kalpayāti | 5. Yat pākatrā manasā dīnadakshāḥ manvate martyāsaḥ | Agnis tad hotā kratuvid vijānan y ṛituśo yajāti* | 4. "Agni, knowing what seasons to assig rectifies all those mistakes which we ignorant men c your prescriptions, o ye most wise gods. 5. Those ma the sacrifice which we mortals of feeble intellects, wit comprehension do not understand, may Agni, the w

SECTION XIIIa.

AGNI.

Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins,[312] the Ogni of the Slavonians. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-veda, as the hymns addresed to him far exceed in number those which are devoted to the celebration of any other divinity, with the sole exception of Indra.

(1) *His functions.*

Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods (an office which, as we shall presently see, is in the Veda assigned to Tvashṭṛi), but derives his principal importance from his connection with the ceremonial of sacrifice. He is an immortal (*amṛita, amartya*) i. 44, 6; i. 58, 1; ii. 10, 1, 2; iii. 2, 11; iii. 3, 1; iii. 11, 2; iii. 27, 5, 7; vi. 9, 4; vii. 4, 4; viii. 60, 11; x. 79, 1, who has taken up his abode among mortals as their guest (*atithi*), i. 44, 4; i. 58, 6; ii. 4, 1; iii. 2, 2; iv. 1, 20; v. 1, 8; v. 8. 2; v. 18, 1; vi. 2, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4; vii. 8, 4; viii. 73, 1; x. 1, 5; x. 91, 2; x. 92, 1. He is the domestic priest, *purohita, ṛitvij, hotṛi, brahman*, who wakes with the dawn (*usharbudh*), or even before the dawn (*ushasaḥ purohitam*) i. 1, 1; i. 12, 1; i. 13, 1, 4; i. 26, 7; i. 36, 3, 5; i. 44, 7, 12; i. 45, 7; i. 58, 1, 6; i. 60, 4; i. 68, 4, (7); i. 76, 2, 4; i. 127, 1; i. 141, 12; i. 149, 4, 5; ii. 5, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 1; iii. 7, 9; iii. 10, 2, 7; iii. 11, 1; iii. 14, 1; iii. 19, 1; iv. 1, 8; v. 11, 2; v. 26, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4, 16; vi. 16, 1; vii. 7, 5; vii. 10, 5; vii. 11, 1; vii. 16, 5, 12; viii. 44, 6; viii. 49, 1; ix. 66, 20;[313] x. 1, 6; x. 92, 2, appointed

[312] On the worship of fire among the Greeks and Romans see the volume of M. Fustel de Coulanges, entitled "La Cité Antique," pp. 21 ff.

[313] In this verse he is called a rishi, as well as a priest, common to the five races (*pānchajanyaḥ purohitaḥ*).

pāyum ugraṁ devāsaś cha martāsaś cha jāgṛiviṁ vibhuṁ viśpatiṁ namasā ni shedire | devān ā sādayad iha | dūto devānām asi martyānām antar mahāṁś charasi rochanena yaṁ tvā devāḥ dadhire havyavāham puruspṛiho mānushāso yajatram | i. 12, 1, 2, 4, 8; i. 27, 4; i. 36, 3, 4, 5; i. 44, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12; i. 58, 1; i. 74, 4, 7; i. 188, 1; ii. 6, 6, 7; ii. 9, 2; ii. 10, 6 iii. 5, 2; iii. 6, 5; iii. 9, 8; iii. 11, 2; iii. 17, 4; iii. 21, 1, 5; iv. 8; iv. 2, 3; iv. 7, 8; iv. 8, 2, 4; v. 8, 6; v. 21, 3; vi. 15, 8–1 vii. 11, 4; vii. 16, 4; vii. 17, 6; viii. 19, 21; viii. 23, 18, 19; vi 39, 1, 9; viii. 44, 3; x. 4, 2; x. 46, 10; x. 91, 11; x. 122, Being acquainted with the innermost recesses of the sky (iv. 8, 2. he veda vasu-dhitim mahān ārodhanaṁ divaḥ | sa devān ā iha vaksh 4. Sa hotā sa id u dūtyaṁ chikitvān antar īyate |), he is well fitt act as the herald of men to summon the gods to the sacrifices insti in their honour. He comes with them seated on the same car (11; vii. 11, 1, ā viśvebhiḥ sarathaṁ yāhi devaiḥ), or in advance of (ā devānām agrayāvā iha yātu | x. 70, 2); and shares in the rev and adoration which they receive (i. 36, 4; ii. 2, 1). He brings V to the ceremony, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air 11, ā Agne vaha Varuṇam ishṭaye naḥ Indraṁ divo Maruto antar He makes the oblations fragrant, x. 15, 12 = Vāj. S. xix. 66 Agne īḷito jātavedo avāḍ havyāni surabhīṇi kṛitvī). With the gods experience no satisfaction (vii. 11, 1, na ṛite tvad mādayante). He himself offers them worship (vii. 11, 3; 16; x. 7, 6). He is sometimes described as the mouth tongue through which both gods and men participate in fices (ii. 1, 13. tvām Agne ādityāsaḥ āsyaṁ tvāṁ jihvāṁ śu krire kave | 14. Tve Agne viśve amṛitāsaḥ adruhaḥ āsā devāḥ h āhutam | tvayā martāsaḥ svadante āsutim). He is elsewh eat the offerings himself (iii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 28, 1-6. Agne vī āhutam), and invited to drink the soma-juice (i. 14, 10; 21, 1, 3. Viśvebhiḥ somyam madhu Agne Indreṇa Vāyunā p

The 51st hymn of the tenth book contains a dialogue b and the other gods, in which they give utterance to the he would come forth from his dark place of concealment and the plants, and seek to persuade him to appear and the customary oblations (verse 5: ehi manur devayur y kṛitya tamasi ksheshi Agne | sugān pathaḥ kṛiṇuhi devay

who knows all these points, adjust, and worship the gods at the proper time"); x. 91, 3 (*Agne kaviḥ kāvyena asi viśvavit*). To him the attention of the worshippers is turned, as men's eyes are to the sun, v. 1, 4 (*Agnim achha devayatām manāṁsi chakshūṁshi iva sūrye saṁ charanti*). He is the father, king, ruler, banner, or outward manifestation,[314] and superintendent of sacrifices and religious duties (*ketuṁ yajnānām | pitā yajnānām | ketur adhvarāṇām | rājānam adhvarasya | adhyakshaṁ dharmaṇām imam | īśe yo viśvasyāḥ devavīteḥ*, iii. 3, 3, 4; iii. 10, 4; iii. 11, 2; iv. 3, 1; vi. 2, 3; viii. 43, 24; x. 1, 5; x. 6, 3). He is also the religious leader or priest of the gods (*sadyo jāto vi amimīta yajnam Agnir devānām abhavat purogāḥ | Agnir devo devānām abhavat purohitaḥ*, x. 110, 11; x. 150, 4. He is a swift (*raghupatvā*,[315] x. 6, 4) messenger, moving between heaven and earth, commissioned both by gods[316] and by men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the immortals the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations, of their worshippers, or to bring them down from the sky to the place of sacrifice (*sa devān ā iha vakshati | Agniṁ dūtaṁ vriṇīmahe | imam ū su tvam asmākaṁ saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṁsam Agne deveshu pravochaḥ | devāsas tvā Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā saṁ dūtam pratnam indhate | dūto viśām asi | patir hi adhvarāṇām Agne dūto viśām asi | yad devānām mitramahaḥ purohito 'ntaro yāsi dūtyam | tvāṁ dūtam aratiṁ havyavāhaṁ devāḥ akriṇvann amritasya nābhim | imaṁ no yajnam amriteshu dhehi | antar īyase arushā yujāno yushmāṁś cha devān viśaḥ ā cha martān | tvām Agne samidhānaṁ yavishṭhya devāḥ dūtaṁ chakrire havyavāhanam | tvāṁ viśve sajoshasaḥ devāso dūtam akrata | tvām dūtam Agne amritaṁ yuge yuge dadhire*

[314] His father begot him (*janitā tvā jajāna*) to be the revelation and brilliant banner of all sacrifices. With the phrase, *janitā tvā jajāna*, compare the expressions in x. 20, 9, also relating to Agni, and in iv. 17, 4, relating to Indra.

[315] Compare the *raghuvartaniṁ ratham* of the Aśvins, R.V. viii. 9, 8.

[316] Taitt. Sanh. ii. 5, 8, 5. *Agnir devānāṁ dūtaḥ asīd Uśanā Kāvyo 'surāṇām* | "Agni was the messenger of the gods Kāvya Uśanas of the asuras." Ibid. ii. 5, 11, 8. *Agnir devānāṁ dūtaḥ āsīd Daivyo 'surāṇām* | "Agni was the messsenger of the gods, Daivya of the Asuras." Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 1, 6. *ā tantum Agnir divyaṁ tatāna | tvaṁ nas tantur uta setur Agne | tvam panthāḥ bhavasi devayānaḥ | tvayū Agne prishṭhaṁ vayam āruhema | atha devaiḥ sadhamādam madema* | "Agni stretched out the celestial bond; thou art our bond and our bridge, o Agni; thou art the path leading to the gods. By thee may we ascend to the summit of heaven, and live in hilarity among the gods."

like a bird; friendly to mankind, he despises no man; kindly to the people, he lives in the midst of every family, x. 91, 2 (*taśrir atithir grihe grihe vane vane śiśriye takvavir iva | janyo nātimanyate viśaḥ a ksheti viśyo viśaṁ viśam*). He is mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (*ā hi sma sūnave pitā yajati āpaye sakhā sakhye vareṇyaḥ | tvam pitā 'si nas tvaṁ tava jāmayo vayam | tvaṁ jāmir janānām Agne mitro asi priyaḥ sakhibhyaḥ īḍyaḥ | tvām Agne pitaram ishṭibhir naraḥ tvām bhrātrāya śamyā tanūrucham | tvam putro bhavasi yas te 'vidhat | pitā mātā in mānushāṇām | Agne bhrātaḥ | Agnim manye pitaram Agnim āpim Agnim bhrātaram sadam it sakhāyam* | i. 26, 3; i. 31, 10, 14, 16; i. 161, 1; ii. 1, 9; vi. 1, 5; v. 4, 2; viii. 43, 16; viii. 64, 16; x. 7, 3); some of his worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10. *Mā no Agne sakhyā pitryāṇi pra marshishṭhāḥ*). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or Asuras (*bādhasva dvisho rakshaso amīvāḥ* ... *pra Agnaye viśvaśuche dhiyamdhe asuraghne | Agnih rakshāṁsi sedhati* ... iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87, 1; x. 187, 3). In hymn x. 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (verse 9. *tīkshṇena Agne chakshushā raksha yajnam*), and to consume the Rakshases and Yātudhānas with his iron teeth and by the terrible manifestations of his fury (verse 2. *Ayodaṁshṭro archishā yātudhānān upa spṛiśa jātavedaḥ samiddhaḥ* | verse 5. *Agne tvachaṁ yātudhānasya bhindhi hiṁsrā 'śanir harasā hantu enam* | verse 14. *Parā śṛiṇīhi tapasā yātudhānān parā 'gne raksho harasā śṛiṇīhi* |).

(2) *Agni's births, and triple existence.*

Various, though not necessarily inconsistent, accounts are given in the hymns of the birth of Agni. Sometimes a divine origin is ascribed to him, while at other times his production, or *at least his manifestation*, is ascribed to the use of the ordinary *human appliances*. Thus he is said to have at first existed potentially *but not actually* in the sky, x. 5, 7 (quoted above in p. 51); to have been brought from the sky, or from afar, by Mātariśvan[218] (*ā anyaṁ [Agniṁ] divo Mātariśvā* ...

[218] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Mātariśvan is said (1) to denote a divine being, who, as the messenger of Vivasvat, brings down from heaven to the Bhrigus Agni, who had before been concealed; and (2) to be a secret name of Agni; and it is remarked that the word cannot be certainly shewn by any text to be in the Vedic ...

yāni sumanasyamānaḥ). After he has expressed the grounds of his reluctance and apprehension (verses 4, 6),[317] he is induced by the promise of long life and a share in the sacrifice to accede to their request (verse 6. *Kurmas te āyur ajaraṁ yad Agne yathā yukto jātavedo na rishyāḥ* | *atha vahāsi sumanasyamāno bhāgaṁ devebhyo havishaḥ sujāta*). In the next following hymn (the 52nd) Agni proclaims himself the master of the ceremonies, declares himself ready to obey the commands of the gods, solicits a share in the sacrifice for himself, and asks how and by what path he can bring them the oblations (verse 1. *Viśve devāḥ śāstana mā yathā iha hotā vṛito manavai yan nishadya* | *pra me brūta bhāgadheyaṁ yathā vo yena pathā havyaṁ vo vahāni* | 2. *Ahaṁ hotā ni asīdaṁ yajīyān viśve maruto mā junanti*). Agni is the lord, protector, and leader of the people, *viśpati, viśāṁ gopā, viśām puraetā* (i. 12, 2; i. 26, 7; i. 31, 11; i. 96, 4; ii. 1, 8; iii. 11, 5); the king or monarch of men (*rājā krishṭīnām asi mānushīṇām* | *rājānam* | *samrājaṁ charshaṇīnām* | *viśāṁ rājanam* | i. 59, 5; ii. 1, 8; iii. 10, 1; v. 4, 1; vi. 7, 1; vii. 8, 1; viii. 43, 24). He is also the lord of the house, *gṛihapati*, dwelling in every abode (*yaḥ pancha charshaṇīr abhi ni shasāda dame dame kavir gṛihapatir yuvā* | i. 12, 6; i. 36, 5; i. 60, 4; v. 8, 2; vii. 15, 2). He is a brilliant guest in every house; dwells in every wood

[317] Verse 6 is as follows: *Agneḥ pūrve bhrātaro artham etam rathīvādhvānam anu āvarīvuḥ* | *tasmād bhiyā Varuṇa dūram āyam gauro na kshepnor avije jyāyāḥ* | "Agni's former brothers have sought this goal, as a charioteer passes along a road. But fearing this journey, o Varuṇa, I went to a distant place, and trembled like a wild bull which quakes at the sound of the huntsman's bowstring." It is clear from verse 7, that Agni means that his brothers had never returned, and that he fears a similar fate. The following passage of the Tait. Sanh., ii. 6, 6, 1, seems to be founded on this verse: *Agnes trayo jyāyāṁso bhrātaraḥ āsan* | *te devebhyo havyaṁ vahantaḥ prāmīyanta* | *so 'gnir abibhed ittham vāva sya ārtim ārishyati iti sa nilāyata* | *so 'paḥ prāviśat* | *taṁ devatāḥ praisham aichhan* | *tam matsyaḥ prābravīt* | *tam aśapad "dhiyādhiyā tvā vadhyāsur yo mā prāvochaḥ" iti* | *tasmād matsyaṁ dhiyādhiyā ghnanti* | *śaptaḥ hi* | *tam anvavindan* | *tam abruvann "upa naḥ āvarttasva havyaṁ no vaha" iti* | *so 'bravīd "varaṁ vṛiṇai yad eva gṛihītasya āhutasya bahiḥparidhi skandāt tan me bhrātṛīṇām bhāgadheyam asad" iti* | "Agni had three elder brothers, who died while carrying oblations to the gods. Agni feared lest he should incur the same fate, and accordingly he disappeared, and entered into the waters. The gods sought to discover him. A fish pointed him out. Agni cursed the fish,—'Since thou hast pointed me out, may men slay thee whenever they will.' Men in consequence slay a fish at their pleasure, because it was cursed. (The gods) found Agni, and said to him, 'Come to us and bring us our oblations.' He replied, 'Let me ask a favour; let whatever part of the presented oblations falls outside of the sacred enclosure be the share of my brothers.'"

like a bird; friendly to mankind, he despises no man; kindly disposed to the people, he lives in the midst of every family, x. 91, 2 (*sa darśataśrīr atithir gṛihe gṛihe vane vane śiśriye takvavīr iva | janaṁ janaṁ janyo nātimanyate viśaḥ a ksheti viśyo viśaṁ viśam*). He is a father, mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (*ā hi sma sūnave pitā āpir yajati āpaye sakhā sakhye vareṇyaḥ | tvam pitā 'si nas tvaṁ vayaskṛit tava jāmayo vayam | tvaṁ jāmir janānām Agne mitro asi priyaḥ | sakhā sakhibhyaḥ īḍyaḥ | tvām Agne pitaram ishṭibhir narāḥ tvām bhrātrāya śamyā tanūrucham | tvam putro bhavasi yas te 'vidhat | pitā mātā sadam in mānushāṇām | Agne bhrātaḥ | Agnim manye pitaram Agnim āpim Agnim bhrātaram sadam it sakhāyam* | i. 26, 3; i. 31, 10, 14, 16; i. 75, 4; i. 161, 1; ii. 1, 9; vi. 1, 5; v. 4, 2; viii. 43, 16; viii. 64, 16; x. 7, 3); and some of his worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10. *Mā no Agne sakhyā pitryāṇi pra marshishṭhāḥ*). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or Asuras (*bādhasva dvisho rakshaso amīvāḥ | pra Agnaye viśvaśuche dhiyamdhe asuraghne | Agniḥ rakshāṁsi sedhati* | iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87, 1; x. 187, 3). In hymn x. 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (verse 9. *tīkshṇena Agne chakshushā raksha yajnam*), and to consume the Rakshases and Yātudhānas with his iron teeth and by the most terrible manifestations of his fury (verse 2. *Ayodaṁshṭro archishā yātudhānān upa spṛiśa jātavedaḥ samiddhaḥ* | verse 5. *Agne tvachaṁ yātudhanasya bhindhi hiṁsrā 'śanir harasā hantu enam* | verse 14. *Parā śṛiṇīhi tapasā yātudhānān parā 'gne raksho harasā śṛiṇīhi* |).

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[318] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Mātariśvan is said (1) to denote a divine being, who, as the messenger of Vivasvat, brings down from heaven to the Bhṛigus Agni, who had before been concealed; and (2) to be a secret name of Agni; and it is remarked that the word cannot be certainly shewn by any text to be in the Vedic

riśvā jabhāra | sa jāyamānaḥ parame vyomani āvir Agnir abhavan Mātariśvane | i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 143, 2; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4); to have been generated by Indra between two clouds or stones (*yo aśmanor antar agniṁ jajāna*, ii. 12, 3); to have been generated by Dyaus, x. 45, 8 (*Agnir amṛito abhavad vayobhir yad enaṁ Dyaur janayat suretāḥ*); to be the son of Dyaus and Pṛithivī, iii. 2, 2; iii. 25, 1 (*Agne Divaḥ sūnur asi prachetas tanā Pṛithivyāḥ uta viśvavedāḥ*); x. 1, 2; x. 2, 7 (*yaṁ tvā Dyāvāpṛithivī yaṁ tvā āpas Tvashṭā yaṁ tvā suja nimā jajāna*); x. 140, 2; whom he magnified, or delighted, at [or by] his birth, iii. 3, 11 (*ubhā pitarā mahayann ajāyata Agnir Dyāvāpṛithivī bhūriretasā*). His production is also said to be due to the waters (x. 2, 7; x. 91, 6),[319] and to Tvashṭṛi (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7). He is elsewhere said to have been generated by the Dawns, vii. 78, 3 ([*Ushaso*] *ajījanan sūryaṁ Yajnam Agnim*); by Indra and Vishṇu, vii. 99, 4 ([*Indrāvishṇū*] *uruṁ Yajnāya chakrathur u lokaṁ janayanta Sūryam Ushasam Agnim*); generated or

hymns, a synonyme of Vāyu. I add some observations on the same subject, which had been made at an earlier period by Professor Roth, in his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 112, where he is elucidating R.V. vi. 8, 4 ("Mātariśvan, the messenger of Vivasvat, brought Agni Vaiśvānara from afar"): "The explanation of Mātariśvan as Vāyu" (which is given by Yāska) "cannot be justified by the Vedic texts, and rests only upon the etymology of the root *śvas*. The numerous passages where the word is mentioned in the Rig-veda exhibit it in two senses. Sometimes it denotes Agni himself, as in the texts i. 96, 3, 4; iii. 29, 4 (11?); x. 114, 1, etc.; at other times, the being who, as another Prometheus, fetches down from heaven, from the gods, the fire which had vanished from the earth, and brings it to the Bhṛigus, i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5. To think of this bringer of fire as a man, as a sage of antiquity, who had laid hold of the lightning, and placed it on the altar and the hearth, is forbidden by those texts which speak of him as bringing it from heaven, not to mention other grounds. As Prometheus belongs to the superhuman class of Titans, and is only by this means enabled to fetch down the spark from heaven, so must Mātariśvan be reckoned as belonging to those races of demigods, who, in the Vedic legends, are sometimes represented as living in the society of the gods, and sometimes as dwelling upon earth. As he brings the fire to the Bhṛigus, it is said of these last, that they have communicated fire to men (*e.g.*, in i. 58, 6), and Agni is called the son of Bhṛigu (*Bhṛigavāṇa*). Mātariśvan also must be reckoned as belonging to this half-divine race." . . . . "It may also be mentioned that the same function of bringing down fire is ascribed in one text (vi. 16, 13) to Atharvan, whose name is connected with fire, like that of Mātarisvan; and also that the sisters of Atharvan are called Mātariśvarīs in x. 120, 9." See my article on Manu in vol. xx. of the Journ. R.A.S., p. 416, note. In one place (vii. 15, 4) Agni is called the falcon of the sky (*divaḥ śyenāya*).

[319] A.V. i. 33, 1. *Hiraṇyavarṇāh śuchayaḥ pāvakāḥ yāsu jātaḥ Savitā yāsu Agniḥ | yāḥ Agnīṁ garbhaṁ dadhire suvarṇās tāḥ naḥ āpaḥ śaṁ syonāḥ bhavantu.*

in v. 4, 8 *trishadhastha* (according to Sāyaṇa = *trishu divyādishu sthāneshu sthita*), occupying three abodes, and in viii. 39, 8 *tripasthya*, having three homes. In i. 95, 3, he is said to have three births, one in the ocean, another in the sky, and a third in the waters (*triṇi jānā paribhūshanti asya samudre ekaṁ divi ekam apsu*), which Sāyaṇa understands of the 1st of the submarine fire (*vaḍavānala*), 2nd of the sun, and 3rd of the lightning. He is elsewhere called *dvijanman*, having two births, i. 60, 1; i. 140, 2; i. 149, 2, 3, which Sāyaṇa explains either as born of Heaven and Earth, or from two sticks, or because he has one birth from the sticks and a second when he is formally consecrated; but is said in one of these passages to dwell in the three lights (*abhi . . . tri rochanāni . . . asthāt*).

In ii. 9, 3, two places of birth only are mentioned—an upper (*parame janman*), and a lower (*avare sadasthe*)—which Sāyaṇa interprets of the sky and the atmosphere; and in viii. 43, 28, in like manner, only two are alluded to, the celestial, and that in the waters (*yad Agne divijāḥ asi apsujāḥ vā*).

In x. 91, 6, as we have already seen, his generation is ascribed only to the waters, the mothers. (Compare iii. 1, 3; iii. 9, 4.)

In A.V. iv. 39, 2, the earth is said to be a cow, and Agni her calf (*Prithivī dhenus tasyāḥ Agnir vatsaḥ*). In verses 4 and 6, Vāyu is said to be the calf of the air, and Sūrya of the sky.

In different passages the process of friction,[326] by which the god is

[326] See Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 16, and Professor Haug's translation, pp. 35 ff. I add here a sentence or two from this work (Ait. Br. i. 16) to illustrate what the texts above quoted say of the power of Agni to hallow all sacrifices, although in the present case a special rite is referred to: *sā eshā svargyā āhutir yad Agnyāhutiḥ* | *yadi ha vai apy abrāhmaṇokto yadi duruktokto yajate atha ha eshā āhutir gachhaty eva devān na pāpmanā saṁsrijyate* | "The Agni oblation is that which conducts to heaven. Even if a man who is called a no-Brāhman, or a person of bad reputation, perform it, still this oblation goes to the gods, and is unaffected by the sin (of the performer)." See Professor Haug's translation, p. 38, note 17. The S'atapatha Brāmaṇa, ii. 3, 3, 1, relates that Agni, when created by Prajāpati, began to burn everything, and threw the world into confusion. Thereupon the creatures who then existed sought to crush him. Not being able to bear this, he came to a man and said, "I cannot endure this; let me enter into thee. Having generated me, nurse me; and if thou wilt do this for me in this world, I will do the same for thee in the next. The man agreed (*sa yatra Agniṁ sasrije sa idaṁ jātaḥ sarvam eva dagdhuṁ dadhre* | *ity eva āvilam eva* | *tāḥ yās tarhi prajāḥ āsus tāḥ ha enaṁ sampeshṭuṁ dadhrire* | *so 'titikshamāṇaḥ purusham eva abhyeyāya* | 2. *Sa ha uvācha "na vai aham idaṁ titikshe hanta tvā praviśāni* | *tam mā janayitvā bibhrihi* | *sa yathaiva māṁ tvam asmin loke jana-*

the adorable gods placed him, Sūrya the son of Aditi, in the sky, when the moving twins came into being, then they (the gods) beheld all creatures."

According to Yāska (Nir. vii. 27) it is intended in verse 6 to represent the sun as identical with Agni ("*tataḥ sūryo jāyate prātar udyan*" *sa eva*). The same writer tells us (Nir. vii. 28) that according to his predecessor S'ākapūṇi the threefold existence of Agni, referred to in verse 8, is his abode on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven ("*tredhā*" *bhāvāya* "*pṛithivyām antarikshe divi*" *iti S'ākapūṇiḥ*), and adds that a Brāhmaṇa declares his third manifestation to be the Sun ("*yad asya divi tṛitīyaṁ tad asāv ādityaḥ*" *iti hi brāhmaṇam*). The constantly moving twins, mentioned in verse 11, are Ushas and the Sun according to Yāska (Nir. vii. 29. *Sarvadā sahachāriṇāv Ushāś cha Ādityaś cha*). Agni would thus be identified not only with Sūrya the celestial, but with Indra or Vāyu, the aerial or atmospheric deity, according to passages of the Nirukta vii. 5, already quoted in p. 8; and with Vishṇu, if we adopt the interpretation of that deity's three steps given by S'ākapūṇi in Nir. xii. 19, as expounded by the commentator Durgāchārya, viz. that Vishṇu abides on earth as terrestrial fire, in the atmosphere in the form of lightning, and in the sky as the Sun ("*Pṛithivyām antarikshe divi*" *iti S'akapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā pṛithivyāṁ yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarikshe vaidyutātmanā divi Sūryātmanā*).[221] In R.V. x. 45, 1, = Vāj. S. xii. 18, (see also verse 2) a threefold origin is ascribed to Agni, the first from the heaven, the second from us (*i.e.* apparently from the earth), and the third from the waters, which may mean the atmosphere[222] (*Divas pari prathamaṁ jajne Agnir asmad dvitīyam pari jātavedāḥ | tṛitīyam apsu*).[223] The same three abodes of Agni are perhaps referred to[224] in x. 56, 1 = S.V. i. 65 (*idaṁ te ekam paraḥ u te ekam tṛitīyena jyotishā saṁ viśasva*). In iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj.S. xviii. 66), he is called *arkas tridhātuḥ*, a threefold light,[225]

[221] Quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 56.

[222] See above, p. 39, note 73. See Comm. on Vāj. S. xii. 18.

[223] A.V. xii. 1, 20. *Agnir divaḥ ā tapati Agner devasya uru antariksham | Agnim martāsaḥ indhate havyavāhaṁ ghṛitapriyam* | "Agni glows from the sky; to Agni belongs the broad air; men kindle Agni, the bearer of oblations, the lover of butter." Compare A.V. xiii. 3, 21, and xviii. 4, 11.

[224] So the Scholiast on the Sāma-veda understands the verse, as I learn from Professor Benfey's note to his translation, p. 216.

[225] Compare A.V. viii. 39, 9.

wood, as the embryo in pregnant women. Agni is daily to be lauded by men bringing oblations and awaking (early). 3. Skilled [in the process], bring [the upper piece of wood] into contact with the lower, lying recumbent: being impregnated, she speedily brings forth the vigorous (Agni)."[328] Compare R.V. i. 68, 2, where it is noticed as remarkable that a living being should spring out of dry wood (*śushkād yad deva jīvo janishṭhāḥ*); iii. 23, 2, 3; vii. 1, 1; x. 49, 15; x. 7, 5. He is produced from the two sticks as a new-born infant, v. 9, 3 (*uta sma yaṁ śiśuṁ yathā navaṁ janishṭha araṇī*); viii. 23, 25 (*sūnuṁ vanaspatīnām*). Strange to say, cries the poet, addressing himself to both worlds, the child, as soon as born, begins with unnatural voracity to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension, x. 79, 4 (*tad vāṁ ṛitaṁ rodasī prabravīmi jāyamāno mātarā garbho atti | nāhaṁ devasya martyaś chiketa*). But when born he is like the wriggling brood of serpents, difficult to catch, v. 9, 4 (*uta sma durgṛibhīyase putro na hvāryāṇām*). Wonderful is his growth, and his immediate activity as a messenger, seeing he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him, x. 115, 1 (*chitraḥ it śiśos taruṇasya vakshatho na yo mātarāv apyeti dhātave | anūdhāḥ yadi jījanad adha cha nu vavaksha sadya mahi dūtyaṁ charan*); but he is nourished and developed by the oblations of clarified butter which are poured into his mouth, and which he consumes, iii. 21, 1 (*stokānām agne medaso ghṛitasya hotaḥ prāśāna* | "Agni, invoker of the gods, eat these portions of fat and butter;" see also verses 2 and 3); v. 11, 3 (*ghṛitena tvā avardhayan*); v. 14, 6; viii. 39, 3 (*Agne manmāni tubhyaṁ kaṁ ghṛitaṁ na juhve āsani*); viii. 43, 10, 22; x. 69, 1 f.; x. 118, 4, 6, and A.V. i. 7, 2 (*Agne tailasya prāśāna*).

In iii. 26, 7, he himself exclaims "butter is my eye" (*ghṛitaṁ me chakshuḥ*).

the wise and longing Bhṛigus have followed him with their steps, like a lost animal, and have found him concealed in the receptacle of the waters." In viii. 23, 17. Kāvya Uśanas is said to have established Agni to be a priest for men (*Uśanā Kāvyas tvā ni hotāram asādayat | āyajiṁ tvā manave jātavedasam*).

[328] The ancient Indians regarded the upper piece of wood as the male, and the lower as the female, factors in the generation of Agni. See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 46, note 52.

ually generated by his worshippers, is described or alluded to. In iii. 29, 1 ff., it is said: *astīdam adhimanthanam asti prajananaṁ kṛitam | etāṁ viśpatnīm ābhara Agnim manthāma pūrvathā* | 2. (=S.V. i. 79) *Araṇyor nihito jātavedāḥ garbhaḥ iva sudhito garbhiṇīshu | dive dive īḍyo jāgṛivadbhir havishmadbhir manushyebhir Agniḥ* | 3. (=Vāj. S. xxxiv. 14) *Uttānāyām ava bhara chikitvān sadyaḥ pravītā vṛishaṇaṁ jajāna* | "This process of friction, of generation, has begun; bring this mistress of the people (the lower *araṇi*, or wood for friction); let us rub out Agni as heretofore.[327] 2. This god is deposited in the two pieces of

yitvā bharishyasi evam eva ahaṁ tvām amushmin loke janayitvā bharishyāmi" iti | "tathā" iti taṁ janayitvā abhibhaḥ). Herodotus, iii. 16, tells us what the Egyptians thought of Agni: *Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται τό πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ.*

[327] Hence, perhaps, it is that he is called *dvi-mātā*, born of two parents (i. 31, 2). As regards *dvi-janmā* having a double birth (i. 60, 1; i. 140, 2; i. 149, 4, 5,) see above. He is also called *bhūrijanmā*, having many births (x. 5, 1). In R.V. i. 95, 2, he is said to be produced by the ten young women, *i.e.* the ten fingers (*daśa imaṁ tvashṭur janayanta garbham atandrāso yuvatayaḥ*). See Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 120; Benfey's Orient und Occident, ii. 510; and Roth's Lexicon, *s.vv.* *tvashṭṛi* and *yuvati*. In iii. 29, 3, he is called the son of Iḷā, whatever sense we ascribe to this word. In regard to the persons or families by whom the sacrificial fire is supposed to have been first kindled, and the rites of Āryan worship introduced, viz., Manu, Angiras, Bhṛigu, Atharvan, Dadhyanch, etc., see my paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Āryan Indians," in vol. xx. Journ. R.A.S., pp. 410–416. I subjoin some of the passages there quoted: i. 36, 19. *Ni tvām Agne manur dadhe jyotir janāya śaśvate* | "Manu has placed thee (here) a light to all (generations of) men." vii. 2, 3. *Manushvad Agnim Manunā samiddhaṁ sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema* | "Let us, like Manu, ever attract to the sacrifice Agni, who was kindled by Manu." x. 63, 7. *Yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje Manur samiddhāgnir manasā sapta hotṛibhiḥ | te Ādityāḥ abhayaṁ śarma yachhata* | "O ye Ādityas, to whom Manu, when he had lighted Agni, presented, in company with seven hotri priests, with his heart, the first oblation, bestow on us secure protection." x. 69, 3. *Yat te Manur yad anīkaṁ Sumitraḥ samīdhe Agne tad idaṁ navīyaḥ* | "That lustre of thine, o Agni, which Manu, which Sumitra kindled, is the same which is now renewed." viii. 43, 13. *Uta tvā Bhṛiguvat śuche Manushvad Agne āhuta | Angirasvad havāmahe* | "Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee who hast been summoned to blaze." vi. 16, 13. *Tvām Agne pushkarād adhi Atharvā nir amanthata* | 14. *Tam u tvā Dadhyaññ ṛishiḥ putraḥ īdhe Atharvaṇaḥ* | 13. "Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf. 14. Thee, Dadhyanch, the son of Atharvan, kindled." x. 21, 5. *Agnir jāto Atharvaṇā vidad viśvāni kāvyā | bhuvad dūto Vivasvataḥ* | "Agni, produced by Atharvan, knows all sciences. He has become the messenger of Vivasvat." i. 58, 6. *Dadhush ṭvā Bhṛigavo mānusheshu ā* | "The Bhṛigus have placed thee among men." x. 46, 2. *Imaṁ vidhanto apāṁ sadasthe paśuṁ na nashṭam padair anu gman | guhā chatantam uśijo namobhir ichhanto dhīrāḥ Bhṛigavo avindan* | "Worshipping, and desiring him with obeisances,

wood, as the embryo in pregnant women. Agni is daily to be lauded by men bringing oblations and awaking (early). 3. Skilled [in the process], bring [the upper piece of wood] into contact with the lower, lying recumbent: being impregnated, she speedily brings forth the vigorous (Agni)."[338] Compare R.V. i. 68, 2, where it is noticed as remarkable that a living being should spring out of dry wood (*śushkād yad deva jīvo janishṭhāḥ*); iii. 23, 2, 3; vii. 1, 1; x. 49, 15; x. 7, 5. He is produced from the two sticks as a new-born infant, v. 9, 3 (*uta sma yaṁ śiśuṁ yathā navaṁ janishṭha araṇī*); viii. 23, 25 (*sūnuṁ vanaspatīnām*). Strange to say, cries the poet, addressing himself to both worlds, the child, as soon as born, begins with unnatural voracity to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension, x. 79, 4 (*tad vām ṛitaṁ rodasī prabravīmi jāyamāno mātarā garbho atti | nāhaṁ devasya martyaś chiketa*). But when born he is like the wriggling brood of serpents, difficult to catch, v. 9, 4 (*uta sma durgṛibhīyase putro na hvāryāṇām*). Wonderful is his growth, and his immediate activity as a messenger, seeing he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him, x. 115, 1 (*chitraḥ it śiśos taruṇasya vakshatho na yo mātarāv apyeti dhātave | anūdhāḥ yadi jījanad adha cha nu vavaksha sadya mahi dūtyaṁ charan*); but he is nourished and developed by the oblations of clarified butter which are poured into his mouth, and which he consumes, iii. 21, 1 (*stokānām agne medaso ghṛitasya hotaḥ prāśāna* | "Agni, invoker of the gods, eat these portions of fat and butter;" see also verses 2 and 3); v. 11, 3 (*ghṛitena tvā avardhayan*); v. 14, 6; viii. 39, 3 (*Agne manmāni tubhyaṁ kaṁ ghṛitaṁ na juhve āsani*); viii. 43, 10, 22; x. 69, 1 f.; x. 118, 4, 6, and A.V. i. 7, 2 (*Agne tailasya prāśāna*).

In iii. 26, 7, he himself exclaims "butter is my eye" (*ghṛitaṁ me chakshuḥ*).

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[338] The ancient Indians regarded the upper piece of wood as the male, and the lower as the female, factors in the generation of Agni. See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 46, note 52.

(3) *His epithets and characteristics.*

His epithets are various, and for the most part descriptive of his physical characteristics. He is *sarpirāsuti*, *ghṛitānna*, butter-fed (ii. 7, 6; vii. 3, 1; x. 69, 2); *ghṛita-nirṇik*, butter-formed (iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 5; x. 122, 2); *ghṛita-keśa*, butter-haired (viii. 49, 2); *ghṛita-prishṭha*, butter-backed (v. 4, 3; v. 37, 1; vii. 2, 4; x. 122, 4); *ghṛitapratīka*, gleaming with butter (iii. 1, 18; v. 11, 1; x. 21, 7); *ghṛita-yoni*, issuing from butter (v. 8, 6, compare ii. 3, 11); *drvanna*, fed by wood (ii. 7, 6); *dhūma-ketu*, having smoke for his mark, signal, or ensign (i. 27, 11; i. 44, 3; i. 94, 10; v. 11, 3; viii. 43, 4; viii. 44, 10; x. 4, 5; x. 12, 2); he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the sky, iv. 6, 2 (*metā iva dhūmaṁ stabhāyad upa dyām*); vii. 2. 1 (*upa spṛiśa divyaṁ sānu stūpaiḥ*); vii. 3, 3; vii. 16, 3 (*ud dhūmāso arushāso divispṛiśaḥ* [*asthuḥ*]; his smoke is waving, his flame cannot be seized, viii. 23, 1 (*charishṇudhūmam agṛibhītaśochisham*); he is driven by the wind, and rushes through the woods like a bull lording it over a herd of cows, i. 58, 4, 5 (*vane ā vātachodito yūthe na sāhvān ava vāti vaṁsagaḥ*); i. 65, 8. He is a destroyer of darkness, i. 140, 1 (*tamohan*), and sees through the gloom of the night, i. 94, 7 (*rātryāś chid andho ati deva paśyasi*). The world, which had been swallowed up and enveloped in darkness, and the heavens, are manifested at his appearance, and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants rejoice in his friendship, x. 88, 2 (*gīrṇam bhuvanaṁ tamasā 'pagūḷham āviḥ svar abhavaj jāte Agnau | tasya devāḥ pṛithivī dyaur utāpo araṇayann oshadhīḥ sakhye asya*). He is *chitra-bhānu*, *chitra-śochiḥ*, of brilliant lustre or blaze (i. 27, 6; ii. 10, 2; v. 26, 2; vi. 10, 3; vii. 9, 3; vii. 12, 1; viii. 19, 2), *ūrdhva-śochis*, upward-flaming (vi. 15, 2), *śukra-śochiḥ*, bright-flaming (vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 20), *pāvaka-śochis*,[220] with clear flames (viii. 43, 31), *śukra-varṇa*, *śuchi-varṇa*, bright coloured (i. 140, 1; v. 2, 3), *śochishkeśa*, with blazing hair

[220] Agni is also styled *śīraśochis* in viii: 60, 10 (=S.V. ii. 904), 14 (=S.V. i. 49), and *śīra* in viii. 43, 31. On the last place Sāyaṇa explains *śīra* as sleeping or lying in the sacrifices (*yajneshu śayanayaśīlam*). On viii. 60, 10, he makes the compound word = *aśana-śīla-jvālam*, "he whose flame pervades." On the 14th verse he takes it as = *śayana-svabhāva-rochishkam*, "he whose brilliance has the character of lying or sleeping." In both places Professor Benfey renders it "gleaming like lightning." Professor Roth, Illustr. of Nir., p. 42, thinks *śīra* may mean "piercing."

(4) *High divine functions assigned to him.*

The highest divine functions are ascribed to Agni. He is called the divine monarch (*samrājo asurasya*), and declared to be strong as Indra, vii. 6, 1 (*Indrasyeva pra tavasas kritāni vande*). Although (as we have seen above) he is described in some passages as the offspring of heaven and earth, he is said in other places to have stretched them out, iii. 6, 5 (*tava kratvā rodasī ā tatantha*); vii. 5, 4; to have spread out the two worlds like two skins, vi. 8, 3 (*vi charmaṇīva dhishaṇe avartayat*); to have produced them, i. 96 4 (*janitā rodasyoḥ*); vii. 5, 6 (*bhuvanā janayan*); to have, like the unborn, supported the earth and sky with true hymns, i. 67, 3 (*ajo na kshāṁ dadhāra prithivīṁ tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ*); to have, by his flame, held aloft the heaven, iii. 5, 10 (*ud astambhīt samidhā nākam rishvaḥ*); to have kept asunder the two worlds, vi. 8, 3 (*vi astabhnād rodasī mitro adbhutaḥ*); to have formed the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven, vi. 7, 7 (*vi yo rajāṁsi amimīta sukratur vaiśvānaro vi divo rochanā kaviḥ*); vi. 8, 2; to have begotten Mitra, x. 8, 4 (*janayan Mitram*), and caused the sun, the imperishable orb, to ascend the sky, x. 156, 4 (*Agne nakshatram ajaram ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*); to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves, x. 88, 4[334] (*sa patatri itvaraṁ sthāḥ jagad yat śvātram agnir akriṇod jātavedāḥ*); to adorn the heaven with stars, i. 68, 5 (*pipeśa nākaṁ stribhir damūnāḥ*). He is the head (*mūrddhā*) and summit (*kakud*) of the sky, the centre (*nābhi*) of the earth (i. 59, 2); compare verse 1; vi. 7, 1; viii. 44, 16; x. 88, 5; he props up men like a pillar, i. 59, 1 (*sthūṇeva janān upamid yayantha*); iv. 5, 1 (*anūnena brihatā vakshathena upa stabhāyad upamin na rodhaḥ*). His greatness exceeds that of heaven and all the worlds, i. 59, 5 (*Divaś chit te brihato jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam*); iii. 3, 10 (*Jātaḥ āpriṇo bhuvanāni rodasī Agne tā viśvā paribhūr asi tmanā*); iii. 6, 2.[335] He, the destroyer of cities, has achieved famous exploits

[334] This half verse (x. 88, 4) is quoted in Nirukta, v. 3. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains the words by saying that Agni subjects all things to himself at the time of the mundane dissolution. The gods are said in the same hymn (x. 88, 7,) to have thrown into Agni an oblation accompanied by a hymn, and in verse 9, this oblation is said to have consisted of all creatures or all worlds (*bhuvanāni viśvā*).

[335] Epithets of this description may have been originally applied to some other god to whom they were more suitable than to Agni, and subsequently transferred to him by his worshippers in emulation of the praises lavished on other deities.

the wind, ibid. (*huve vātasvanaṁ kavim Parjanya-krandyaṁ sahaḥ | Agniṁ samudravāsasam*[332]); like a lion, iii. 2, 11 (*nānadan na siṁhaḥ*); and when he has yoked his red, wind-driven horses to his car, he bellows like a bull, and invades the forest-trees with his flames; the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-devouring sparks arise, i. 94, 10 (*yad ayukthāḥ arushā rohitā rathe vātajūtā vṛishabhasyeva te ravaḥ | ād invasi vanino dhūmaketunā | 11. Adha svanād uta bibhyuḥ patatriṇo drapsāḥ yat te yavasādo vi asthiran*). He is resistless as the resounding Maruts, and as the lightnings of heaven, i. 143, 5 (*na yo varāya Marutām iva svanaḥ seneva sṛishṭā divyā yathā 'śaniḥ*). He has a hundred manifestations, and shines like the sun, i. 149, 3 (*sūro na rurukvān śatātmā*); vii. 3, 6. His lustre is like the rays of the dawn and the sun, x. 91, 4 (*ā te chikitre ushasām iva etayaḥ arepasaḥ sūryasyeva raśmayaḥ*), and like the lightnings of the rain-cloud, ibid. 5 (=S.V. ii. 332, *tava śriyo varshyasyeva vidyutaḥ*); and he is borne on a chariot of lightning, iii. 14, 1 (*vidyudratha*), on a luminous car, i. 140, 1 (*jyotiratha*),[333] i. 141, 12 (*chandraratha*); iii. 5, 3; v. 1. 11 (*ā adya ratham bhānumo bhānumantam Agne tishṭha*); on a brilliant, x. 1, 5 (*chitraratha*), golden, iv. 1, 8 (*hiraṇyaratha*), on an excellent or beautiful car, iii. 3, 9 (*sumadratha*); iv. 2, 4 (*suratha*). This chariot is drawn by horses or mares characterized as butter-backed (*ghṛitapṛishṭha*), wind-impelled (*vātajūta*), beautiful (*svaśva*), ruddy (*rohit*), tawny (*arusha*), active (*jirāśva*), assuming all forms (*viśvarūpa*), and mind-yoked (*manoyuj*), and by other epithets (i. 14, 6, 12; i. 45, 2; i. 94, 10; i. 141, 12; ii. 4, 2; ii. 10, 2; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 2, 4; iv. 6, 9 (*rijumushka!*); vi. 16, 43; vii. 16, 2; viii. 43, 16; x. 7, 4; x. 70, 2 f.), which he yokes in order to summon the gods, i. 14, 12 (*tābhir devān ihāvaha*); iii. 6, 6 (*ṛitasya vā keśinā yogyābhir ghṛitasnuvā rohitā dhuri dhishva | athāvaha devān deva vidvān | 9. Ā ebhir [devaiḥ] Agne sarathaṁ yāhi arvāṅ*); viii. 64, 1 (*yukshā hi devahūtamān aśvān Agne rathīr iva*).

[332] Here it will be noted, he is also said "to be clothed with, or enveloped by, the ocean." The same epithet had also occurred in the preceding verse (=S.V. i. 18), where the rishi is also said to invoke the bright god, as did Aurva, Bhṛigu, and Apnavāna (*Aurvabhṛiguvat śuchim Apnavāna-vad ā huve Agniṁ samudra-vāsasam*).

[333] The same epithet is applied to the gods in general in x. 63, 4.

(5) *Agni's relations to his worshippers.*

The votaries of Agni prosper, they are wealthy and live long, vi. 2, 4, 5 (*samidhā yas te āhutiṁ niśitim martyo naśat | vayāvantaṁ sa pushyati kshayam Agne śatāyusham*); vi. 5, 5 (*yas te yajnena samidhā yaḥ ukthair arkebhiḥ sūno sahaso dadāśat | sa martyeshu amṛita prachetāḥ rāyā dyumnena śravasā vi bhāti*); vi. 10, 3; vi. 13, 4; vi. 15, 11; vii. 11, 2; viii. 19, 5, 6; viii. 44, 15; viii. 73, 9. He is the deliverer (compare viii. 49, 5) and friend of the man who comes to him with fine horses and gold, and a chariot full of riches, and delights to entertain him as a guest, iv. 4, 10 (*yas tvā svaśvaḥ suhiraṇyo Agne upayāti vasumatā rathena | tasya trātā bhavasi sakhā yas te ātithyam ānushag jujoshat*); and grants protection to the devoted worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel,[337] or wearies his head to serve him, iv. 2, 6 (*yas te idhmaṁ jabharat sishvidāno mūrdhānam vā tatapate tvāyā | bhuvas tasya svatavān pāyur Agne*). He watches with a thousand eyes over the man who brings him food and nourishes him with oblations, x. 79, 5 (*yo asmai annaṁ tṛishu ādadhāti ājyair ghṛitair juhoti pushyati | tasmai sahasram akshabhir vi chakshe*). He bestows on his servant a renowned, devout, excellent, incomparable son, who confers fame upon his father,[338] v. 25, 5 (*Agnis tuviśravastamaṁ tuvibrahmāṇam uttamam | atūrtaṁ śrāvayatpatim putraṁ dadāti dāśushe*). He gives riches, which he abundantly commands, i. 1, 3 (*Agninā rayim aśnavat*); i. 31, 10 (*tvam Agne pramatis tvam pitā 'si nas tvaṁ vayaskṛit tava jāmayo vayam | saṁ tvā rāyaḥ śatinaḥ saṁ sahasriṇaḥ suvīraṁ yanti vratapām adābhya*); i. 36, 4 (*viśvaṁ so Agne jayati tvayā dhanaṁ yas te dadāśa martyaḥ*). The man whom he protects and inspires in battle conquers abundant food, and can never be overcome, i. 27, 7 f. = S.V. ii. 765 f. (*yam Agne pṛitsu martyam avāḥ vājeshu yaṁ junāḥ | sa yantā śaśvatīr ishaḥ | 8. Nakir asya sahantya paryetā kayasya chit*). No mortal enemy can by any wondrous power gain the mastery over him who sacrifices to this god,

[337] In viii. 91, 19 f. the rishi informs Agni that he has no cow which would yield butter for oblations, and no axe to cut wood withal, and that therefore his offering is such as the god sees: and he begs him to accept any sorts of wood he may throw into him (*na hi me asti aghnyā na svadhitir vananvati | atha etādṛig bharāmi te | 20. Yad Agne kāni kāni chid ā te dārūṇi dadhmasi tā jushasva yavishṭhya*).

[338] Such is the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to the epithet *śrāvayat-patim*.

of old, vii. 6, 2 (*purandarasya gīrbhir ā vivāse Agner vratāni pūrvyā mahāni*). Men tremble at his mighty deeds, and his ordinances and designs cannot be resisted, ii. 8, 3 (*yasya vrataṁ na mīyate*); ii. 9, 1 = Vāj. S. xi. 36 (*adabdhavrata-pramatir . . . Agniḥ*); vi. 7, 5; viii. 44, 25; viii. 92, 3 (*yasmād rejante krishṭayaś charkṛityāni kṛiṇvataḥ*). Earth and heaven and all beings present and future obey his commands; vii. 5, 4 (*tava tridhātu pṛithivī uta dyaur vaiśvānara vratam Agne sachanta*); A.V. iv. 23, 7 (*yasya idam pradiśi yad rochate yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ cha kevalam | staumi Agniṁ nāthito johavīmi*). He conquered wealth, or space, for the gods in battle, i. 59, 5 (*yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha*); and delivered them from calamity, vii. 13, 2 (*tvaṁ devān abhiśaster amunchaḥ*). He is the conqueror of thousands (*sahasrajit*), i. 188, 1. All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness, vi. 9, 7 (*viśve devāḥ anamasyan bhiyānās tvām Agne tamasi tasthivāṁsam*). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the 3,339 gods, iii. 9, 9 (*trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇi Agniṁ triṁśach cha devāḥ nava chāsaparyan*); iii. 14, 4 (*Mitraś cha tubhyaṁ Varuṇaḥ sahasvo Agne viśve Marutaḥ sumnam archan*); x. 69, 9 (*devāś chit te amṛitāḥ jātavedo mahimānaṁ Vādhryaśva pra vochan*). It is through him that Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman triumph, i. 141, 9 (*tvayā hi Agne Varuṇo dhṛitavrato Mitraḥ śāśadre Aryamā sudānavaḥ*). He knows and sees all worlds, or creatures, iii. 55, 10 (*Agnis tā viśvā bhuvanāni veda*); x. 187, 4 (*yo viśvā 'bhipaśyati bhuvanā saṁ cha paśyati*).[326] He knows the recesses of heaven, iv. 8, 2, 4 (*vidvān ārodhanaṁ divaḥ*), the divine ordinances and the races or births of of gods and men, i. 70, 1, 3 (*ā daivyāni vratā chikitvān ā mānushasya janasya janma | etā chikitvo bhūmā ni pāhi devānāṁ janma martāṁś cha vidvān*); iii. 4, 11; vi. 15, 13; the secrets of mortals, viii. 39, 6 *Agnir jātā devānām Agnir veda martānām apīchyam*); and hears the invocations which are addressed to him, viii. 43, 23 (*taṁ tvā vayaṁ havāmahe sriṇvantaṁ jātavedasam*). He is *asura*, "the divine," iv. 2, 5; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1.

[326] These same words are in iii. 62, 9, applied to Pūshan. See above, p. 172.

men across calamities, as in a ship over the sea, or preserves from them, iii. 20, 4 (*parshad viśvā 'ti duritā griṇantam*); v. 4, 9 (*viśvāni no durgahā jātavedaḥ sindhuṁ na nāvā duritā 'ti parshi*); vii. 12, 2 (*sa mahnā viśvā duritāni sahvān | sa no rakshishad duritād avadyāt*). All blessings issue from him as branches from a tree, vi. 13, 1 (*tvad viśvā subhaga saubhagāni Agne vi yanti vanino na vayāḥ*). He is like a water-trough in a desert, x. 4, 1 (*dhanvann iva prapā asi Agne*). All treasures are congregated in him, x. 6, 6 (*saṁ yasmin viśvā vasūni jagmuḥ*); he commands all the riches in the earth, the upper and lower oceans, the atmosphere, and the sky, vii. 6, 7 (*ā devo dade budhnyā vasūni vaiśvānaraḥ uditā sūryasya | ā samudrād avarād ā parasmād ā Agnir divaḥ ā prithivyāḥ*); x. 91, 3 (*vasur vasūnāṁ kshayasi tvam ekaḥ id dyāvā cha yāni prithivī cha pushyataḥ*). He is, in consequence, continually supplicated for all kinds of boons, riches, food, deliverance from enemies and demons, poverty, nakedness, reproach, childlessness, hunger, i. 12, 8, 9; i. 36, 12 ff.; i. 58, 8, 9; ii. 4, 8; ii. 7, 2, 3; ii. 9, 5; iii. 1, 21; iii. 13, 7; iii. 16, 5; iv. 2, 20; iv. 3, 14; iv. 11, 6; v. 3, 11; vi. 1, 12 f.; vi. 4, 8; vi. 5, 7; vi. 6, 7; vii. 1, 5, 13, 19. He is besought to protect his worshippers with a hundred iron walls, vi. 48, 8; vii. 3, 7 (*śatam pūrbhir āyasībhir ni pāhi*); vii. 16, 10; to be himself such a fortification with a hundred surrounding walls, vii. 15, 14 (*adha mahī naḥ ayasī anādhrishṭo nripītaye | pūr bhava śatabhujiḥ*); i. 189, 2; to consume their enemies like dry bushes, iv. 4, 4 (*ni amitrān oshatāt tigmahete | yo no arātiṁ samidhāna chakre nīchā taṁ dhakshi atasaṁ na śushkam*); to strike down the malevolent as a tree is destroyed by lighting, vi. 8, 5 (*pavyeva rājann aghaśaṁsam ajara nīchā ni vriścha vaninaṁ na tejasā*). Compare A.V. iii. 1, 1; iii. 2, 1; vi. 120, 1. He is invoked in battle, viii. 43, 21 (*samatsu tvā havāmahe*), in which he leads the van, viii. 73, 8 (*puroyāvānam ājishu*). He is prayed to forgive whatever sin the worshipper may have commited through folly, and to make him guiltless towards Aditi, iv. 12, 4 (*yat chid hi te purushatrā yavishṭha achittibhiś chakrima kach chid āgaḥ | kridhi su asmān Aditer anāgān vi enāṁsi śiśratho vishvag Agne*); vii. 93, 7 (*yat sīm āgaś chakrima tat su mrila tad Aryamā*

sacrificial (*yāgayogyaḥ*). Compare Vaj. San. xviii. 51 f. The Taitt. Sanh. ii. 5, 8, 6, mentions another threefold division of fire: *Trayo vai agnayo havyavāhano devānāṁ kavyavāhanaḥ pitṛīṇāṁ saharakshāḥ asurāṇām.*

viii. 23, 15 (*na tasya māyayā chana ripur īśīta martyaḥ | yo Agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ*). He also confers, and is the guardian and lord of, immortality, i. 31, 7 (*tvaṁ tam Agne amṛitatve uttame marttaṁ dadhāsi*); vii. 7, 7 (*amṛitasya rakshitā*); vii. 4, 6 (*īśe hi Agne amṛitasya bhūreḥ*). He was made by the gods the centre of immortality, iii. 17, 4 (*amṛitasya nābhiḥ*). His worshippers seek him with glad hearts, viii. 43, 31 (*hṛidbhir mandrebhir īmahe*). In a funeral hymn Agni is supplicated to warm with his heat the unborn part[339] of the deceased, and in his auspicious form to carry it to the world of the righteous, x. 16, 4 (*ajo bhāgas tapasā taṁ tapasva taṁ te śochis tapatu taṁ te archiḥ | yās te śivās tanvo jātavedas tābhir vahainaṁ sukṛitām u lokam*).[340] He carries

[339] Professor Aufrecht thinks that this is not the sense of the words, and that they mean: "The goat (with whose skin the dead is covered) is thy share; that consume with thy heat; that be consumed with thy flash and flame," etc.; and compares Āśvalāyanas' Gṛihya Sūtras iv. 2, 4; 3, 20; and Kātyāyanas' S'rauta Sūtras, xxv. 7, 34. I gather from the fact that this passage is cited in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth under aja 1, *e* (where the sense of goat is assigned to the word), that they are of the same opinion as Professor Aufrecht. I think, however, that the rendering I have followed is more agreeable to the context. In the preceding verses 1 and 2, Agni had been besought not so to burn the body of the deceased as to destroy it (compare R.V. i. 162, 20), but after having sufficiently "cooked" the man (*yadā śṛitaṁ kṛiṇavaḥ*), to send him to the Fathers. In verse 3, the different elements of which the body, when living, was composed, are commanded to return to the sources from which they were at first derived; and then in the verse before us (as I understand it), the god is besought to warm the man's unborn part, and convey it to the world of the righteous. In the text there is no word answering to "thy," which has, therefore, to be supplied by those who understand aja of a goat. It is more natural to suppose that it is the soul of the departed man than that of a goat which is to be conveyed to the world of the righteous; (although I am aware that Manu, v. 42, declares that cattle which are sacrificed go to heaven, and the same is said of the sacrificial horse in R.V. i. 162, 21, and i. 163, 12 f.); and in the following verse (x. 16, 5) it is evidently the man who is said to have been offered to Agni, and whom Agni is besought to dismiss to the Fathers. My rendering has the support of Professor Müller (Journ. of Germ. Or. Soc., vol. ix. p. xv.), who translates *ajo bhāgaḥ* by "das ew'ge Theil," the eternal part, and of M. Langlois, who renders it "une portion immortelle." These verses, x. 16, 1–5, will be found quoted at length in the section on Yama.

[340] Some further verses of this hymn will be quoted in the section on Yama. In verse 9, the *kravyād Agni*, the consumer of carrion, or of the dead, is spoken of as an object to be repelled. In the Vāj. S. i. 17, Agni is prayed to drive away two of his own forms, the *āmād* and the *kravyād*, and to bring the sacrificial fire (*apa Agne Agnim āmādaṁ jahi nish kravyādam sedha | ā devayajaṁ vaha*), where the commentator says that three Agnis are mentioned, the one which devours raw flesh (*āmād*) which is the common culinary fire (*laukiko 'gniḥ*), the second the funereal (*kravyāt | śavadāhe kravyam māṁsam atti iti kravyāt chitāgniḥ*), and the third the

gods are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and having their mothers here and there,[343] vi. 59, 2 (see above, pp. 14 and 81), to be both thunderers (*vajriṇā*), slayers of Vṛittra or of foes (*vṛittrahaṇā*), and shakers of cities, iii. 12, 4, 6 (*Indrāgnī navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhunutam | sākam ekena karmaṇā*); vi. 59, 3; vi. 60, 3; vii. 93, 1, 4; viii. 38, 2.[344] They are also invited together to come and drink soma (vii. 93, 6; viii. 38, 4, 7–9), and are together invoked for help, vii. 94, 7 (*Indrāgnī avasā ā gatam asmabhyaṁ charshaṇīsahā*). In one place, i. 109, 4, they are called *aśvinā*, "horsemen." (See Müller, as quoted at the foot of the page). Agni is elsewhere said to exercise alone the function usually assigned to Indra, and to slay Vṛittra and destroy cities, i. 59, 6 (*Vaiśvānaro dasyum Agnir jaghanvān adhūnot kāshṭhāḥ ava S'ambaram bhet*); i. 78, 4 (*tam u tvā vṛittrahantamam yo dasyūn avadhūnushe | dyumnair abhi pra noṇumaḥ*); vi. 16, 14, 39, 48 (*vṛittrahaṇam purandaram | Agne puro rurojitha*); vii. 5, 3; vii. 6, 2; viii. 63, 4. He is also described as driving away the Dasyus from the house, thus creating a large light for the Ārya, vii. 5, 6 (*tvaṁ dasyūn okasaḥ ājaḥ uru jyotir janayann āryāya*, compare i. 59, 2, and x. 69, 6), as the promoter of the Ārya, viii. 92. 1 (*āryasya vardhanam Agnim*), and as the vanquisher of the irreligious Paṇis, vii. 6, 3 (*ni akratūn grathino mṛidhravāchaḥ paṇīn aśrāddhān avṛidhān ayajnān | pra pra tān dasyūn Agnir vivāya pūrvaś chakāra aparān ayajyūn*),—although it is Indra who is most frequently represented in the hymns as the patron and helper of the sacred race, and the destroyer of their enemies. On the other hand, in viii. 38, 1, where the two gods are called two priests (*yajnasya ṛitvijā*), Indra is made to share in the character peculiar to Agni.[345] In hymn i. 93, Agni and Soma are celebrated in company.

[343] The word so rendered is *ihehamātarā*. Sāyaṇa says it means that their mother Aditi is here and there, *i.e.* everywhere. Roth, *s.v.* understands it to mean that the mother of the one is here, of the other there, *i.e.* in different places. Compare *ihehajāte* R.V. v. 47, 5. See Müller's Lectures on Language ii. 495.

[344] Compare A.V. iv. 23, 5; vii. 110, 1 f.

[345] Compare the words attributed to Indra in x. 119, 13 above, p. 91.

Aditiḥ śiśrathantu; see above pp. 46 and 47); and to avert Varuṇa's wrath, iv. 1, 4 (*tvaṁ no Agne Varuṇasya vidvān devasya helo ava yāsisishṭhāḥ*).

In two passages, as we have already seen (p. 108, note), the worshipper naively says to Agni (as Indra's votary says to him), viii. 44, 23, "If I were thou, and thou, Agni, wert I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled;" and viii. 19, 25 f., "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I, o thou who art rich in friends, were an immortal, (26) I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. My worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable."

In viii. 92, 2, Agni called Daivodāsa (*Daivodāso 'gniḥ*), from which it would appear that king Divodāsa claimed him especially as his tutelary god. In the same way he is called in viii. 19, 32 (*samrājaṁ Trāsadasyavam*), and in x. 69, 1 ff., he is called Agni Badhryasva, apparently because a sage of that name had kindled him. Compare the epithet Kauśika applied to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11, and the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 ff.

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods and different goddesses, Indra, Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Anśa, Tvashṭṛi, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotrā, Bhāratī, Iḷā, Sarasvatī, ii. 1, 3–7, and 11 (*tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ*, etc.); iii. 5, 4; v. 3, 1; vii. 12, 3; x. 8, 5.[341] All gods are comprehended in him, v. 3, 1 (*tve viśve sahasas putra devāḥ*); he surrounds them as the circumference of a wheel does the spokes, v. 13, 6 (*Agne nemir arān iva tvaṁ devān paribhūr asi*); compare i. 141, 9. Varuṇa is in one place spoken of as his brother, iv. 1, 2 (*sa bhrātaram Varuṇam Agne ā vavṛitsva*).

Agni is associated with Indra[342] in different hymns, as i. 108 and 109; iii. 12; vi. 59 and 60; vii. 93 and 94; viii. 38 and 40. The two

[341] Another verse where Agni is identified with other gods is i. 164, 46. *Indram Mitraṁ Varuṇam Agnim āhur atho divyaḥ sa suparṇo garutmān | ekaṁ sad viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti Agnim Yamam Mātariśvānam āhuḥ* | "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; then there is that celestial, well-winged bird. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan." Compare A.V. xiii. 3, 13: *sa Varuṇaḥ sāyam Agnir bhavati sa Mitro bhavati prātar udyan | sa Savitā bhūtvā antarikshena yāti sa Indro bhūtvā tapati madhyato divam* | "Agni becomes Varuṇa in the evening; rising in the morning he is Mitra; becoming Savitṛi he moves through the air; becoming Indra he glows in the middle of the sky."

[342] See Müller's Lectures on Language. Second series, pp. 495 f.

A swift-winged messenger, thou callest down
From heaven, to crowd our hearths, the race divine,
To taste our food, our hymns to hear, benign,
And all our fondest aspirations crown.

Thou, Agni, art our priest, divinely wise,
In holy science versed; thy skill detects
The faults that mar our rites, mistakes corrects,
And all our acts completes and sanctifies.

Thou art the cord that stretches to the skies,
The bridge that spans the chasm, profound and vast,
Dividing Earth from Heaven, o'er which at last
The good shall safely pass to Paradise.

But when, great god, thine awful anger glows,
And thou revealest thy destroying force,
All creatures flee before thy furious course,
As hosts are chased by overpowering foes.

Thou levellest all thou touchest; forests vast
Thou shear'st like beards which barber's razor shaves,
Thy wind-driven flames roar loud as ocean-waves,
And all thy track is black when thou hast past.

But thou, great Agni, dost not always wear
That direful form; thou rather lov'st to shine
Upon our hearths with milder flame benign,
And cheer the homes where thou art nursed with care.

Yes, thou delightest all those men to bless,
Who toil, unwearied, to supply the food
Which thou so lovest, logs of well-dried wood,
And heaps of butter bring,—thy favourite mess.

Though I no cow possess, and have no store
Of butter,—nor an axe fresh wood to cleave,
Thou, gracious god, wilt my poor gift receive,—
These few dry sticks I bring; I have no more.

METRICAL SKETCH OF

e us, lord, thy faithful servants save
n all the ills by which our bliss is marred;
er like an iron wall our homes to guard,
l the boons bestow our hearts can crave.

when away our brief existence wanes,
hen we at length our earthly homes must quit,
d our freed souls to worlds unknown shall flit,
hou deal gently with our cold remains;

then thy gracious form assuming, guide
ur unborn part across the dark abyss
loft to realms serene of light and bliss,
ere righteous men among the gods abide.

SECTION XIV.

TVASHṬṚI.

This god, who in the later mythology is regarded as one of the Âdityas,[347] but as we have seen (in the section on those deities) does not bear that character in the hymns of the Rig-veda, is the Hephaistos, or Vulcan, of the Indian pantheon, the ideal artist, the divine artizan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all wonderful and admirable contrivances, x. 53, 9 (*Tvashṭā māyāḥ ved apasām apastamaḥ*). He sharpens the iron axe of Brahmaṇaspati, ibid. (*śiśite nūnam paraśuṁ svāyasaṁ yena vriśchād etaśo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ*); and forges the thunderbolts of Indra,[348] i. 32, 2 (*Tvashṭā asmai vajraṁ svaryaṁ tataksha*); i. 52, 7; i. 61, 6; i. 85, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3; which are described as golden (*hiraṇyaya*) i. 85, 9, or of iron (*āyasa*) x. 48, 3, with a thousand points (*sahasrabhṛishṭi*) and a hundred edges (*śatāśri*), i. 85, 9; vi. 17, 10 (see above, p. 86). He is styled *supāṇi*, *sugabhasti*, the beautiful-, or skilful-handed, iii. 54, 12; vi. 49, 9; *svapas*, *sukṛit*, the skilful worker, i. 85, 9; iii. 54, 12; *viśvarūpa*,[349] the omniform, or archetype, of all forms, i. 13, 10; iii. 55, 19;[350] x. 10, 5; and *savitṛi*, the vivifier, iii. 55, 19; x. 10, 5. He imparts generative power and bestows offspring,[351] i. 142, 10 (*tan nas turīpam adbhutam puru vā*

[347] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 103 ff.

[348] According to R.V. i. 121, 3, Indra himself (?) is said to have fashioned the thunderbolt (*takshad vajram*).

[349] In iii. 38, 4, the epithet *viśvarūpa* is applied to another god,—Indra according to Sāyaṇa.

[350] Quoted in Nirukta x. 34. See Roth's illustrations of that work, p. 144, where the word *savitṛi* is said to be an epithet of Tvashṭṛi.

[351] In A.V. vi. 81, 3, Tvashṭṛi is said to have bound the amulet which Aditi wore when she was desirous of offspring, on the arm of a female, in order that she might bear a son (*yam parihastam abibhar Aditiḥ putrakāmyā | Tvashṭā tām asyāḥ ā badhnād yathā putraṁ janād iti*). In A.V. xi. 1, 1, Aditi is said to have cooked a brahmaudana oblation when desirous of sons (*Aditir nāthitā iyam brahmaudanam pachati putrakāmā*). See the 1st vol. of this work, p. 26.

Preserve us, lord, thy faithful servants save
  From all the ills by which our bliss is marred;
  Tower like an iron wall our homes to guard,
And all the boons bestow our hearts can crave.

And when away our brief existence wanes,
  When we at length our earthly homes must quit,
  And our freed souls to worlds unknown shall flit,
Do thou deal gently with our cold remains;

And then thy gracious form assuming, guide
  Our unborn part across the dark abyss
  Aloft to realms serene of light and bliss,
Where righteous men among the gods abide.

7; x. 46, 9 (*Dyāvā yam Agnim pṛivithī janishṭām āpas Tvashṭā Bhṛigavo yam sahobhiḥ*); compare i. 95, 2.[352] He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshaṇi*), ii. 31, 4; a first-born protector and leader, ix. 5, 9 (*Tvashṭāram agrajām gopām puroyāvānam ā huve*); compare i. 13, 10. He is a companion of the Angirases, x. 70, 9 (*yad Angirasām abhavaḥ sachābhūḥ*), and knows the region of the gods (*devānām pāthaḥ upa pra vidvān uśan yakshi*). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper and protect his sacrifice. He is *draviṇodas*, the bestower of blessings, and *suratna*, possessed of abundant wealth, x. 70, 9, and x. 92, 11; and is asked, like other gods, to take pleasure in the hymns of his worshippers, and to grant them riches, vii. 34, 21 f. (*prati naḥ stomaṁ Tvashṭā jusheta | Tvashṭā sudātro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ*).

Tvashṭṛi is in several passages connected with the Ṛibhus, who, like him, are celebrated as skilful workmen (see Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*), who fashioned Indra's chariot and horses, made their own parents young, etc., i. 111, 1 (*takshan ratham suvṛitam vidmanā 'pasas takshan harī Indravāhā vṛishaṇvasū | takshan pitṛibhyām Ṛibhavo yuvad vayaḥ*), i. 161, 7; iv. 33, 3; iv. 35, 5; iv. 36, 3; and are spoken of by Sāyaṇa (on i. 20, 6) as Tvashṭṛi's pupils (*takshaṇa-vyāpāra-kuśalasya Tvashṭuḥ śishyāḥ Ṛibhavaḥ*). These Ṛibhus are said to have made into four a single new sacrificial cup which Tvashṭṛi had formed (i. 20, 6. *uta tyaṁ chamasaṁ navaṁ Tvashṭur devasya nishkṛitam | akartta chaturaḥ punaḥ* | i. 110, 3). This exhibition of skill is said to have been performed by command of the gods, and in consequence of a promise that its accomplishment should be rewarded by their exaltation to divine honours, i. 161, 1–5, (verse 2, *yadi eva karishyatha sākaṁ devair yajniyāso bhavishyatha*). Tvashṭṛi is in this passage represented as becoming ashamed and hiding himself among the goddesses when he saw this alteration of his work, verse 4 (*yadā 'vākhyat chamasān chaturaḥ kṛitān ād it Tvashṭā gnāsu antar ni ānaje*), and as resenting this change in his own manufacture as a slight to himself, and as having in consequence sought to slay his rivals, verse 5 (*hanāma enān iti Tvashṭā yad abravīt chamasaṁ ye devapānam anindishuḥ*). In another place (iv. 33, 5, 6), on the contrary, he is said to have applauded

[352] Who is the being who claims, in x. 125, 1 f. to sustain Tvashṭṛi and other gods (*aham somam āhanasam bibharmi ahaṁ Tvashṭāram*)?

aram puru tmanā | *Tvashṭā poshāya vi syatu rāye nābhā no asmayuḥ*) ; iii. 4, 9 = vii. 2, 9 (*tan nas turīpam adha poshayitnu deva Tvashṭar vi rarāṇaḥ syasva* | *yato vīraḥ karmaṇyaḥ sudaksho yuktagrāvā jāyate devakāmaḥ*) ; vii. 34, 20 (*ā yan naḥ patnīr gamanti achha Tvashṭā supāṇir dadhātu vīrān*) ; compare Vāj. Sanh. xxi. 20 ; xxii. 20 ; xxvii. 20 ; and A.V. ii. 29, 2. He forms husband and wife for each other, even from the womb, R.V. x. 10, 5 (*garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī kar devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*) ; A.V. vi. 78, 3 (*Tvashṭā jāyām ajanayat Tvashṭā asyai tvām patim*). He developes the seminal germ in the womb, and is the shaper of all forms, human and animal, R.V. i. 188, 9 (*Tvashṭā rūpāṇi hi prabhuḥ paśūn viśvān samānaje*) ; viii. 91, 8 (*Tvashṭā rūpeva takshyā*) ; x. 184, 1 (*Vishṇur yonim kalpayatu Tvashṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatu*) ; A.V. ii. 26, 1 ; v. 26, 8 ; ix. 4, 6 (*Tvashṭā rūpāṇāṁ janitā paśūnām*) ; Vāj. S. xxxi. 17 ; Taitt. Saṁh. i. 5, 9, 1, 2 ; i. 6, 4, 4 ; vi. p. 65*a* (of India Office MS. *Tvashṭā vai retasaḥ siktasya rūpāṇi vikaroti* | *tam eva vrishaṇam patnīshv apisṛijate so 'smai rūpāṇi vikaroti*) ; Satapatha Br. i. 9, 2, 10 (*Tvashṭā vai siktaṁ reto vikaroti*) ; xiii. 1, 8, 7. Compare ii. 2, 3, 4 ; iii. 7, 3, 11. He has produced and nourishes a great variety of creatures ; all worlds (or beings) are his, and are known to him ; he has given to the heaven and earth and to all things their forms, iii. 55, 19 (*devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ puposha prajāḥ purudhā jajāna* | *imā cha viśvā bhuvanāni asya*) ; iv. 42, 3 (*Tvashṭeva viśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) ; x. 110, 9 (*yaḥ ime dyāvāpṛithivī janitrī rūpair apiṁśad bhuvanāni viśvā*). The Vāj. S. xxix. 9, says : *Tvashṭā vīraṁ devakāmaṁ* (comp. R.V. iii. 4, 9, quoted above) *jajāna Tvashṭur arvā jāyate āśur aśvaḥ* | *Tvashṭedaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna* | "Tvashṭṛi has generated a strong man, a lover of the gods. From Tvashṭṛi is produced a swift horse. Tvashṭṛi has created the whole world." He bestows long life, R.V. x. 18, 6 (*iha Tvashṭā sujanimā sajoshāḥ dīrgham āyuḥ karati jīvase vaḥ*) ; A.V. vi. 78, 3 (*Tvashṭā sahasram āyūṁshi dīrgham āyur karotu vām*). He puts speed into the legs of a horse, Vāj. S. ix. 8 = A.V. vi. 92, 1 (*ā te Tvashṭā patsu javaṁ dadhātu*). In ii. 23, 17, he is said to be skilled in all Sāma-texts and to have created Brahmaṇaspati above all creatures (*viśvebhyo hi tvā bhuvanebhyas pari Tvashṭā 'janat sāmnaḥ sāmnaḥ kaviḥ*), and is said, along with heaven and earth, the waters, and the Bhṛigus, to have generated Agni, x. 2,

7; x. 46, 9 (*Dyāvā yam Agnim pṛithivī janishṭām āpas Tvashṭā Bhṛigavo yaṁ sahobhiḥ*); compare i. 95, 2.[332] He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshaṇi*), ii. 31, 4; a first-born protector and leader, ix. 5, 9 (*Tvashṭāram agrajāṁ gopām puroyāvānam ā huve*); compare i. 13, 10. He is a companion of the Angirases, x. 70, 9 (*yad Angirasām abhavaḥ sachābhūḥ*), and knows the region of the gods (*devānām pāthaḥ upa pra vidvān uśan yakshi*). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper and protect his sacrifice. He is *draviṇodas*, the bestower of blessings, and *suratna*, possessed of abundant wealth, x. 70, 9, and x. 92, 11; and is asked, like other gods, to take pleasure in the hymns of his worshippers, and to grant them riches, vii. 34, 21 f. (*prati naḥ stomaṁ Tvashṭā jusheta | Tvashṭā sudātro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ*).

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their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill (*vibhrājamānāṁś chamasān ahā iva avenat Tvashṭā chaturo dadṛiśvān*).[353]

In x. 66, 10, the Ṛibhus are spoken of as the supporters of the sky (*dhartāro divaḥ Ṛibhavaḥ suhastāḥ*).

In ii. 1, 5, Agni is identified with Tvashṭṛi, as he is also, however, with many other gods in other verses of the same hymn. In i. 95, 5, Agni appears to be designated by the word Tvashṭṛi. In vi. 47, 19, where Tvashṭṛi is spoken of as yoking his horses and shining resplendently (*yunjāno haritā rathe bhūri Tvashṭeha rājati*), the commentator supposes that Indra is referred to.[354]

(2) *Tvashṭṛi's daughter and her wedding.*

In x. 17, 1 f. Tvashṭṛi is said to have given his daughter Saraṇyū in marriage to Vivasvat: "*Tvashṭā duhitre vahatuṁ kṛiṇoti*" *iti idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam sameti* | *Yamasya mātā paryuhyamānā maho jāyā Vivasvato nanāśa* | *apāgūhann amṛitām martyebhyaḥ kṛitvī savarṇām adadur Vivasvate* | *utāśvināv abharad yat tad āsīd ajahād u dvā mithunā Saraṇyūḥ* | "Tvashṭṛi makes a wedding for his daughter. (Hearing) this the whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, the wedded wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of like appearance, they gave her to Vivasvat. Saraṇyū bore the two Aśvins, and when she had done so, she deserted the two twins." These two verses are quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 10 f., where the following illustrative story is told: *Tatra itihāsam āchakshate* | *Tvāshṭrī Saraṇyūr Vivasvataḥ Ādityād yamau mithunau janayānchakāra* | *sā savarṇām anyām pratinidhāya*

[353] See the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 30, pp. 210 f. of Professor Haug's translation. The Ṛibhus had by their austere fervour, it is there said, conquered for themselves a right to partake in the soma libations among the gods (*Ṛibhavo vai deveshu tapasā somapītham abhyajayan*), which, however, they were only allowed to do along with Savitṛi (=Tvashṭṛi ?), to whom Prajāpati had said, These are thy pupils; do thou alone drink with them; *tava vai ime antevāsās tvam eva ebhiḥ sampibasva*); and with Prajāpati. The gods, however, it is said, loathed these deified mortals on account of their human smell (*tebhyo vai devāḥ apa eva abībhatsanta manushya-gandhāt ;* and accordingly placed two Dhāyyās (particular verses) between themselves and the Ṛibhus.

[354] On the obscure passage, i. 84, 15, where the name of Tvashṭṛi is mentioned, the reader may consult Wilson's translation and note, Professor Roth's explanation in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 49, and Professor Benfey's version in his Orient and Occident, ii. 245 f.

'vadhīr" iti | sa yajna-veśasaṁ kṛitvā prāsahā somam apibat | These words are repeated in ii. 5, 2, 1). Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 6 ff.; v. 5, 4, 7 ff.; xii. 7, 1, 1; xii. 8, 3, 1 ff.

The son of Tvashṭṛi is mentioned in two passages of the Ṛig-veda. In x. 8, 8, it is said: *Sa pitryāṇi āyudhāni vidvān indreshitaḥ Āptyo abhy ayudhyat | triśīrshāṇaṁ saptaraśmim jaghanvān Tvāshṭrasya chin niḥ sasṛije Trito gāḥ* | 9. *Bhūri id Indraḥ udinakshantam ojo avābhinat satpatir manyamānam | Tvāshṭrasya chid Viśvarūpasya gonām āchakrāṇas trīṇi śīrshā parā vark* | "This Trita Āptya, knowing his paternal weapons, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed (monster), and slaying him, he carried off the cows even of the son of Tvashṭṛi. 9. Indra, the lord of the good, pierced this arrogant being, who boasted of his great force; seizing the cows, he struck off the three heads even of Viśvarūpa the son of Tvashṭṛi (or of the omniform son of Tvashṭṛi)." (Compare ii. 11, 19). A loud-shouting monster with three heads and six eyes, perhaps identical with the son of Tvashṭṛi, is also mentioned in x. 99, 6, as having been overcome by Indra or Trita (*sa id dāsaṁ tuviravam patir dan shaḷakshaṁ triśīrshāṇam damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāhaṁ ayoagrayā han*).

Viśvarūpa is frequently mentioned in later works.

According to the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 5, 1, 1 ff., he was the priest of the gods, while he was sister's son (no further genealogy is given) of the Asuras.[356] He had three heads, called respectively the soma-

[356] I subjoin a passage from the same Sanhitā, vi. 4, 10, 1 (p. 49 of India Office MS., No. 1702), relatmg to the gods and Asuras, their original equality in goodness and power, and their respective priests. *Bṛihaspatir devānām purohitaḥ āsīt śaṇḍāmarkāv asurāṇām | brahmaṇvanto devāḥ āsan brahmaṇvanto 'surāḥ | te 'nyonyaṁ nāśaknuvann abhibhavitum | te devāḥ śaṇḍāmarkāv upāmantrayanta | tāv abrūtām "varam vṛiṇāvahai grahāv eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyetām" iti | etau śukrāmanthināv agṛihṇan | tato devāḥ devāḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ | tābhyām vidushaḥ śukrāmanthinau gṛihyete bhavaty atmanā parā asya bhrātṛivyo bhavati | yasyaivam tau devāḥ apanudya atmana Indrāyājuhuvuḥ | ityādi* | "Bṛihaspati was the priest of the gods, S'anda and Marka the priests of the Asuras. The gods were devout and so were the Asuras. Neither could overcome the other. The gods invited S'aṇḍa and Marka, who said, 'Let us ask a favour; let draughts also be offered to us.' The gods, in consequence, allowed to them the śukra and manthin draughts, and by domg so became gods, and the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this and acts accordingly prospers himself and his enemy succumbs. The gods sent away S'aṇḍa and Marka and offered up themselves to Indra." Compare the S'at. Br. iv. 2, 1, 4 ff. According to the Kāṭhaka 25, 7, quoted in Indische Studien

this act sprang the two Kumāras (youths) Nāsatya and Dasra, who are lauded as Aśvins (sprung from a horse)."

In R.V. viii. 26, 21 f., as we have already seen, p. 144, Vāyu also is spoken of as Tvashṭṛi's son-in-law. Whether Vāyu's wife was different from Saraṇyū, or whether there is a discrepancy between this story and the one just referred to about Vivasvat, does not appear.

Tvashṭṛi is represented as having for his most frequent attendants the wives of the gods, i. 22, 9 (*Agne patnīr iha ā vaha devānām uśatīr upa | Tvashṭāraṁ somapītaye*); ii. 31, 4; ii. 36, 3; vi. 50, 13; vii. 35, 6; x. 64, 10; x. 66, 3. This, according to Professor Roth, *s.v.*, results from the fact that it is in the wombs of females that his creative action is principally manifested.

In x. 49, 10, he is spoken of as if he were a deity of some importance, though inferior to Indra, since the latter is said to place in the rivers a lucid element, which even Tvashṭṛi, though a god, could not do (*ahaṁ tad āsu dhārayaṁ yad āsu na devaś chana Tvashṭā adhārayad ruśat*).

(3) *Hostility of Indra and Tvashṭṛi.*

Indra is occasionally represented as in a state of hostility with Tvashṭṛi and his son.[356] Thus in iii. 48, 4, it is said that Indra overcame him, and carried off his soma-juice, which he drank from the cups (*Tvashṭāram Indro janushā 'bhibhūya āmushya somam apibat chamūshu*), and in iv. 18, 3, that the same god drank off the soma in his house (*Tvashṭur gṛihe apibat somam Indraḥ*). In explanation of these allusions, the commentator, who in his note on iii. 48, 4, calls Tvashṭṛi an Asura (*Tvashṭṛināmakam asuram*), refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 1, where it is related that Tvashṭṛi, whose son had been slain by Indra, began to perform a soma-sacrifice in the absence of the latter, and refused, on the ground of his homicide, to allow him to assist at the ceremony; when Indra interrupted the celebration, and drank off the soma by force (*Tvashṭā hataputro vīndraṁ somam āharat | tasminn Indraḥ upahavam aichhata | taṁ na upāhvayata "putram me*

[356] In i. 80, 14 (see above, p. 96), it is said that even Tvashṭṛi trembles at Indra's wrath when he thunders. But this trait is merely introduced to indicate the terrific grandeur of Indra's manifestations. In Vāj. Sanh. xx. 44, Tvashṭṛi is said to have imparted vigour to Indra (*Tvashṭā dadhat śushmam Indrāya vṛishṇe*).

"*idaṁ vai mā somād antaryanti*" *iti* | *sa yathā balīyān abalīyasaḥ eva anupahūtaḥ eva yo droṇakalaśe śukraḥ āsa tam bhakshayānchakāra* | *sa enaṁ jihiṁsa* | *so 'sya viśvaññ eva prāṇebhyo dudrāva mukhād ha eva atha sarvebhyo 'nyebhyaḥ prāṇebhyaḥ* | 8. *Sa Tvashṭā chukrodha* "*kuvid 'nupahūtaḥ somam abhakshad*" *iti* | *sa svayam eva yajnaveśasaṁ chakre sa yo droṇakalaśe śukraḥ pariśishṭaḥ āsa taṁ pravarttayānchakā* "*Indra-śatrur vardhasva*" *iti* .... | 10. *Atha yad abravīd Indra-śatr vardhasva*" *iti tasmād u ha enam Indraḥ eva jaghāna* | *atha yad śaśvad avakshad* "*Indrasya śatrur vardhasva*" *iti śaśvad u ha sa Indram ahaṁsishyat* | "Tvashṭṛi had a son with three heads and eyes, who had three mouths; and hence was called Viśvarūpa (Om form). 2. One of his mouths was the Soma-drinker, the second Wine-drinker, and the third was destined for consuming other thin Indra hated this Viśvarūpa, and cut off his three heads. 3. From Soma-drinker sprang a Kapinjala (Francoline partridge); and he this bird is brown, because king Soma is of that colour. 4. From Wine-drinker sprang a Kalavinka (sparrow); and in consequence bird utters sounds like a drunkard, just as a person does who has dr wine. 5. From the third mouth sprang a Tittiri (common partrid which in consequence has the greatest variety of colours, for drop ghee and of honey seem to be sprinkled in different places on its wi for by this mouth he (Viśvarūpa) received such sorts of food. Tvashṭṛi was incensed; and saying "He has killed my son," he off a libation of soma to the gods, excluding Indra. 7. Indra perce that he was excluded from partaking the soma, and as a stronger towards a weaker being, he without invitation drank off the pur soma in the vessel. But it affected him injuriously; it issued fro mouth and then from all the other outlets of his body. 8. Tvashṭṛ angry that Indra had drunk the soma without invitation; and hi broke off the sacrifice, employing the soma which was left in the (in another rite) using the formula 'Thou of whom Indra is the en flourish!' 10. As he used the words accented so as to produc sense, Indra slew him. Had he said 'Flourish, enemy of Indr would have slain Indra, instead of Indra slaying him."

The version of the same legend from the Kāṭhaka, 12, 10, in In Studien, iii. 464, gives some other particulars; Indra was afrai Viśvarūpa was going to become everything ("all this": *sa Indro*

drinker, the wine-drinker, and the food-eater. He declared in public that the sacrifices should be shared by the gods only, while he privately recommended that they should be offered to the Asuras. For, as the author of the Brāhmaṇa remarks, it is customary for people in public to promise every one a share, whereas it is only those to whom the promise is privately made who obtain its fulfilment. Indra was alarmed lest his dominion should by this procedure of Viśvarūpa be overturned, and he accordingly smote off his heads with a thunderbolt. The three heads were turned into birds, the one called Soma-drinker became a Kapinjala (or Francoline partridge), the Wine-drinker a Kalavinka (or sparrow), and the Food-eater a Tittiri (or partridge), etc. (*Viśvarūpo vai Tvāshṭraḥ purohito devānām āsīt svasrīyo 'surāṇām | tasya trīṇi śīrshāṇy āsan somapānaṁ surāpānam annādanam | sa pratyakshaṁ devebhyo bhāgam avadat paroksham asurebhyaḥ | sarvasmai pratyaksham bhāgaṁ vadanti | yasmai eva parokshaṁ vadanti tasya bhāgaḥ uditaḥ | tasmād Indro 'bibhed īdṛiñ vai rāshṭram paryāvarttayati iti tasya vajram ādāya śīrshāṇy achhinat | yat somapānam āsīt sa kapinjalo 'bhavat | yat surāpānaṁ sa kalavinkaḥ | yad annādanaṁ sa tittiriḥ*). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa tells the story in some respects at greater length, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.: *Tvashṭur ha vai puttras triśīrshāḥ shaḍakshaḥ āsa | tasya trīṇy eva mukhāny āsus tad yad evaṁrūpaḥ āsa tasmād Viśvarūpo nāma* | 2. *Tasya somapānam eva ekaṁ mukham āsa | surāpāṇam ekam | anyasmai aśanāya ekam | tam Indro didvesha tasya tāni śīrshāṇi prachichheda* | 3. *Sa yat somapānam āsa tataḥ kapinjalaḥ samabhavat | tasmāt sa babhrukaḥ iva babhrur iva hi somo rājā* | 4. *Atha yat surāpāṇam āsa tataḥ kalavinkaḥ samabhavat | so 'bhimādyatkaḥ iva vadati | abhimādyann iva hi surām pītvā vadati* | 5. *Atha yad anyasmai aśanāya āsa tatas tittiriḥ samabhavat | tasmāt sa viśvarūpatamaḥ iva | santy eva ghṛitastokāḥ iva tvad madhustokāḥ iva tvat parṇeshv āśchutitāḥ | evaṁrūpaṁ hi sa tena aśanam āvayat* | 6. *Sa Tvashṭā chukrodha "kuvin me putram avadhīd" iti so 'pendram eva somam ājahre | sa yathā 'yaṁ somaḥ prasutaḥ evam apendraḥ eva āsa* | 7. *Indro ha vai īkshānchakre*

iii. 467 (compare Aśv. S'rauta Sūtras, i. 4, 9), the gods had four hotṛi priests, Bhūpati, Bhuvanapati, Bhūtānāmpati, and Bhūta, of whom the first three died from discharging their duty, when the fourth became afraid and fled, etc. Professor Weber compares the story about Agni, quoted above, p. 203, from the Taitt. S. On the original equality of the gods and Asuras see the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 51 ff., and note 22, p. 15, above.

SECTION XV.

THE AS'VINS.

(1) *The character and parentage of the Aśvins, their relations to Sūryā, their attributes and accompaniments.*

The Aśvins seem to have been a puzzle even to the oldest Indian commentators. Yāska thus refers to them in the Nirukta, xii. 1:

Atha ato dyusthānāḥ devatāḥ | tāsām Aśvinau prathamāgāminau bhavataḥ | Aśvinau yad vyaśnuvāte sarvam rasena anyo jyotishā anyaḥ | "Aśvair aśvināv" ity Aurṇabhāvaḥ | tat kāv Aśvinau | "Dyāvāpṛithivyāv" ity eke | "ahorātrāv" ity eke | "Sūryāchandramasāv" ity eke | "rājānau puṇyakṛitāv" ity aitihāsikāḥ | tayoḥ kālaḥ ūrddham ardhavarātrāt prakāśībhāvasya anuvishṭambham anu | tamobhāgo hi madhyamo jyotirbhāgaḥ ādityaḥ | 5. *Tayoḥ kālaḥ sūryodayaparyantaḥ* |

"Next in order are the deities whose sphere is the heaven; of these the Aśvins are the first to arrive. They are called Aśvins because they pervade (*vyaśnuvāte*) everything, the one with moisture, the other with light. Aurṇabhāva says they are called Aśvins, from the horses (*aśvaiḥ*, on which they ride). Who, then, are these Aśvins? 'Heaven and Earth,'[357] say some; 'Day and Night,' say others; 'The Sun and Moon,' say others; 'Two kings, performers of holy acts,' say the legendary writers. Their time is subsequent to midnight, whilst the manifestation of light is delayed; [and ends with the rising of the sun, *ibid.* xii. 5]. The dark portion [of this time] denotes the intermediate (god = Indra?), the light portion Āditya (the Sun)."[358]

[357] Compare S. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16, *Atha yad "Aśvināv" iti ime ha vai dyāvāpṛithivī pratyaksham aśvinau | ime hi idam sarvam āśnuvātām* | "The Heaven and Earth are manifestly the As'vins, for they (Heaven and Earth) have pervaded everything."

[358] See the different interpretation given by Professor Goldstücker, at the close of this section. The words are obscure.

yata "*ayaṁ vāva idam bhavishyati*), and he accordingly prevailed on a carpenter to run and cut off his heads, which the artizan accordingly did with his axe (*sa takshāṇaṁ tishṭhantam abravīd* "*ādhava asya imāni śirshāṇi chhindhi*" | *tasya takshā upadrutya paraśunā śirshāṇy achhinat*).

Compare the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.; v. 5, 4, 2 ff.; and the Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, 228 ff.

In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, section 77, Tvashṭṛi is identified with Viśvakarman and Prajāpati. Compare verses 1, 10, 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, and 41. Professor Weber (Omina und Portenta, p. 391 f.) refers to a passage of the Adbhutādhyāya of the Kauśika Sūtras, where Tvashṭṛi is identified with Savitṛi and Prajāpati.

place, i. 119, 2, as Sâyaṇa understands it, *sûryasya duhitâ*),[363] who is represented as having, for the sake of acquiring friends, chosen them for her two husbands, i. 119, 5 (*â vâm patitvaṁ sakhyâya jagmushî yoshâ 'vṛiṇita jenyâ yuvâm patî*); iv. 43, 6 (*tad û shu vâm ajiraṁ cheti yânaṁ yena patî bhavathaḥ Sûryâyâḥ*); vii. 69, 3 (*vi vaṁ ratho vadhvâ yâdamânaḥ antân divo bâdhate varttanibhyâm*); x. 39, 11, *na taṁ râjânâv Adite kutaś chana na aṁhaḥ aśnoti duritaṁ nakir bhayam | yam Aśvinâ suhavâ rudravarttanî puroratham kṛiṇuthaḥ patnyâ saha* | "Neither distress, nor calamity, nor fear from any quarter assails the man whom ye Aśvins, along with [your] wife, cause to lead the van in his car;"[364] and as loving to ascend their chariot, i. 34, 5; i. 116, 17; i. 117, 13 (*yuvo rathaṁ duhitâ sûryasya saha śriyâ Nâsatyâ 'vṛiṇîta*); i. 118, 5 (*â vâṁ rathaṁ yuvatis tishṭhad atra jushṭvî narâ duhitâ Sûryasya*); iv. 43, 2; v. 73, 5 (*â yad vâṁ Sûryâ rathaṁ tishṭhat*, etc.); vi. 63, 5 f.; vii. 68, 3; vii. 69, 4; viii. 8, 10; viii. 22, 1; viii. 29, 8.[365]

R.V. i. 116, 17, is as follows: *â vâṁ rathaṁ duhitâ sûryasya kârshmevâtishṭhad arvatâ jayantî | viśve devâḥ anv amanyanta hṛidbhiḥ "saṁ śriyâ Nâsatyâ sachethe"* | "The daughter of the sun stood upon your chariot, attaining first the goal, as if with a race-horse. All the gods regarded this with approbation in their hearts (exclaiming) 'Ye, o Nâsatyas, associate yourselves with good fortune.'" On this passage Sâyaṇa remarks as follows: *Savitâ sva-duhitaraṁ Sûryâkhyâm Somâya râjne pradâtum aichhat | tâṁ Sûryâṁ sarve devâḥ varayâmâsuḥ | te anyonyam ûchur "Âdityam avadhiṁ kṛitvâ âjiṁ dhâvâma yo asmâkam ujjeshyati tasya iyam bhavishyati" iti | tatra Aśvinâv udajayatâm | sâ cha Sûryâ jitavatas tayoḥ ratham âruroha | "atra Prajâpatir vai somâya râjne duhitaram prâyachhad" ityâdikam brâhmaṇam anusandheyam* | "Savitṛi had destined his daughter Sûryâ to be the wife of king Soma. But all the gods were anxious to obtain her hand, and resolved that the victor in a race which they agreed to run, with the sun for their goal, should get her. She was accordingly won by the Aśvins, and ascended their chariot." Sâyaṇa goes on to quote the commence-

[363] Professor Roth, *s.v.*, takes the word for a personification of *ûrjâ*, "nourishment."

[364] The construction of the words *patnyâ saha*, "with wife," is not however very clear, as they may perhaps refer to the wife of the worshipper.

[365] See also A.V. vi. 82, 2.

Professor Roth, on the strength of this passage, considers that Yāska identifies the two Aśvins with Indra and the Sun (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 159).[359]

In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 425, the same author thus speaks of these gods: "The two Aśvins, though, like the ancient interpreters of the Veda, we are by no means agreed as to the conception of their character, hold, nevertheless, a perfectly distinct position in the entire body of the Vedic deities of light. They are the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her."[360]

In a passage of the R.V., x. 17, 2 (quoted above in the section on Tvashṭṛi, p. 227), the Aśvins are represented as the twin sons of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. They are also called the sons of the sky (*divo napātā*) in R.V. i. 182, 1; i. 184, 1;[361] x. 61, 4; and in i. 46, 2, *sindhumātarā*, the offspring of the Ocean[362] (whether aerial or terrestrial).

The Taitt. S. vii. 2, 7, 2, says that the Aśvins are the youngest of the gods (*aśvinau vai devānām ānujāvarau*).

In i. 180, 2, the sister of the Asvins is mentioned, by whom the commentator naturally understands Ushas (*svasṛisthānīyā svayamādriṇī vā ushāḥ*). In vii. 71, 1, and elsewhere (see above, p. 188, 191), Ushas is called the sister of Night, whilst in i. 123, 5, she is said to be the sister of Bhaga and Varuṇa.

The Aśvins are in many parts of the Rig-veda connected with Sūryā, the youthful daughter of the sun (called also Urjānī in one

[359] R.V. i. 181, 4, is, according to Roth, quoted by Yāska in illustration of his view: "Born here and there these two have striven forward (?) with spotless bodies according to their respective characters. One of you, a conqueror and a sage, [is the son] of the strong one (?); the other is born onward, the son of the sky" (*ihehajātā samavāvaśītām arepasā tanvā nāmabhiḥ svaiḥ | jishṇur vām anyaḥ sumakhasya sūrir divo anyaḥ subhagaḥ putraḥ ūhe*). Compare Roth's transl. in Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 159.

[360] For some speculations of Professor Müller and Weber, on the Aśvins, see the lectures of the former, 2nd series, p. 489 f., and the Indische Studien of the latter, vol. v. p. 234.

[361] In i. 181, 4, only one of them is said to be the son of the sky. See note 369, above.

[362] On this the commentator remarks that, although it is the Sun and Moon that are sprung from the sea, yet the same epithet applies equally to the Aśvins who, in the opinion of some, are identical with the former (*yadyapi sūrya-chandramasāv eva samudrajau tathāpy Aśvinoḥ keshānchit mate tadrūpatvāt tathātvam*).

place, i. 119, 2, as Sâyaṇa understands it, *sūryasya duhitā*),[363] who is represented as having, for the sake of acquiring friends, chosen them for her two husbands, i. 119, 5 (*ā vām patitvaṁ sakhyāya jagmushī yoshā 'vṛiṇita jenyā yuvām patī*); iv. 43, 6 (*tad ū shu vām ajiraṁ cheti yānaṁ yena patī bhavathaḥ Sūryāyāḥ*); vii. 69, 3 (*vi vaṁ ratho vadhvā yādamānaḥ antān divo bādhate varttanibhyām*); x. 39, 11, *na taṁ rājānāv Adite kutaś chana na aṁhaḥ aśnoti duritaṁ nakir bhayam | yam Aśvinā suhavā rudravarttanī puroratham kṛiṇuthaḥ patnyā saha* | "Neither distress, nor calamity, nor fear from any quarter assails the man whom ye Aśvins, along with [your] wife, cause to lead the van in his car;"[364] and as loving to ascend their chariot, i. 34, 5; i. 116, 17; i. 117, 13 (*yuvo rathaṁ duhitā sūryasya saha śriyā Nāsatyā 'vṛiṇīta*); i. 118, 5 (*ā vāṁ rathaṁ yuvatis tishṭhad atra jushṭvī narā duhitā Sūryasya*); iv. 43, 2; v. 73, 5 (*ā yad vāṁ Sūryā rathaṁ tishṭhat*, etc.); vi. 63, 5 f.; vii. 68, 3; vii. 69, 4; viii. 8, 10; viii. 22, 1; viii. 29, 8.[365]

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[365] See also A.V. vi. 82, 2.

ment of the story, as told in the Brâhmaṇa. The words agree with those which introduce a reference to Sûryâ's marriage to Soma in Ait. Br. iv. 7, but the story there told (of which an abstract will be found in a note further on) does not coincide with that of which the commentator gives a summary.

Allusion is also made to Sûryâ in connection with the Aśvins in x. 85, 9, where, however, they no longer appear as her husbands,—a fact which seems to involve a contradiction between the passages cited above, and this: 9. *Somo vadhûyur abhavat Aśvinâ 'stâm ubhâ varâ* | *Sûryâṁ yat patye śaṁsantîm manasâ Savitâ 'dadât* | 14. *Yad Aśvinâ pṛichhamânâv ayâtaṁ trichakreṇa vahatuṁ Sûryâyâḥ* | *viśve devâḥ anu tad vâm ajânan putraḥ pitarâv avṛiṇîta Pûshâ* | "Soma was the wooer, the Aśvins were the two friends of the bridegroom,[366] when Savitṛi gave to her husband Sûryâ, consenting in her mind. 14. When ye came, Aśvins, to the marriage procession of Sûryâ, to make enquiries, all the gods approved, and Pûshan,[367] as a son, chose you for his parents."

The daughter of the Sun is connected with the Soma plant in ix. 1, 6 (*punâti te parisrutaṁ somaṁ sûryasya duhitâ* | "The Daughter of the Sun purifies thy distilled soma," etc; and in ix. 113, 3, she is said to have brought it after it had been expanded by the rain (*parjanyavṛiddham mahishaṁ taṁ sûryasya duhitâ* '*bharat*).

If we look on Soma as the plant of that name, the connection between him and Sûryâ is not very clear; but if Soma be taken for the moon, as he evidently appears to be in x. 85, 3 ("When they crush the plant, he who drinks fancies that he has drunk Soma; but no one tastes of him whom the priests know to be Soma;")[368] it is not unnatural, from the relation of the two luminaries, that he should have been regarded as son-in-law of the sun.

The Aśvins are described as coming from afar, from the sky or from the lower air, and are besought to allow no other worshippers to stop

[366] Compare A.V. xi. 8, 1, "When Manyu brought his bride from the house of Sankalpa, who were the bridegroom's friends?" etc. (*yad Manyur jâyâm âvahat Saṅkalpasya gṛihâd adhi* | *ke âsan janyâḥ ke varâḥ kaḥ u jyeshṭhavaro 'bhavat*).

[367] Weber asks (Ind. S. v. 183, 187,) whether Pûshan here is not meant to designate Soma, the bridegroom. In vi. 58, 4, the gods are said to have given Pûshan to Sûryâ. See above p. 179.

[368] See at the close of the next section on Soma, and Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 179.

the night. In some passages (viii. 35, 16 ff.) they are represented as being, like Agni, the chasers away of evil spirits (*hataṁ rakshāṁsi*); vii. 73, 4 (*rakshohaṇā*).

The Aśvins are said to be young, *yuvānā* (vii. 67, 10), ancient, *pratnā* (vi. 62, 5), beautiful, *valgū* (vi. 62, 5; vi. 63, 1), honey-hued, *madhuvarṇā* (viii. 26, 6), lords of lustre, *śubhas pati* (viii. 22, 14; x. 93, 6), bright, *śubhrā* (vii. 68, 1), of a golden brilliancy, *hiraṇyapeśasā* (viii. 8, 2), agile, *nṛitū* (vi. 63, 5), fleet as thought, *manojavasā* (viii. 22, 16) swift as young falcons, *śyenasya chij javasā nūtanena ā gachhatam* (v. 78, 4), possessing many forms, *purū varpāṁsi Aśvinā dadhānā* (i. 117, 9), wearing lotus garlands, *pushkarasrajā* (x. 184, 2, and A.V. iii. 22, 4, Satap. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16), strong, *śakrā* (x. 24, 4), mighty, *puruśakatamā* (vi. 62, 5), terrible, *rudrā* (v. 75, 3; x. 93, 7), possessed of wondrous powers, *māyinā* or *māyāvinā* (vi. 63, 5; x. 24, 4), and profound in wisdom, *gambhīrachetasā* (viii. 8, 2). They rush onward excitedly, *madachyutā*[369] (viii. 22, 16; viii. 35, 19), and traverse a golden, *hiraṇyavartanī*, or terrible, *rudravartanī*, path (v. 75, 3; viii. 5, 11; viii. 8, 1; viii. 22, 1, 14; x. 39, 11).[370]

The car, golden, or sunlike, in all its various parts and appurtenances, wheels, fellies, axle, pole, reins, etc., i. 180, 1 (*hiraṇyayāḥ vām pavayaḥ*); iv. 44, 4, 5 (*hiraṇyayena rathena*); v. 77, 3 (*hiraṇyatvan rathaḥ*); viii. 5, 28, 29, 35 (*rathaṁ hiraṇyavandhuraṁ hiraṇyābhīśum Aśvinā | ā hi sthātho divispriśam | 29. hiraṇyayī vāṁ rabhir īshā aksho hiraṇyayaḥ | ubhā chakrā hiraṇyayā*); viii. 8, 2 (*rathena sūryatvachā*); viii. 22, 9, on which they ride, flying as on bird's wings, i. 183, 1 (*yenopayāthaḥ sukrito duroṇaṁ tridhātunā patatho vir na parṇaiḥ*), was formed by the Ribhus, x. 39, 12 (see above, p. 238), and is singular in its formation, being three-wheeled (*trichakra*), and triple in some

369 Professor Roth, *s.v.*, renders this epithet by "moving in excitement," etc., and Professor Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. p. 118, translates it, when applied to Indra, his horses, or the Aśvins, by "furiously or wildly moving about."

370 Two epithets very commonly applied to them are *dasrā* and *nāsatyā*. The former term is explained by Sāyaṇa to signify destroyers of enemies, or of diseases (note on i. 3, 3), or beautiful (on viii. 75, 1). Professor Roth, *s.v.*, understands it to signify wonder-workers. The second word, *nāsatyā*, is regarded by Sāyaṇa, following one of the etymologies given by Yāska (vi. 13), as equivalent to *satyā*, truthful. If this is the sense, *satyā* itself might as well have been used. In the later literature Dasra and Nāsatya were regarded as the separate names of the two Aśvins. See Müller's Lectures, 2nd series, p. 491.

chakrur Aśvinā | yasya yoge duhitā jāyate Divaḥ ubhe ahanī sudine vivasvataḥ | "Come, Asvins, with that car swifter than thought which the Ṛibhus fashioned for you, at the yoking of which the daughter of the sky (Ushas) is born, and day and night become propitious to the worshipper."

x. 61, 4. *Kṛishṇā yad goshu aruṇīshu sīdad Divo napātāv Aśvinā huve vām* | "When the dark [night] stands among the tawny cows (rays of dawn), I invoke you, Aśvins, sons of the Sky."

In i. 34, 10, Savitṛi is said to set their shining car in motion before the dawn (*yuvor hi pūrvaṁ Savitā ushaso ratham ṛitāya chitraṁ ghṛitavantam ishyati*).

In other passages their time is not so well defined. Thus, in i. 157, 1, it is said: *abodhi Agnir jmaḥ udeti sūryo vi Ushāś chandrā mahī āvo archishā | ayukshātām aśvinā yātave ratham prāsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat pṛithak* | "Agni has awoke; the sun rises from the earth; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her light; the Aśvins have yoked their car to go; the divine Savitṛi has enlivened every part of the world," where both the break of dawn and the appearance of the Aśvins appear to be made simultaneous with the rising of the sun. The same is the case in vii. 72, 4: *vi cha id uchhanti aśvinā ushasaḥ pra vām brahmāṇi kāravo bharante | ūrdhvam bhānuṁ Savitā devo aśred bṛihad agnayaḥ samidhā jarante* | "The Dawns break, Aśvins; poets offer to you prayers; the divine Savitṛi has assumed his lofty brilliance; fires crackle mightily, (fed by) fuel."

In v. 76, 3, the Aśvins are invited to come at different times, at morning, mid-day, and sunset (*uta ā yātam sangave prātar ahno madhyandine uditā sūryasya*); and in viii. 22, 14, it is similarly said that they are invoked in the evening as well as at dawn. It need not, however, surprise us that they should be invited to attend the different ceremonies of the worshippers, and therefore conceived to appear at hours distinct from the supposed natural periods of their manifestation.

It may seem unaccountable that two deities of a character so little defined, and so difficult to identify, as the Aśvins, should have been the object of so enthusiastic a worship as appears from the numerous hymns dedicated to them in the R.V. to have been paid to them in ancient times. The reason may have been that they were hailed as the precursors of returning day, after the darkness and dangers of

aśvāso vahishṭhāḥ abhi prayo nāsatyā vahantu); vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 7, 22, 33, 35 (*tūyaṁ śyenebhir āśubhiḥ | yātam aśvebhir Aśvinā | yad vām ratho vibhish patāt | ā iha vām prushitapsavo vayo vahantu parṇinaḥ | dravatpāṇibhir aśvaiḥ*); x. 143, 5. They carry a honied whip (*kaśā madhumatī*), i. 122, 3; i. 157, 4,[374] and their car traverses the regions (*pra vāṁ ratho manojavāḥ iyartti tiro rajāṁsi*), vii. 68, 3.

The Aśvins are fancifully represented in i. 34, 1 ff. as doing, or as being requested to do, a variety of acts thrice over, viz. to move thrice by night and thrice by day, (verse 2) to bestow nourishment thrice at even and at dawn, (verse 3) to bestow wealth thrice, (verse 5) to aid the devotions of the worshippers thrice, (ibid.) to bestow celestial medicaments thrice, and earthly thrice (verse 6), etc.

They are elsewhere (ii. 39, 1 ff.) compared to different twin objects; to two vultures on a tree, to two priests reciting hymns (verse 1), to two goats, to two beautiful women (*mene iva tanvā śumbhamāne*), to husband and wife (verse 2), to two ducks, *chakravākā* (verse 3), to two ships which transport men, to two protecting dogs (verse 4), to two eyes, two hands, two feet (verse 5), to two sweetly-speaking lips, two breasts yielding nourishment, two nostrils, two ears (verse 6), to two swans, two falcons, two deer, two buffaloes, two wings of one bird (*sākaṁyujā śakunasyeva pakshā*), etc., etc., v. 78, 1–3; viii. 35, 7–9; x. 106, 2 ff.

They are the guardians of the slow and the hindmost, and of the female who is growing old unmarried; they are physicians[375] and restore the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick, to sight, power of locomotion, health, and strength, i. 34, 6; i, 116, 16; i. 157, 6; viii. 9, 6, 15; viii. 18, 8; viii. 22, 10; viii. 75, 1; x. 39, 3, 5 (*amājuraś chid bhavatho yuvam bhago anāśoś chid avitārā apamasya chit | andhasya chit nāsatyā kriśasya chid yuvām id āhur bhishajā rutasya chit*); x. 40, 8. See also A.V. vii. 53, 1, where it is said that the Aśvins are the physicians of the gods, and warded off death from the wor-

[374] See below the section on the "progress of the Vedic religion, etc." Indra has a golden whip, viii. 33, 11.

[375] In Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 11, the As'vins are called the physicians of the gods, the bearers of oblations, the messengers of the universe, the guardians of immortality (*yau devānām bhishajau havyavāhau viśvasya dūtāv amṛitasya gopau*); and in the preceding paragraph (10) they are connected with their own asterism (*nakshatra*), the Aśvayuj.

other parts of its construction, its fellies, supports, etc. (*trivṛit* | *trivandhura* | *trayaḥ pavayaḥ* | *trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsaḥ ārabhe*),[371] i. 34, 2, 9; i. 47, 2; i. 118, 1, 2; i. 157, 3; vii. 71. 4; viii. 74, 8; x. 41, 1.

This car moves lightly (*raghuvarttani*), viii. 9, 8, and is swifter than thought (*manaso javīyān rathaḥ*), i. 117, 2; i. 118, 1; v. 77, 3; vi. 63, 7; x. 39, 12, or than the twinkling of an eye (*nimishaś chij javīyasā rathena*), viii. 62, 2. It is decked with a thousand ornaments and banners (*sahasra-ketu, sahasra-nirṇij*), i. 119, 1; viii. 8, 11, 14, and has golden reins, viii. 22, 5. It is sometimes said to be drawn by a single ass, as the word *rāsabha*[372] is, in one place at least, i. 34, 9, expressly explained by the commentator (*aśvasthānīyasya gardabhasya*),[373] i. 34, 9; i. 116, 2; viii. 74, 7; but more frequently by birds, or bird-like, fleet-winged, golden-winged, falcon-like, swan-like horses, i. 46, 3 (*yad vām ratho vibhish patat*); i. 117, 2 (*rathaḥ svaśvaḥ*); i. 118, 4 (*ā vām śyenāso aśvinā vahantu rathe yuktāso āśavaḥ patangāḥ*); i. 180, 1 (*suyamāsaḥ aśvāḥ*); i. 181, 2 (*ā vām aśvāsaḥ śuchayaḥ . . . . vahantu*); iv. 45, 4 (*haṁsāso ye vām madhumanto asridho hiranyaparṇāḥ*); v. 74, 9; v. 75, 5 (*vibhiś Chyavānam Aśvinā ni yāthaḥ*); vi. 63, 6, 7 (*ā vāṁ vayaḥ*

[371] The word *vandhura* is variously explained by Sāyaṇa as *nīḍabandhanādhārabhūtam* (on i. 34, 9), *unnatānatarūpa-bandhana-kāshṭham* (on i. 47, 2), *veshṭhitam sāratheḥ sthānam* (on i. 118, 1), *sārathyāśraya-sthānam* (on i. 157, 3), *sārathyadhishṭhāna-sthānam* (on vii. 71, 4), and *trivandhura* as *triphalakāsanghaṭitena* (on viii. 74, 8). The epithet would thus mean either (1) having three perpendicular pieces of wood, or (2) having a triple standing place or seat for the charioteer. In i. 34, 2, the chariot is said to have three props fixed in it to lay hold of (*trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsaḥ ārabhe*), which the commentator says were meant to secure the rider against the fear of falling when the chariot was moving rapidly. This explanation would coincide with one of the senses assigned to *vandhura*. In i. 181, 3, their chariot is called *ṣripra-vandhuraḥ*, which, according to the commentator, is = *vistīrṇa-purobhāgaḥ*, "having a wide fore-part."

[372] See the legend in the Aitareya Brahmana, p. 270–273 of Dr. Haug's translation. It is there related, iv. 7–9, that at the marriage of Soma and Sūryā, the gods ran a race to determine to which of them the āśvina śastra should belong. The Aśvins gained it, though some other deities gained a share. Agni ran the race in a car, drawn by mules (*aśvatarī-rathena Agnir ājim adhāvat*), Ushas in one drawn by ruddy bulls (*gobhir aruṇair Ushāḥ ājim adhāvat*), Indra in one drawn by horses (*aśvarathena Indraḥ ājim adhāvat*), while the Aśvins carried off the prize in a car drawn by asses (*gardabha-rathena Aśvinā udajayatām*). Compare R.V. i. 116, 2, where the ass is said to have won.

[373] Prof. Benfey in a note on i. 116, 2, while agreeing in this sense, refers also to iii. 53, 5, where as well as in viii. 74, 3, Sāyaṇa explains the word as meaning a neighing or snorting horse.

They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada[377] a bride named Kamadyū, who seems to have been the beautiful wife of Purumitra, i. 112, 19 (*yābhiḥ patnīr Vimadāya nyūhathuḥ* | here wives are mentioned in the plural); i. 116, 1 (*yā arbhagāya Vimadāya jāyāṁ senājuvā nyūhatuḥ*); x. 65, 12 (*Kamadyuvam Vimadāya ūhathuḥ*); i. 117, 20 (*yuvaṁ śachībhir Vimādāya jāyāṁ ni ūhathuḥ Purumitrasya yoshām*); x. 39, 7 (*yuvaṁ rathena Vimadāya śundhyuvaṁ ni ūhathuḥ Purumitrasa yoshaṇām*). Sāyaṇa, on i. 117, 20, makes *yoshām* = *kumārīm*, by which he appears to intend the daughter of Purumitra, who he says was a king. But *yoshā* seems more frequently to denote a wife.

They restored Vishṇāpū, like a lost animal, to the sight of Viśvaka, son of Kṛishṇa, their worshipper, who, according to the commentator, was his father, i. 116, 23 (*avasyate stuvate kṛishṇiyāya ṛijūyate nāsatyā śachībhiḥ* | *paśuṁ na nashṭam iva darśanāya Vishṇāpvaṁ dadathur Viśvakāya*); i. 117, 7; x. 65, 12.

The names both of Viśvaka and Vishṇāpū occur in R.V. viii. 75, 1–3, a hymn addressed to the Aśvins; and the commentator (as one explanation of the passage) connects the reference there made to the former with the legend before us (on which, however, the hymn itself throws no light).

Another act recorded of the Aśvins is their intervention in favour of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, which is obscurely described in the following verses in R.V. i. 116, 3 ff. (*Tugro ha Bhujyum Aśvinā udameghe rayiṁ na kaśchit mamṛivān avāhāḥ* | *tam ūhathur naubhir ātmanvatībhir antarikshaprudbhir apodakābhiḥ* | 4. *Tisraḥ kshapas trir ahā ativrajadbhir nāsatyā Bhujyum ūhathuḥ patangaiḥ* | *samudrasya dhanvann ārdrasya pāre tribhiḥ rathaiḥ śatapadbhiḥ shalaśvaiḥ* | 5. *Anārambhane tad avīrayethām anāsthāne agrabhaṇe samudre* | *yad aśvinā ūhathur Bhujyum astam śatāritrāṁ nāvam ātasthivāṁsam* | "Tugra abandoned Bhujyu in the water-cloud, as any dead man leaves his property. Ye, Aśvins, bore him in animated water-tight ships, which traversed the air. 4. Three nights and three days did ye convey him in three flying cars, with a hundred feet and six horses, which crossed over to the dry land beyond the liquid ocean. 5. Ye put forth your vigour in the ocean, which offers no stay, or standing-place, or support, when ye

[377] A rishi of this name is mentioned, R.V. viii. 9, 15; x. 20, 10; x. 23, 7; and a family of Vimadas in x. 23, 6.

shipper (*pratyauhatām aśvinā mṛityum asmad devānām Agne bhishajā śachībhiḥ*).

They place the productive germ in all creatures, and generate fire, water and trees, i. 157, 5 (*yuvaṁ ha garbhaṁ jagatīshu dhattho yuvaṁ viśveshv bhuvaneshu antaḥ | yuvam Agniṁ cha vrishaṇāv apaś cha vanaspatīn aśvināv airayethām*). They are connected with marriage, procreation, and love, x. 184, 2 (= A.V. v. 25, 3: *garbhaṁ te aśvinau devāv ā dhattām pushkarasrajā*); x. 85, 26 (*aśvinā tvā pravahatāṁ rathena | grihān gachha grihapatnī yathā 'saḥ*); A.V. ii. 30, 2 (*saṁ chen nayātho aśvinā kāminā saṁ cha vakshathaḥ* | "When, ye, Aśvins, bring together two lovers," etc.); vi. 102, 1; xiv. 1, 35 f.; xiv. 2, 5. See Weber's Indische Studien v. 218, 227, 234.

(2) *Legends regarding various persons delivered or favoured by the Aśvins.*

The following are a few of the modes in which the divine power of the Aśvins is declared in different hymns to have been manifested for the deliverance of their votaries.

When the sage Chyavāna had grown old, and had been forsaken, they divested him of his decrepit body, prolonged his life, and restored him to youth, making him acceptable to his wife, and the husband of maidens, i. 116, 10 (*jujurusho nāsatyā uta vavrim prāmunchataṁ drāpim iva Chyavānāt | prātirataṁ jahitasyāyur dasrā ād it patim akriṇutaṁ kanīnām*); i. 117, 13 (*yuvaṁ Chyavānam Aśvinā jarantam punar yuvānaṁ chakrathuḥ śachībhiḥ*); i. 118, 6; v. 74, 5 (*pra Chyavānāj jujurusho vavrim atkaṁ na munchathaḥ | yuvā yadi krithaḥ punar ā kāmam riṇve vadhvaḥ*); vii. 68, 6; vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 4.

This legend is related at length in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in a passage which will be cited further on.

In the same way they renewed the youth of Kali[376] after he had grown old, x. 39, 8 (*yuvaṁ viprasya jaraṇām upeyushaḥ punaḥ Kaler akriṇutaṁ yuvad vayaḥ*); compare i. 112, 15, where they are said to have befriended him after he had married a wife (*Kaliṁ yābhir vittajāniṁ duvasyathaḥ*).

[376] The family of the Kalis is mentioned, viii. 66, 15.

ṛijrāśve aśvināv adhattaṁ jyotir andhāya chakrathur vichakshe | 18. *Śunam andhāya bharam ahvayat sā vṛikīr aśvinā "vṛishaṇā narā" iti* | *jāraḥ kanīnaḥ iva chakshadānaḥ Ṛijrāśvaḥ śatam ekaṁ cha meshān*). A person called Rijrāśva is mentioned with others in i. 100, 17, as praising Indra.

They restored Parāvṛij (or an outcast), who was blind and lame, to sight and the power of walking, i. 112, 8 (*yābhiḥ śachībhir vṛishaṇā Parāvṛijam pra andhaṁ śroṇaṁ chakshase etave kṛithaḥ*). Parāvṛij is connected with Indra in ii. 13, 12, and ii. 15, 7.

The rishi Rebha has been hidden by the malignant, bound, overwhelmed in the waters (a well, according to the commentator,) for ten nights and nine days, and abandoned till he was nearly, if not entirely, dead. The Aśvins drew him up as soma-juice is raised with a ladle, i. 112, 5 (*yābhiḥ Rebhaṁ nivṛitaṁ sitam adbhyaḥ ud Vandanam airayataṁ svar dṛiśe*); i. 116, 24 (*daśa rātrīr aśivena nava dyūn avanaddhaṁ śnathitam apsu antaḥ* | *viprutaṁ Rebham udani pravṛiktam un ninyathuḥ somam iva sruveṇa* | Compare i. 117, 12); i. 117, 4 (*aśvaṁ na gūḷham Aśvinā durevair ṛishiṁ narā vṛishaṇā Rebham apsu* | *taṁ saṁ riṇītho viprutaṁ daṁsobhiḥ*); i. 118, 6; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 9 (*yuvaṁ ha Rebhaṁ vṛishaṇā guhā hitam ud airayatam mamṛivāṁsam Aśvinā*).

Vandana also was delivered by them from some calamity, the nature of which does not very clearly appear from most of the texts, and restored to the light of the sun, i. 112, 5; i. 116, 11; i. 117, 5; i. 118, 6. In x. 39, 8, they are said to have raised him out of a pit (*yuvaṁ Vandanam ṛiśyadād ud ūpathuḥ*). According to i. 119, 6, however, he would appear to have been restored from decrepitude, as a chariot is repaired by an artizan (*pra dīrghena Vandanas tāri āyushā* ... 7. *Yuvaṁ Vandanaṁ nirṛitaṁ jaraṇyayā rathaṁ na dasrā karaṇā sam invathaḥ*).

So, too, the Aśvins bestowed wisdom on their worshipper Kakshīvat, of the family of Pajra; and performed the notable miracle of causing a hundred jars of wine and honied liquor to flow forth from the hoof of their horse as from a sieve, i. 116, 7 (*Yuvaṁ narā stuvate Pajriyāya Kakshīvate aradatam purandhim* | *kārotarāt śaphād aśvasya vṛishṇaḥ*

380 The word *ṛisyada* is explained by Messrs Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., as a pit ... or snaring deer.

bore Bhujyu to his home, standing on a ship propelled by a hundred oars." R.V. i. 117, 14 f. (*yuvam Bhujyum arṇaso niḥ samudrād vibhir ūhathur ṛijrebhir aśvaiḥ* | 15. *Ajohavīd aśvinā Taugryo vām proḷhaḥ samudram avyathir jaganvān* | *nish ṭam ūhathuḥ suyujā rathena manojavasā vṛishaṇā svasti* | "Ye conveyed Bhujyu out of the liquid ocean with your headlong flying horses. 15. The son of Tugra invoked you, Aśvins. Borne forward, he moved without distress over the sea. Ye brought him out with your well-yoked chariot swift as thought." Again in i. 182, 5 ff. it is said: *yuvam etaṁ chakrathuḥ sindhushu plavam ātmanvantam pakshiṇaṁ Taugryāya kam* | 6. *Avaviddhaṁ Taugryam apsu antar anārambhaṇe tamasi praviddham* | *chatasro nāvo jaṭhalasya jushṭāḥ ud aśvibhyām ishitāḥ pārayanti* | 7. *Kaḥ svid vṛiksho nishṭhito madhye arṇaso yaṁ Taugryo nādhitaḥ paryashvajat* | *parṇā mṛigasya pataror ivārabhe ud aśvinā ūhathuḥ śromatāya kam* | "Ye (Aśvins) made this animated, winged, boat for the son of Tugra among the waters . . . . 6. Four ships,[378] eagerly desired, impelled by the Aśvins, convey to the shore Tugra, who had been plunged in the waters, and sunk in bottomless darkness. 7. What was that log, placed in the midst of the waves, which, in his straits, the son of Tugra embraced, as the wings of a flying creature, for support?" In vii. 68, 7, Bhujyu is said to have been abandoned by his his malevolent companions in the middle of the sea (*uta tyam Bhujyum Aśvinā sakhāyo madhye jahur durevāsaḥ samudre*). The story is also alluded to in i. 112, 6, 20; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 4; i. 158, 3; vi. 62, 6; vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 22; x. 39, 4; x. 40, 7; x. 65, 12; x. 143, 5.

Again, when Viśpalā's leg had been cut off in battle, like the wing of a bird, the Aśvins are said to have given her an iron one instead, R.V. i. 112, 10; i. 116, 15 (*charitraṁ hi ver ivāchhedi parṇam ājā Khelasya paritakmyāyām* | *sadyo janghām āyasīṁ Viśpalāyai dhane hite sartave praty adhattam*); i. 117, 11; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 8.[379]

They restored sight to Ṛijrāśva, who had been made blind by his cruel father, for slaughtering one hundred and one sheep, and giving them to a she-wolf to eat, the she-wolf having supplicated the Aśvins on behalf of her blind benefactor, i. 116, 16; i. 117, 17 f. (*śatam meshān vṛikye māmahānaṁ tamaḥ praṇītam aśivena pitrā* | *ā akshī*

[378] The sense of *jaṭhala* is not clear.

[379] Compare the word *viśpalāvasū* in R.V. i. 182, 1,

9 (*yuvaṁ śvetam Pedave Indrajūtam ahihanam Aśvinā 'dattam aśvam*); i. 119, 10 (*Indram iva charshaṇīsaham*); vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 10.

Finally, to say nothing of the succours rendered to numerous other persons (i. 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,) the Aśvins did not confine their benevolence to human beings, but are also celebrated as having rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail by which they were invoked (i. 116, 14; i. 117, 16; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 13 (*vṛikasya chid vārtikām antar āsyād yuvaṁ śachībhir grasitām amunchatam*).

The deliverances of Rebha, Vandana, Parāvṛij, Bhujyu, Chyavāna, and others are explained by Professor Benfey (following Dr. Kuhn and Professor Müller), in the notes to his translations of the hymns in which they are mentioned, as referring to certain physical phenomena with which the Aśvins are supposed by these scholars to be connected. But this allegorical method of interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances. It appears, therefore, to be more probable that the rishis merely refer to certain legends which were popularly current of interventions of the Aśvins in behalf of the persons whose names are mentioned. The word Parāvṛij (in i. 112, 8), which is taken by the commentator for a proper name, and is explained by Professors Müller[383] and Benfey as the returning, or the setting, sun, is interpreted by Professor Roth in his Lexicon, *s.v.*, as an outcast.

(3) *Connection of the Aśvins with other deities.*

In viii. 26, 8, the Aśvins are invoked along with Indra (*Indranāsatyā*), with whom they are also connected in x. 73, 4, and on whose car they are in one place said to ride, while at other times they accompany Vāyu, or the Ādityas, or the Ribhus, or participate in the strides of Vishṇu, viii. 9, 12 (*yad Indreṇa sarathaṁ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathaḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ribhubhir yad ... Vishṇor vikramaṇeshu tishṭhathaḥ*). In i. 182, 2, they are said to possess strongly the qualities of Indra (*Indratamā*) and of the ...

[383] Lectures on Language, second series, p. 512.

śataṁ kumbhān asinchataṁ surāyāḥ); i. 117, 6 (*tad vāṁ narā śaṁsyam Pajriyeṇa kakshīvatā nāsatyā parijman | śaphād aśvasya vājino janāya śataṁ kumbhān asinchatam madhūnām*).

When invoked by the popular sage Atri Saptavadhri, who, with his companions, had been plunged by the malice and arts of evil spirits into a gloomy and burning abyss,[381] they speedily came to his assistance, mitigated the heat with cold, and supplied him with nutriment so that his situation became tolerable, if not agreeable, till they eventually extricated him from his perilous position, i. 112, 7; i. 116, 8 (*himenāgniṁ ghraṁsam avārayethām pitumatīm ūrjam asmai adattam | ṛibīse Atrim aśvinā 'vanītam unninyathuḥ sarvagaṇaṁ svasti*); i. 117, 3 (*ṛishiṁ narāv aṁhasaḥ pānchajanyam ṛibīsad atrim munchatho gaṇena | minantā dasyor aśivasya māyāḥ*); i. 118, 7; i. 119, 6; v. 78, 4–6 (*Atrir yad vām avarohann ṛibīsam ajohavīd nādhamāneva yoshā | śyenasya chij javasā nūtanena āgachhatam aśvinā śantamena*); vii. 71, 5; viii. 62, 3, 7–9; x. 39, 9 (*yuvam ṛibīsam uta taptam Atraye omanvantaṁ chakrathuḥ Saptavadhraye*). In x. 80, 3, the deliverance of Atri is ascribed to Agni (*Agnir Atriṁ gharme urushyad antaḥ*).

They listened to the invocation of the wise Vadhrimatī, and gave her a son called Hiranyahasta, i. 116, 13; i. 117, 24 (*Hiraṇyahastam Aśvinā rarāṇā putraṁ narā Vadhrimatyai adattam*); vi. 62, 7; x. 39, 7.

They gave a husband to Ghoshā when she was growing old in her father's house, i. 117, 7 (*Ghoshāyai chit pitṛishade duroṇe patiṁ juryantyai aśvināv adattam*); x. 39, 3, 6; x. 40, 5; and, according to the commentator on i. 117, 7, cured her of the leprosy with which she had been afflicted.

They caused the cow of Sayu, which had left off bearing, to yield milk, i. 116, 22; i. 117, 20 (*adhenuṁ dasrā staryaṁ vishaktām apinvataṁ śayave Aśvinā gam*); i. 118, 8; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 13.

They gave to Pedu a strong, swift, white horse, animated by Indra, and of incomparable Indra-like prowess, which overcame all his enemies, and conquered for him unbounded spoils, i. 116, 6; i. 117, 9 (*purū varpāṁsi Aśvinā dadhānā ni Pedave ūhathur āśum aśvam | sahasrasāṁ vājinam apratītam ahihanaṁ śravasyaṁ tarutram*); i. 118,

[381] See Professor Roth's explanation of the words *ṛibīsa* and *gharma*, *s.vv.*, and his illustrations of Nirukta, vi. 36.

hereditary claims on their consideration, and a common bond of union[364] (*yuvor hi naḥ sakhyā pitryāṇi samāno bandhur uta tasya vittam*).

The Aśvins are described as being, like the other gods, fond of the soma-juice (iii. 58, 7, 9; iv. 45, 1, 3; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7–9), and are invited to drink it with Ushas and Sūrya, viii. 35, 1 ff.

(5) *Legend of Chyavana and the Aśvins, according to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata.*

The following version of the legend relating to the cure of Chyavana by the Aśvins (to which allusion is made in the passage of the R.V. quoted above) is found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.:

1. *Yatra vai Bhṛigavo vā Angiraso vā svargam lokam samāśnuvata ta[t] Chyavano vā Bhārgavaś Chyavano vā Āngirasaś tad eva jīrṇiḥ kṛityārūp[o] jahe* | 2. *S'aryāto ha vai idam Mānavo grāmeṇa chachāra | sa tad eva prativeśo niviviśe | tasya kumārāḥ krīḍantaḥ imaṁ jīrṇiṁ kṛityārūpam anarthyam manyamānāḥ loshṭair vipipishuḥ* | 3. *Sa S'āryātebhyaś chukrodha | tebhyo 'sanjnāṁ chakāra pitā eva putreṇa yuyudh[e] bhrātā bhrātrā* | 4. *S'aryāto ha īkshānchakre yat "kim akaraṁ tasmād idam āpadi" iti | sa gopālāṁś cha avipālāṁś cha saṁhvayitavai uvācha* | 5. *Sa ha uvācha "ko vo adya iha kinchid adrākshīd" iti | te ha ūchu[ḥ] "purushaḥ eva ayaṁ jīrṇiḥ kṛityārūpaḥ śete | tam anarthyam manyamānāḥ kumārāḥ loshṭair vyapikshann" iti | sa vidānchakāra "sa va[i] Chyavanaḥ" iti* | 6. *Sa rathaṁ yuktvā Sukanyāṁ S'āryātīm upādhāya prasishyanda | sa ājagāma yatra rishir āsa tat* | 7. *Sa ha uvācha "rishe namas te | yan na avedishaṁ tena ahiṁsisham | iyaṁ Sukanyā | tayā te apahnuve | sanjānītām me grāmaḥ" iti | tasya ha tataḥ eva grāmaḥ sanjajne | sa ha tataḥ eva S'aryāto Mānavaḥ udyuyuje "na id aparaṁ hinasāni" iti* | 8. *Aśvinau ha vai idam bhishajyantau cheratuḥ | tau Sukanyām upeyatuḥ | tasyām mithunam īshāte | tan na jajnau* | 9. *Tau ha ūchatuḥ "Sukanye kam imaṁ jīrṇiṁ kṛityarūpam upaśeshe | āvām anupreh[i]" iti | sā ha uvācha "yasmai mām pitā adād na ta[m]*

[364] The commentator explains this of a common ancestry by saying, in accordan[ce] with later tradition, that Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kaśyapa and Ad[iti] and that Vivasvat was the father of the Aśvins, while Varuṇa was father of V[as]ishṭha, the rishi of the hymn. See the 1st volume of this work, pp. 329 f., note 1

(*Maruttamā*). In x. 131, 4, 5, they are described as assisting Indra in his conflict with the Asura Namuchi (see above, p. 93 f., note), and as vigorous slayers of Vṛittra, or of enemies, *vṛitrahantamā* (viii. 8, 22). They are eagerly longed for (?) by the other gods when they arrive, x. 24, 5 (*viśve devāḥ akṛipanta samīchyor nishpatantyoḥ*).

(4) *Relations of the Aśvins to their worshippers.*

The Aśvins are worshipped with uplifted hands, vi. 63, 3 (*uttāna-hasto yuvayur vavanda*), and supplicated for a variety of blessings, for long life and deliverance from calamities, i. 157, 4 (*prāyus tārishṭaṁ nīḥ rapāṁsi mṛikshatam*); for offspring, wealth, victory, destruction of enemies, preservation of the worshippers themselves, of their houses and cattle, vii. 67, 6; viii. 8, 13, 15, 17; viii. 9, 11, 13; viii. 26, 7; viii. 35, 10 ff. They are exhorted to overwhelm and destroy the niggard who offers no oblations, and to create light for the wise man who praises them, i. 182, 3 (*kim atra dasrā kṛiṇuthaḥ kim āsāthe jano yaḥ kaśchid ahavir mahīyate | ati kramishṭaṁ juratam paṇer asuṁ jyotir viprāya kṛiṇutaṁ vachasyave*).

No calamity or alarm from any quarter can touch the man whose chariot they place in the van, x. 39, 11 [383] (*na taṁ rājānāv adite kutaś-chana na aṁho aśnoti duritaṁ nakir bhayam | yam aśvinā suhavā rudra-vartanī puroratham kṛiṇuthaḥ patnyā saha*). The rishi addresses them as a son his parents, vii. 67, 1 (*sūnur na pitarā vivakmi*). In x. 39, 6, a female suppliant, who represents herself as friendless and destitute, calls on them to treat her as parents do their children, and rescue her from her misfortunes (*iyaṁ vām ahve śriṇutaṁ me Aśvinā putrāyeva pitarā mahyaṁ śikshatam | anāpir ajnā asajātyā amatiḥ purā tasyāḥ abhiśaster ava spṛitam*). In another place, viii. 62, 11, they seem to be reproached with being as tardy as two old men to respond to the summons of their worshipper (*kim idaṁ vām purāṇavaj jarator iva śasyate* | "Why is this praise addressed to you as if you were old men and worn out?"). In vii. 72, 2, the rishi represents himself as having

[383] Compare the request preferred to Indra to bring forward the chariot of his worshipper from the rear to the front (viii. 69, 4 f.).

magical body which lies there is a man. Fancying it was something worthless, the youths pounded it with clods.' Saryāta knew then that it was Chyavana. He yoked his chariot, and taking his daughter Sukanyā, drove off, and arrived at the place where the rishi was. He said, 'Reverence to thee, rishi; I injured thee because I did not know. This is Sukanyā, with her I appease thee. Let my tribe be reconciled.' His tribe was in consequence reconciled; and Saryāta of the race of Manu departed thence "lest," said he, "I might do him some other injury." Now the Aśvins used to wander over this world, performing cures. They approached Sukanyā, and wished to seduce her; but she would not consent. They said to her, 'Sukanyā, what shrivelled magical body is this by which thou liest? follow us.' She replied, 'I will not abandon, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me.' The rishi became aware of this. He said, 'Sukanyā, what was this that they said to thee?' She told it to him. When informed, he said, 'If they address thee thus again, say to them, 'Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye speak contemptuously of my husband!' and if they ask, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' then reply, 'Make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' Accordingly they came again to her, and said the same thing. She answered, "Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye talk contemptuously of my husband!' They enquired, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' She rejoined, 'Make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' They replied, 'Take him to this pond, and he shall come forth with any age which he shall desire.' She took him to the pond, and he came forth with the age that he desired. The Aśvins then asked, 'Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' To this the rishi replied, 'The other gods celebrate a sacrifice in Kurukshetra, and exclude you two from it. That is the respect in which ye are incomplete and imperfect.' The Aśvins then departed and came to the gods who were celebrating a sacrifice, when the Bahishpavamāna[385] text had been recited. They said, 'Invite us to join you.' The gods replied, 'We will not invite you, for ye have wandered about very familiarly among men,[386] per-

[385] See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 120, note 13.

[386] In the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. v. 7589 f. it is said that the Aśvins are the Sūdras of the gods, the Angirases being the Brahmans, the Ādityas the Kshatriyas

jīvantaṁ hāsyāmi" iti | *tad ha ayam ṛishir ājajnau* | 10. *Sa ha uvācha "Sukanye kiṁ tvā etad avochatām" iti* | *tasmai etad vyāchachakshe* | *sa ha vyākhyātaḥ uvācha "yadi tvā etat punar bruvataḥ sā tvam brūtād 'na vai susarvāv iva stho na susamṛiddhāv iva atha me patiṁ nindathaḥ' iti* | *tau yadi tvā bruvataḥ 'kena āvam asarvau svaḥ kena asamṛiddhāv' iti* | *sā tvam brūtāt 'patiṁ nu me punar yuvānaṁ kurutam atha vāṁ vakshyāmi' iti"* | *tām punar upeyatus tāṁ ha etad eva ūchatuḥ* | 11. *Sā ha uvācha "na vai susarvāv iva stho na susamṛiddhāv iva atha me patiṁ nindathaḥ" iti* | *tau ha ūchatuḥ "kena āvam asarvau svaḥ kena asamṛiddhāv" iti* | *sā ha uvācha "patiṁ nu me punar yuvāṇaṁ kurutam atha vāṁ vakshyāmi" iti* | 12. *Tau ha ūchatur "etaṁ hradam abhyavahara* | *sa yena vayasā kamishyate tena udaishyati" iti* | *taṁ hradam abhyavajahāra* | *sa yena vayasā chakame tena udeyāya* | 13. *Tau ha ūchatuḥ "Sukanye kena āvam asarvau svaḥ kena asamṛiddhāv" iti* | *tau ha ṛishir eva pratyuvācha "kurukshetre amī devāḥ yajnaṁ tanvate* | *te vāṁ yajnād antaryanti* | *tena asarvau sthas tena asamṛiddhāv" iti* | *tau ha tataḥ eva Aśvinau preyatuḥ* | *tāv ājagmatur devān yajnaṁ tanvānān stute bahishpavamāne* | 14. *Tau ha ūchatur "upa nau hvayadhvam" iti* | *te ha devāḥ ūchur "na vām upahvayishyāmahe* | *bahu manushyeshu saṁsṛishṭam achārishṭam bhishajyantāv" iti* | 15. *Tau ha ūchatur viśīrshṇā vai yajnena yajadhve" iti* | *"kathaṁ viśīrshṇā" iti* | *"upa nau hvayadhvam atha vo vakshyāvaḥ" iti* | *"tathā" iti* | *tā upāhvayanta tābhyām etam āśvinaṁ graham agṛihṇaṁs tāv adhvaryū yajnasya abhavatām* | *tāv etad yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattām* |

"When the Bhṛigus or the Angirases had reached the heavenly world, Chyavana of the race of Bhṛigu, or Chyavana of the race of Angiras, having magically assumed a shrivelled form, was abandoned. Saryāta, the descendant of Manu, wandered over this [world] with his tribe. He settled down in the neighbourhood [of Chyavana]. His youths, while playing, fancied this shrivelled magical body to be worthless, and pounded it with clods. Chyavana was incensed at the sons of Saryāta. He created discord among them, so that father fought with son, and brother with brother. Saryāta bethought him, 'what have I done, in consequence of which this calamity has befallen us?' He ordered the cowherds and shepherds to be called, and said, 'Which of you has seen anything here to-day?' They replied, 'This shrivelled

Vanaparva, 10,316 ff. The original text is too lengthy to be cited, but I shall give its substance. We are there told that the body of Chyavana, when performing austerity in a certain place, became encrusted with an ant-hill; that king Saryāti came then to the spot with his 4000 wives and his single daughter Sukanyā; that the rishi, seeing her, became enamoured of her and endeavoured to gain her affections, but without eliciting from her any reply. Seeing, however, the sage's eyes gleaming out from the ant-hill, and not knowing what they were, the princess pierced them with a sharp instrument, whereupon Chyavana became incensed, and afflicted the king's army with a stoppage of urine and of the other necessary function. When the king found out the cause of the infliction, and supplicated the rishi for its removal, the latter insisted on receiving the king's daughter to wife, as the sole condition of his forgiveness. Sukanyā accordingly lived with the rishi as his spouse. One day, however, she was seen by the Aśvins, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade her to desert her decrepit husband, and choose one of them in his place. They then told her they were the physicians of the gods, and would restore her husband to youth and beauty, when she could make her choice between him and one of them. Chyavana and his wife consented to this proposal; and, at the suggestion of the Aśvins, he entered with them into [illegible] neighbouring pond, when the three came forth of like celestial beauty, and each asked her to be his bride. She, however, recognized and chose her own husband. Chyavana, in gratitude for his restoration to youth, then offered to compel Indra to admit the Aśvins to a participation in the Soma ceremonial, and fulfilled his promise in the course of a sacrifice which he performed for king Saryāti. On that occasion Indra objected to such an honour being extended to the Aśvins, on the ground that they wandered about among men as physicians, changing their forms at will; but Chyavana refused to listen to the objection, and carried out his intention, staying the arm of Indra when he was about to launch a thunderbolt, and creating a terrific demon, who was on the point of devouring the king of the gods, and was only prevented by the timely submission of the latter.[388]

[388] See the similar account of Chyavana's power in the passage from the Anuśāsana parva quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, second edition, p. 470 f.

forming cures.' The Aśvins rejoined, "Ye worship with a headless sacrifice.' They asked, 'How [do we worship] with a headless [sacrifice]?' The Aśvins answered, 'Invite us to join you, and we will tell you.' The gods consented, and invited them. They received this Āśvina draught (*graha*) for the Aśvins, who became the two adhvaryu priests[387] of the sacrifices, and restored the head of the sacrifice." As regards the cutting off of the head of the sacrifice see the passages quoted in the 4th volume of this work, pp. 109 ff.

The Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 4, 9, 1, gives the following brief notice of the story of the Aśvins replacing the head of the sacrifice, with an addition not found in the Satap. Br.:

Yajnasya śiro 'chhidyata | te devāḥ aśvināv abruvan "bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ yajnasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtāṁ "varaṁ vriṇāvahai grahaḥ eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agṛihnan | tato vai tau yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattām | yadāśvino gṛihyate yajnasya nishkṛityai tau devāḥ abruvann "apūtau vai imau manushyacharau bhishajāv" iti | tasmād brāhmaṇena bheshajaṁ na kāryam | apūto hy esho 'medhyo yo bhishak | tau bahishpavamānena pavayitvā tabhyām etam āśvinam agṛihnan |

"The head of the sacrifice was cut off. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'You are physicians; replace this head of the sacrifice.' The Aśvins replied, 'Let us ask a favour: allow a libation for us also to be received in this ceremony.' They, in consequence, received for them this Āśvina oblation, when they replaced the head of the sacrifice. When this Āśvina libation had been received for the sake of rectifying the sacrifice, the gods said of the Aśvins, 'These two are unclean, going among men as they do, as physicians.' Hence, no Brāhman must act as a physician, since a person so acting is unclean and unfit to sacrifice. They purified the Aśvins by the Bahishpavamāna; and then received for them the Āśvina libation." Compare the Ait. Br. i. 18, pp. 41 ff. of Professor Haug's translation.

A story, varying in some particulars, is narrated in the Mahābhārata,

and the Maruts the Vaiśyas. With the objection made against the Aśvins of too great familiarity with mortals, compare the numerous instances of help rendered to their worshippers, which have been quoted above from the R.V., and which may have given rise to this idea.

387 Compare S. P. Br. viii. 2, 1, 3.

amongst these deities and to harmonize with it the other myths connected with them. I may here, however, first observe that, though Yāska records opinions which identify the Aśvins with "day and night," and "sun and moon," the passage relied upon by Professor Roth to prove that Yāska himself identified them with Indra and Āditya (the sun), does not bear out any such conclusion. For the passage in question, as I understand it, means: "their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted (by darkness); for the middlemost Aśvin (between darkness and light) shares in darkness, whilst (the other), who is of a solar nature (āditya), shares in light." There is this verse relating to them "In nights,"[389] etc. Nor does Durga, the commentator on Yāska attribute to the latter the view which Professor Roth ascribes to him His words, as I interpret them, are: "'their time is after the (latter half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted, (means) when, after the (latter) half of the night, darkness intersecte by light makes an effort against light, that is the time of the Aśvins .... Then the nature of the middlemost (between them) is a share i that darkness which penetrates into light; and the solar one (āditya assumes that nature which is a share in the light penetrating int darkness. These two are the middlemost and the uppermost: this i the teacher's (*i.e.* Yāska's) own opinion, for, in order to substantiat it, he gives as an instance the verse '*Vasātishu sma*,'"[390] etc.

[389] Nir. xii. 1, *tayoḥ kālaḥ ūrdhvam ardharātrāt prākāśībhāvasyānuvishṭambha* *anu* (the last word is omitted in Durga MS. I. O. L., No. 206) *tamobhāgo hi madh* *yamo jyotirbhāga āditya*ḥ; *tayor eshā bhavati Vasātishu sma*, etc.

[390] Durga I. O. L., No. 206: *Tayoḥ kāla ūrdhvam ardharātrāt prakāśībhāvasyān* *vishṭambham | jyotishā vyatibhidyamānam ūrdhvam ardharātrāt tamo yadā jyoti* *anu vishṭabhnāti so 'śvinoḥ kālaḥ | [tataḥ prabhṛiti sandhistotram purodayā* *āśvinam, udite sauryāṇi] | tatra yat tamo 'nuvishṭam* (the MS. of Professor Mülle Lect. 2nd series, P. 490, reads *'nupravishṭam*) *jyotishi tadbhāgo madhyamasy* *rūpam* (the MS. of Prof. M. ibid.: *tadbhāgo madhyamaḥ | tan madhyamasy* *rūpam*): *yaj jyotis tamasy anuvishṭam* (the same, ibid. *anupravishṭam*) *tadbhāga* *tadrūpam ādityaḥ | tāv etau madhyamottamāv iti svamatam āchāryasya | yata* *samarthanāyodāharati tayor eshā bhavati Vasātishu smeti.* Professor Roth, in h illustrations of Nirukta, xii. 1, very correctly observes that the verse quoted b Yāska (*vāsatishu sma*, etc.) does not bear out the view that the Aśvins are Indra a Āditya; but the proper inference to be drawn from this circumstance would seem be, not that Yāska quoted a verse irrelevant to his view, but that Professor R attributed to him a view which he had not entertained, and that it may be prefer to render Āditya, as proposed above, "the solar (Aśvin)," or the Aśvin of a solar nat

(6) *Remarks on the Aśvins by Professor Goldstücker.*

I have been favoured by Professor Goldstücker with the following note on the Aśvins:—

The myth of the Aśvins is, in my opinion, one of that class of myths in which two distinct elements, the cosmical and the human or historical, have gradually become blended into one. It seems necessary, therefore, to separate these two elements in order to arrive at an understanding of the myth. The historical or human element in it, I believe, is represented by those legends which refer to the wonderful cures effected by the Aśvins, and to their performances of a kindred sort; the cosmical element is that relating to their luminous nature. The link which connects both seems to be the mysteriousness of the nature and effects of the phenomena of light, and of the healing art at a remote antiquity. That there might have been some horsemen or warriors of great renown who inspired their contemporaries with awe by their wonderful deeds, and more especially by their medical skill, appears to have been also the opinion of some old commentators mentioned by Yāska, for some "legendary writers," he says, took them for "two kings, performers of holy acts;" and this view seems likewise borne out by the legend in which it is narrated that the gods refused the Aśvins admittance to a sacrifice on the ground that they had been on too familiar terms with men. It would appear then that these Aśvins, like the Ṛibhus, were originally renowned mortals, who, in the course of time, were translated into the companionship of the gods; and it may be a matter of importance to investigate whether, besides this *a priori* view, there are further grounds of a linguistic or grammatical character for assuming that the hymns containing the legends relating to these human Aśvins are posterior or otherwise to those descriptive of the cosmical gods of the same name.

The luminous character of the latter can scarcely be matter of doubt, for the view of some commentators—recorded by Yāska,—according to which they were identified with "heaven and earth," appears not to be countenanced by any of the passages known to us. Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *aśva*, the horse, literally, "the pervader," is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun. The difficulty, however, is to determine their position

SECTION XVI.

SOMA.

Reference has been already made to the important share which the exhilarating juice of the soma-plant assumes in bracing Indra for his conflict with the hostile powers in the atmosphere, and to the eagerness of all the gods to partake in this beverage.

Soma is the god who represents and animates this juice, an intoxicating draught which plays a conspicuous part in the sacrifices of the Vedic age. He is, or rather was in former times, the Indian Dionysus or Bacchus. Not only are the whole of the hymns in the ninth book of the Rig-veda, one hundred and fourteen in number, besides a few in other places, dedicated to his honour, but constant references to the juice of the soma occur in a large proportion of the other hymns. It is clear therefore, as remarked by Professor Whitney (Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 299), that his worship must at one time have attained a remarkable popularity. This circumstance is thus explained by the writer to whom I have referred: "The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was to their apprehension a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta;[391] it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory."

[391] See Dr. Windischmann's Essay on the Soma-worship of the Arians, or the

To judge, therefore, from these words, it is the opinion of Yāska that the Aśvins represent the transition from darkness to light, when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin nature of these deities. And this interpretation, I hold, is the best that can be given of the character of the *cosmical* Aśvins. It agrees with the epithets by which they are invoked, and with the relationship in which they are placed. They are young, yet also ancient, beautiful, bright, swift, etc; and their negative character—the result of the alliance of light with darkness—is, I believe, expressed by *dasra*, the destroyer, and also by the two negatives in the compound *nāsatya* (*na* + *a-satya*), though their positive character is again redeemed by the ellipsis of "enemies, or diseases," to *dasra*, and by the sense of *nāsatya*, not un-true, *i.e.* truthful. They are the parents of Pūshan, the sun; for they precede the rise of the sun; they are the sons of the sky, and again the sons of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. Vivasvat, I believe, here implies the firmament "expanding" to the sight through the approaching light; and though Saraṇyū is to Professor Müller one of the deities which are forced by him to support his dawn-theory, it seems to me that the etymology of the word, and the character of the myths relating to it, rather point to the moving air, or the dark and cool air, heated, and therefore set in motion, by the approach of the rising sun. The Aśvins are also the husbands or the friends of Sūryā, whom I take for the representative of the weakest manifestation of the sun; and I believe that Sāyaṇa is right when, by the sister of the Aśvins, he understands Ushas, the dawn. The mysterious phenomenon of the intermingling of darkness—which is no longer complete night—and of light—which is not yet dawn—seems to agree with all these conceptions, and with the further details of a cosmical nature, which are so fully given in the preceding paper.

Ἄρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβὼν ἔχει τινά.
στρατὸν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα κἀπὶ τάξεσι
φόβος διεπτόησε, πρὶν λόγχης θιγεῖν·
μανία δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Διονύσου πάρα, κ.τ.λ.

"I cannot express how great this young god, whom thou ridicu is destined to become in Greece. For, young man, there are two th which are the foremost among men, the goddess Demeter, who i Earth;—call her by whichever name thou pleasest;—who nour mortals with dry food. But he, the son of Semele, took the con course. He discovered and introduced among men the liquid dr of the grape, which puts an end to the sorrows of wretched mort when they are filled with the stream from the vine,—and in sleep, and oblivion of the evils endured by day. Nor is there any remedy for our distresses. He, born a god, is poured out in lib to gods, so that through him men receive good. And thou ridi him by saying that he was sewn up in the thigh (μηρῷ) of Zeus. I shall shew thee how this is rendered reasonable. When Zeus r the infant from the lightning-flame, and brought him to Olympus wished to expel him from heaven. But Zeus, like a god, counte this design. Detaching a portion of the aether which encircl earth, he gave this as a hostage (ὅμηρον) to Hera, so deliverin nysus from her hostility; and in course of time, because he be hostage to Hera, men began to say,—changing the word, and inv a fable,—that he had been reared in the thigh of Zeus. And th is a prophet. For Bacchic excitement and raving have in them prophetic power. When this god enters in force into the bo causes men to rave and foretell the future. And he also parta the character of Ares (Mars). For panic (sometimes) terrifies a of armed men drawn up in battle array, before the actual clash the hosts. This madness too is derived from Dionysus." 392

392 In an earlier part of the same play, verses 200 ff. the following protest free enquiry in religious matters is put by the poet into the mouth of Teiresi says to Cadmus:

οὐδὲν σοφιζόμεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι.
πατρίους παραδοχάς, ἅς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ
κεκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος,
οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν ηὕρηται φρενῶν.

"In things that touch the gods it is not good
To suffer captious reason to intrude.

(1) *Quotation from Euripides relating to the Greek god Dionysus.*

As illustrating the sentiments which gave rise to the adoration of Dionysus, the Grecian Soma, I shall introduce here some verses from the Bacchae of Euripides, 272 ff., in which the philosophical poet puts into the mouth of the prophet Teiresias a vindication of the worship of the new god, against the ridicule which had been thrown upon him by Pentheus, together with a statement of the reasons which justified his deification, and a rationalistic explanation of a current myth regarding him :

Οὗτος δ' ὁ δαίμων ὁ νέος ὃν σὺ διαγελᾷς
οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μέγεθος ἐξειπεῖν ὅσος
καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἔσται· δύο γάρ, ὦ νεανία,
τὰ πρῶτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, Δημήτηρ θεά,
Γῆ δ' ἐστίν· ὄνομα δ' ὁπότερον βούλει κάλει·
αὕτη μὲν ἐν ξηροῖσιν ἐκτρέφει βροτούς·
ὁ δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τἀντίπαλον, ὁ Σεμέλης γόνος,
βότρυος ὑγρὸν πῶμ' εὗρε κεἰσηνέγκατο
θνητοῖς, ὃ παύει τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
λύπης, ὅταν πλησθῶσιν ἀμπέλου ῥοῆς,
ὕπνον τε, λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν,
δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων.
οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγὼς,
ὥστε διὰ τοῦτον τἀγάθ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν.
καὶ καταγελᾷς νιν, ὡς ἐνεῤῥάφη Διὸς
μηρῷ· διδάξω σ' ὡς καλῶς ἔχει τόδε.
ἐπεί νιν ἥρπασ' ἐκ πυρὸς κεραυνίου
Ζεύς, εἰς δ' Ὄλυμπον βρέφος ἀνήγαγεν νεόν,
Ἥρα νιν ἤθελ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ,
Ζεὺς δ' ἀντεμηχανήσατ', οἷα δὴ θεός.
ῥήξας μέρος τι τοῦ χθόν' ἐγκυκλουμένου
αἰθέρος ἔθηκε τόνδ' ὅμηρον ἐκδιδοὺς
Διόνυσον Ἥρας νεικέων· χρόνῳ δέ νιν
βροτοὶ τραφῆναι φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Διός,
ὄνομα μεταστήσαντες, ὅτι θεᾷ θεὸς
Ἥρᾳ ποθ' ὡμήρευσε, συνθέντες λογον.
μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γαρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολύς,
λέγειν το μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ.

translated extracts from it in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 469 ff.; and the extract there given, p. 474, from Plutarch de Isid. et Osir, 46, in which the soma, or as it is in Zend, haoma, appears to be referred to under the appellation ὅμωμι. See also on the fact of the soma rite of the Indians being originally identical with the haoma ceremony of the Zoroastrians, Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Introd., p. 62.

thus: *Svādishṭhayā madishṭhayā pavasva Soma dhārayā Indrāya pāta* *sutaḥ* | "O Soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in most sweet and most exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the jui is described as sweet, honied, pungent, well-flavoured, and exhilaratin No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk it (*svāde* *kilāyam madhumān utāyam tīvraḥ kilāyam rasavān utāyam* | *uto* *asya papivāṁsam Indraṁ na kaśchana sahate āhaveshu* | *ayaṁ svādur* *madishṭhaḥ āsa*). When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and c forth ardent conceptions (ibid. verse 3). In a verse (viii. 48, already quoted above (p. 90, note), in the account of Indra, worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have bec immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. W can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any m effect, o thou immortal god?"

(3) *How the soma-plant was brought to the earth.*

The plant is said to have been brought by a falcon, i. 8 (*somaḥ śyenābhṛitah*); iii. 43, 7 (*ā yaṁ te* [*Indrāya*] *śyenaḥ* *jabhāra*); viii. 71, 9; from the sky, iv. 26, 6 (*ṛijīpī śyeno* *māno aṁśum parāvataḥ śakuno mandram madam* | *somam b* *dādṛihāno devavān divo amushṇād uttarād ādāya*); viii. 84, 3 a well-winged bird, or Suparṇa, to Indra, viii. 89, 8 (*divaṁ su* *gatvāya somaṁ vajriṇe ābharat*); or from a mountain, i. 93, 6 (*thnād anyam* (*somam*) *pari śyeno adreḥ*), where it had been plac Varuṇa, v. 85, 2 (*divi sūryam adadhāt somam adrau*). In iii. 4 v. 43, 4; ix. 18, 1; ix. 62, 4; ix. 85, 10; ix. 98, 9, it is *girishṭhā* (found on a mountain). In another place, ix. 113, 3, declared to have been brought by the daughter of the sun fro place where it had been nourished by Parjanya, the rain-god, the Gandharvas took it, and infused into it sap (*Parjanya-vṛi* *mahisham taṁ sūryasya duhitā 'bharat* | *taṁ gandharvāḥ praty* *bhnan taṁ some rasam ādadhuḥ*). In ix. 82, 3, as we have seen p. 142, Parjanya is said to be the father of Soma; and in xix. 6, 16, the god is said to have sprung from Purusha (*Somasya . . . jātasya Purushād adhi*).

In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma-pl sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms o

(2) *Prevalence and enthusiastic character of the ancient Soma-worship.*

Professor Haug, in his work on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Introd. p. 60), thus writes of the soma sacrifice: "Being thus," (*i.e.* through the oblation of an animal) "received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the soma-juice makes him a new man; though a new celestial body had been prepared for him at the Pravargya ceremony, the enjoyment of the soma beverage transforms him again; for the nectar of the gods flows for the first time in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him."

With the decline of the Vedic worship, however, and the introduction of new deities and new ceremonies, the popularity of Soma gradually decreased, and has long since passed away; and his name is now familiar to those few Brahmans only who still maintain in a few places the early Vedic observances.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant, said to be produced on Mount Mūjavat, R.V. x. 34, 1 (*somasyeva Maujavatasya bhakshaḥ*),[393] from which he takes his name (the *asclepias acida* or *sarcostemma viminale*) was being pressed out and purified.[394] They describe enthusiastically the flowing forth and filtration of the divine juice, and the effects produced on the worshippers, and supposed to be produced on the gods,[395] by partaking of the beverage. Thus the first verse of the first hymn of the ninth book runs

Traditions handed down from sire to son
Since time itself began its course to run
By reasonings never can be undermined,
Though forged by intellects the most refined."

To this the advocates of a critical investigation into the truth of ancient beliefs might reply in the words of the Messenger in the Helena of the same poet, verses 1617 f. (though their original application was different):

σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς.

"Nought can to men more useful be,
Than prudent incredulity."

[393] *Mūjavan parvataḥ*, "Mūjavat is a hill," Nir. ix. 8. See also Vāj. S. iii. 61, and commentary.

[394] See the process as described by Windischman, after Dr. Stevenson, in the 2nd volume of this work, p. 470.

[395] See Ait. Br. vi. 11, quoted above, p. 88, note 168.

thus: *Svādishṭhayā madishṭhayā pavasva Soma dhārayā Indrāya pātave sutaḥ* | "O Soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and most exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the juice is described as sweet, honied, pungent, well-flavoured, and exhilarating. No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk it (*svādush kilāyam madhumān utāyam tīvraḥ kilāyam rasavān utāyam | uto nu asya papivāṁsam Indram na kaśchana sahate āhaveshu | ayam svādur iha madishṭhaḥ āsa*). When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and calls forth ardent conceptions (ibid. verse 3). In a verse (viii. 48, 3,) already quoted above (p. 90, note), in the account of Indra, the worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any mortal effect, o thou immortal god?"

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In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma-plant, the sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms of which

he is said to manifest, ix. 83, 4; ix. 85, 12[396] (*gandharvaḥ itthā padam asya rakshati | ūrdhvo gandharvo adhi nāke asthād viśvā rūpāṇi pratichakshāṇo asya*). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has the following story regarding the mode in which the gods obtained soma from the Gandharvas, i. 27. *Somo vai rājā gandharveshv āsīt | taṁ devāś cha ṛishayaś cha abhyadhyāyan "katham ayam asmān somo rājā āgachhed" iti | sā Vāg abravīt "strīkāmāḥ vai gandharvāḥ | mayā eva striyā bhūtayā paṇayadhvam" iti "Na" iti devāḥ abruvan "kathaṁ vayaṁ tvad ṛite syāma" iti | sā 'bravīt "krīṇīta eva | yarhi vāva vo mayā artho bhavitā tarhy eva vo 'ham punar āgantāsmi" iti | "tathā" iti | tayā mahānagnyā bhūtayā Somam rājānam akrīṇan |*[397] "King Soma was among the Gandharvas. The gods and rishis desired him, and said 'How shall we get him to come to us?' Vāch said, 'The Gandharvas are fond of females; buy him in exchange for me turned into a female.' They answered, 'No: how can we live without thee?' She rejoined, 'Buy him, and whenever you have occasion for me I shall return to you.' They agreed, and bought king Soma with Vāch turned into a female, quite naked [*i.e.* unchaste]." See Professor Haug's translation of this Brāhmana, p. 59, and compare pp. 201 ff.; 294; and 400.

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa iii. 2, 4, 1 ff., it is related that the soma existed formerly in the sky, whilst the gods were here (on earth). They desired to get it, that they might employ it in sacrifice. The Gāyatrī flew to bring it for them. While she was carrying it off the Gandharva Vibhāvasu robbed her of it. The gods became aware of this, and knowing the partiality of the Gandharvas for females (compare iii. 9, 3, 20, and A.V. iv. 37, 11 f.), they sent Vāch, the goddess of speech, to get it from them, which she succeeded in doing (*Divi vai somaḥ āsīt | atha iha devāḥ | te devāḥ akāmayanta "ā naḥ somo gachhet*

[396] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Gandharva*.

[397] The Taitt. Br. vi. 1, 6, 5 (pp. 90 ff. of Indian Office MS.), tells the same story, but says that they turned Vāch into a woman one year old; and that after she had gone they induced her to come back by singing (the Gandharvas, whom she had left, meanwhile reciting a prayer, or incantation), and hence women love a man who sings (*tam somam āhriyamāṇam gandharvo Viśvāvasuḥ paryamushṇāt | .. te devāḥ abruvan "strīkāmāḥ vai gandharvāḥ striyā nishkrīṇāma" iti | te Vācham striyam ekahāyanīm kṛitvā tayā nirakrīṇan | sā rohid-rūpam kṛitvā gandharvebhyo 'pakramya atishṭhat | tad rohito janma | te devāḥ abruvan "apa yushmad akramīn na asmān upāvarttate vihvayai" iti | brahma gandharvāḥ avadann | agāyan devāḥ | sā devān gāyataḥ upāvarttata | tasmād gāyantam striyaḥ kāmayante | kāmukā enam striyo bhavanti ya evam veda*).

(6) *Divine powers attributed to Soma.*

A great variety of divine attributes and operations are ascribed to Soma. As Professor Whitney observes, he is "addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow" (Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. iii. 299). He is said to be *asura*, divine (ix. 73, 1; ix. 74, 7), and the soul of sacrifice, *ātmā yajnasya* (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8). He is immortal, *amṛita* (i. 43, 9), and confers immortality on gods and men, i. 91, 1, 6, 18; viii. 48, 3, quoted above, p. 90, note; ix. 106, 8 (*tvām devāso amṛitāya kam papuḥ*); ix. 108, 3 (*tvaṁ hi anga daivyā pavamāna janimāni dyumattama amṛitatvāya ghoshayaḥ*); ix. 109, 3 (*eva amṛitāya mahe kshayāya sa śukro arsha divyaḥ pīyūshaḥ*).[400] In a passage (ix. 113, 7 ff.) where the joys of paradise are more distinctly anticipated and more fervently implored than in most other parts of the Rig-veda, Soma is addressed as the god from whom the gift of future felicity is expected. Thus it is there said: *yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam | tasmin māṁ dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite | yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tatra māṁ amṛitaṁ kṛidhi |* 7. "Place me, o purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory. O Indu (soma), flow for Indra. 8. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivasvata (Yama, the son of Vivasvat,) lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow." The three following verses may be reserved for the section on Yama.

Soma exhilarates Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the other gods, Vāyu, Heaven and Earth, ix. 90, 5 (*matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishṇum | matsi śardho mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya*); ix. 97, 42 (*matsi Vāyum ishṭaye rādhase cha matsi Mitrā-varuṇā pūyamānaḥ | matsi śardho mārutam matsi devān matsi Dyāvā-pṛithivī deva Soma*). Both gods and men resort to him, saying that his juice is sweet, viii. 48, 1 (*viśve yaṁ devāḥ uta martyāso madhu bruvanto abhi sancharanti*). By him (but see p. 270) the Ādityas are strong, and the earth vast, x. 85, 2 (*somena Ādityāḥ balinaḥ somena pṛithivī mahī*). He is the friend,

[400] In regard to the manner in which the gods acquired immortality, see the S'atap Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff. quoted above p. 14, note 21.

society, and to tell her what he had in his hand; whereupon he gave her the three Vedas; and in consequence women always ask for some gift as a price for their embraces, etc. The Brāhmaṇa goes on to recommend the use of the same paste, prepared with the same formulas, as a specific for producing love or good will (*Prajāpatiḥ Somaṁ rājānam asṛijata | taṁ trayo vedāḥ anv asṛijyanta | tān haste 'kuruta | atha ha Sītā Sāvitrī Somaṁ rājānaṁ chakame | S'raddhām u sa chakame | sā ha pitaram Prajāpatim upasasāra | taṁ ha uvācha "namas te astu bhagavaḥ | upa tvā ayāni* (2) *pra tvā āpadye | Somaṁ vai rājānaṁ kāmaye S'raddhām u sa kāmayate" iti | tasyai u ha sthāgaram alankāraṁ kalpayitvā daśahotāram purastād vyākhyāya chaturhotāraṁ dakshiṇataḥ panchahotāram paśchāt shaḍḍhotāram uttarataḥ saptahotāram uparishṭāt sambhāraiś patnībhiś cha mukhe alankṛitya* | 3. *Asya arddhaṁ vavrāja | tāṁ ha udīkshya uvācha "upa mā varttasva" iti | taṁ ha uvācha "bho gantuṁ* (the commentator explains the phrase as if he read *bhogaṁ tu*) *me āchakshva | etan me āchakshva yat te pāṇāv" iti | tasyai u trīn vedān pradadau | tasmād u ha striyo bhogam eva hārayante*).

(5) *Properties ascribed to the soma-juice or its presiding deity.*

The juice of this plant is said to be an immortal[398] draught, i. 84, 4 (*jyeshṭham amartyam madam*) which the gods love, ix. 85, 2 (*daksho devānām asi hi priyo madaḥ*); ix. 109, 15 (*pibanti asya viśve devāso gobhiḥ śrītasya nṛibhiḥ sutasya*),[399] to be medicine for a sick man, viii. 61, 17 (*tad āturasya bheshajam*). All the gods drink of it, ix. 109, 15 (*pibanti asya viśve devāsaḥ*). The god who is its personification is said to clothe whatever is naked, and to heal whatever is sick; through him the blind sees, and the lame walks abroad, viii. 68, 2 (*abhy ūrṇoti yan nagnam bhishakti viśvaṁ yat turam | pra īm andhaḥ khyat niḥ śroṇo bhūt*); x. 25, 11. He is the guardian of men's bodies, and occupies their every member, viii. 48, 9 (*tvaṁ hi nas tanvaḥ soma gopāḥ gātre gātre nishasattha nṛichakshāḥ*).

[398] This means, according to Sāyaṇa, that it has no deadly effects, like other intoxicating drinks (*somapānajanyo mado madāntara-vat mārako na bhavati ity arthaḥ*).

[399] The Taitt. Br. i. 3, 3, 2, says that soma is the best nourishment of the gods, and wine of men, and ibid. 4, that soma is a male and the wine a female, and the two make a pair (*etad vai devānām paramam annaṁ yat somah etad manushyāṇām yat surā* | 4. *Pumān vai somaḥ strī surā | tan mithunam*).

vidāno anu dyāvāprithivī ā tatantha). He is the upholder of and the sustainer of the earth, keeping the two apart, vi. 44, *m dyāvāprithivī vi skabhāyat*); vi. 47, 5 (*ayam mahān mahatā mena ud dyām astabhnād vrishabho marutvān*); ix. 87, 2 (*vish- divo dharuṇaḥ prithivyāḥ*); ix. 89, 6; ix. 109, 6. He pro- the sacrifices the two divine worlds, which are kindly disposed ix. 98, 9 (*sa vām yajneshu mānavī Indur janishṭa rodasī | devo* He is king of gods and men, ix. 97, 24 (*rājā devānām uta ām*), elevated over all worlds [or beings] like the divine sun, 3 (*ayam visvāni tishṭhati punāno bhuvanopari | somo devo na* . All creatures are in his hand, ix. 89, 6 (*viśvāḥ uta kshitayo ya*).[401] His laws are like those of king Varuṇa, i. 91, 3; ix. *rājno nu te Varuṇasya vratāni*); and he is prayed to forgive olation, and to be gracious as a father to a son, and to deliver ath, viii. 48, 9 (*yat te vayam pramināma vratāni sa no mrila ā deva vasyaḥ*); x. 25, 3 (*uta vratāni Soma te pra aham pākyā | adha piteva sūnave vi vo made mrila no abhi chid vivakshase*). He is thousand-eyed, ix. 60, 1, 2 (*sahasra- s*), and sees and knows all creatures, and hurls the irre- into the abyss, ix. 73, 8 (*vidvān sa viśvā bhuvanā 'bhi paś- ajushṭān vidhyati karte avratān*); and guards the lives of all beings as a cowherd tends his cattle, x. 25, 6 (*paśum na Soma purutrā vishṭhitam jagat | samākriṇoshi jīvase vi vo made viśvā an bhuvanā vivakshase*). He is the chief and most fiery of the le, the most heroic of heroes, the most bountiful of the benefi- l as a warrior he is always victorious,[402] ix. 66, 16 (*mahān asi*

pare some additional passages quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 98 f. . 96, 16, 19, his weapons are referred to; in vi. 44, 22, he is said to have malignant father of his weapons and his magical devices (*ayam svasya ihāni Indur amushṇād aśivasya māyāḥ*). It is related in the Ait. Br. there was formerly war between the gods and the Asuras. They fought the east, south, west, and north, and in all these quarters the Asuras ious. In the north-east, however, the gods were not overcome, for that is nquerable region." The gods ascribed their former defeats to the fact of g no king, and agreed to make Soma their monarch, after which they were n all the points of the compass (*Devāsurāḥ vai eshu lokeshu samayatanta | m prāchyām diśi ayatanta | tām tato 'surāḥ ajayan | . . . . te udīchyām diśi ayatanta | te tato na parājayanta | sā eshā dig aparājitā | . . . te vann "arājatayā vai no jayanti | rājānam karavāmahai" iti | "tatheti" m rājānam akurvan | te somena rājnā sarvāḥ diśo 'jayan*).

helper, and soul of Indra, iv. 28, 1 (*tvā yujā tava tat soma sakhye Indro apo manave sasrutas kaḥ* | 2. *Tvā yujā ni khidat Sūryasya Indraś chakraṁ sahasā sadyaḥ Indo*); ix. 85, 3 (*ātmā Indrasya bhavasi*); x. 25, 9 (*Indrasyendo śivaḥ sakhā*), whose vigour he stimulates, ix. 76, 2 (*Indrasya śushmam īrayan*), and whom he succours in his conflicts with Vṛitra, ix. 61, 22 (*yaḥ Indram āvitha Vṛitrāya hantave*). He rides in the same chariot with Indra, *Indreṇa saratham* (ix. 87, 9; ix. 103, 5). He has, however, winged mares of his own, and a team like Vāyu, ix. 86, 37 (*īśānaḥ imā bhuvanāni vīyase yujānaḥ Indo haritaḥ suparṇyaḥ*); ix. 88, 3 (*vāyur na yo niyutvān ishṭayāmā*). He ascends his filter in place of a car, and is armed with a thousand-pointed shaft, ix. 83, 5; ix. 86, 40 (*pavitra-rathaḥ sahasrabh ṛishṭiḥ*). His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand, ix. 76, 2 (*śūro na dhatte āyudhā gabhastyoḥ*), are sharp and terrible, ix. 61, 30 (*bhīmāni āyudhā tigmāni*), and his bow swift-darting, ix. 90, 3 (*tigmāyudhaḥ kshipradhanvā*). He is the slayer of Vṛitra, *vṛitrahan*, or *vṛitrahantama* (i. 95, 5; ix. 24, 6; ix. 25, 3; ix. 28, 3; x. 25, 9), and, like Indra, the destroyer of foes, and overthrower of cities, ix. 61, 2; ix. 88, 4 (*Indro na yo mahā karmāṇi chakrir hantā vṛitrāṇām asi Soma pūrbhit*). In ix. 5, 9, he appears to receive the epithet of *prajāpati*, lord of creatures. He is the creator and father of the gods, ix. 42, 4 (*krandan devān ajījanat*); ix. 86, 10 (*pitā devānāṁ janitā vibhuvasuḥ*); ix. 87, 2 (*pitā devānāṁ janitā sudakshaḥ*); ix. 109, 4; the generator of hymns, of Dyaus, of Pṛithivī, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu, ix. 96, 5 (*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnāṁ janitā Divo janitā Pṛithivyāḥ* | *janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitota Vishṇoḥ*). He dispels the darkness, i. 91, 22 (*tvaṁ jyotishā vi tamo vavartha*); ix. 66, 24 (*śukraṁ jyotir ajījanat* | *kṛishṇā tamāṁsi janghanat*), lights up the gloomy nights, vi. 39, 3 (*ayaṁ dyotayad adyuto vi aktūn*); and has created and lighted up the sun, the great luminary common to all mankind, vi. 44, 23 (*ayaṁ sūrye adadhāj jyotir antaḥ*); ix. 61, 16 (*pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum* | *jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat*); ix. 97, 41 (*ajanayat sūrye jyotir Induḥ*); ix. 107, 7 (*ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*); ix. 110, 3 (*ajījano hi pavamāna Sūryam*). He stretched out the atmosphere, i. 91, 22 (*tvam ā tatantha uru antariksham*); vi. 47, 3 f.; and in concert with the Fathers (*Pitṛis*), the Sky and the Earth, viii. 48, 13 (*tvaṁ Soma pitṛi-*

the guardians of the whole universe, and to have been made by gods the centre of immortality (*jananā rayīnām jananā divo jan... prithivyāḥ | jātau viśvasya bhuvanasya gopau devāḥ akriṇvann amrit... nābhim*). The one has made his abode in the sky, and the othe... the earth, and in the atmosphere (verse 4). The one has produce... the worlds, and the other moves onward beholding all things (vers... (4. *Divi anyaḥ sadanaṁ chakre uchchā prithivyām anyo adhi antarik...* 5. *Viśvāni anyo bhuvanā jajāna viśvam anyo abhichakshāṇaḥ eti*). ... vi. 72, and vii. 104, Soma and Indra are celebrated in company. ... the first of these hymns they are said to dispel darkness, to de... revilers, to bring the sun and the light, to prop up the sky with ... ports, and to have spread out mother earth (verse 1. *Yuvaṁ Sū... vividathur yuvaṁ svar viśvā tamāṁsi ahataṁ nidaś cha* | 2. *Vāsay... ushāsam ut sūryam nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ ... bhanena aprathatam prithivīm mātaraṁ vi*). In vii. 104, their ... geance is invoked against Rākshases, Yātudhānas, and other enem...

Hymn vi. 74, is dedicated to the honour of Soma and Rudra jointly. The two gods, who are said to be armed with sharp we... (*tigmāyudhau tigmāheti*) are there supplicated for blessings to ... and beast, for healing remedies, and for deliverance from sin (*ś... bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade | etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bhes... dhattam | ava syatam munchatam yan no asti tanūshu baddham k... eno asmat*).

(8) *Soma in the post-vedic age a name of the moon.*

In the post-vedic age the name Soma came to be commonly ap... to the moon and its regent. Even in the Rig-veda, some traces o... application seem to be discoverable. Thus in x. 85, 2 ff. (which, ... ever, Professor Roth regards as of comparatively modern date: ... Nir. p. 147), there appears to be an allusion to the double sense o... word: 2. *Somenādityāḥ balinaḥ Somena prithivī mahī | atho na... trāṇām eshām upasthe Somaḥ āhitaḥ* | 3. *Somaṁ manyate papivān ya... piṁshanti oshadhim | Somaṁ yam brahmāṇo vidur na tasyāśnāti kaś...* 4. *Āchhadvidhānair gupito bārhataiḥ Soma rakshitaḥ | grāvṇām ... van tishṭhasi na te aśnāti pārthivaḥ* | 5. *Yat tvā devāḥ prapibant... āpyāyase punaḥ | Vāyuḥ Somasya rakshitā samānām māsaḥ āk...*

soma jyeshṭhaḥ ugrāṇām Indo ojishṭhaḥ | yudhvā san śaśvad jigetha | 17. *Yaḥ ugrebhyaś chid ojīyān śūrebhyaś chit śūrataraḥ | bhūridābhyaś chid maṁhīyān*). He conquers for his worshippers cows, chariots, horses, gold, heaven, water,—a thousand desirable things, ix. 78, 4 (*gojin naḥ somo rathajid hiraṇyajit svarjid abjit pavate sahasrajit*), and every thing, viii. 68, 1 (*viśvajit*). He is a wise rishi, viii. 68, 1 (*ṛishir vipraḥ kāvyena*); strong, skilful, omniscient, prolific, glorious, i. 91, 2 (*tvaṁ Soma kratubhiḥ sukratur bhūs tvaṁ dakshaiḥ sudaksho viśvavedāḥ | tvaṁ vṛishā vṛishatvebhir mahitvā dyumnebhir dyumnī abhavo nṛichakshāḥ*). He is the priest of the gods, the leader of poets, a rishi among sages, a bull among wild animals, a falcon among kites, an axe in the woods, ix. 96, 6 (*brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛishir viprāṇām mahisho mṛigāṇām | śyeno gṛidhrāṇāṁ svadhitir vanānām*). He is an unconquerable protector from enemies; i. 91, 21 (*ashāḷhaṁ yutsu pṛitanāsu paprim*); x. 25, 7 (*tvaṁ naḥ Soma viśvato gopāḥ adābhyo bhava | sedha rājann apa sridhaḥ*). If he desires that his votaries shall live, they do not die, i. 91, 6 (*tvaṁ cha soma no vaśo jīvātuṁ na marāmahe*). In viii. 48, 7, he is prayed to prolong their lives, as the sun the days (*Soma rājan pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārīr ahānīva sūryo vāsarāṇi*). In x. 59, 4, he is prayed not to abandon the worshipper to death (*mo shu naḥ soma mṛityave parā dāḥ*). The friend of a god like him cannot suffer, i. 91, 8 (*na rishyet tvātavaḥ sakhā*). The friendship and intimacy of such a god is eagerly desired, ix. 66, 18 (*vṛiṇīmahe sakhyāya vṛiṇīmahe yujyāya*). In x. 30, 5, he is said to rejoice in the society of the waters, as a man in that of beautiful young women (*yābhiḥ somo modate harshate cha kalyāṇībhir yuvatibhir na maryaḥ*).

(7) *Soma associated with other gods.*

Soma is associated with Agni as an object of adoration in i. 93, 1 ff. In verse 5 of that hymn those two gods are said to have placed the luminaries in the sky (*yuvam etāni divi rochanāni Agniś cha Soma sukratū adhattam*). In the same way Soma and Pūshan are conjoined in ii. 40, 1 ff., where various attributes and functions of a magnificent character are ascribed to them. Thus, in verse 1, they are said to be the generators of wealth, and of heaven and earth, to have been born

SECTION XVII.

BṚIHASPATI AND BRAHMAṆASPATI.

I will commence my description of this god with a translation of th account given of him in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "Bṛihaspat alternating with Brahmaṇaspati, is the name of a deity in whom th action of the worshipper upon the gods is personified. He is t suppliant, the sacrificer, the priest, who intercedes with the gods behalf of men, and protects them against the wicked. Hence appears as the prototype of the priests, and the priestly order; and also designated as the purohita of the divine community." The anci Indian conception of this deity is more fully explained in Profes Roth's dissertation on "Brahma and the Brahmans,"[405] in the f volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 66 where the author well points out the essential difference between original idea represented in this god and those expressed in most of other and older divinities of the Veda, consisting in the fact that latter are personifications of various departments of nature, o physical forces, while the former is the product of moral ideas, an impersonation of the power of devotion. From this paper I tract the following remarks: "Brahma, on the other hand [in tradistinction to deva], has an entirely different point of depar and significance. Its original sense, as easily discovered in the hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that s of invocation which, with the force of the will directed to th desires to draw him to the worshipper, and to obtain satisfactio him. It denotes the impetuous supplication which was natural ancient faith, and which sought, as it were, to wrest from the

405 Portions of this paper were long ago translated by me in the Benares M

"2. By Soma the Âdityas are strong; by Soma the earth is great; and Soma is placed in the centre of these stars. 3. When they crush the plant, he who drinks regards it as Soma. Of him whom the priests regard as Soma (the moon) no one drinks. 4. Protected by those who shelter thee, and preserved by thy guardians,[403] thou, Soma, hearest the sound of the crushing-stones; but no earthly being tastes thee. 5. When the gods drink thee, o god, thou increasest again. Vâyu is the guardian of Soma: the month is a part of the years."[404] In the Atharva-veda the following half-verse occurs, xi, 6, 7: *Somo mā devo munchatu yam āhuś chandramāḥ iti* | "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the moon." And in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 5; xi. 1, 3, 2; xi. 1, 3, 4, and xi. 1, 4, 4, we have the words: *Esha vai Somo rājā devānām annaṁ yat chandramāḥ* | "This king Soma, who is the moon, is the food of the gods." Similarly in xi. 1, 3, 5: *chandramāḥ vai Somo devānām annam* | "Soma is the moon, the food of the gods." See also i. 6, 3, 24: *Sūryaḥ eva āgneyaḥ* | *chandramāḥ saumyaḥ* | "The sun has the nature of Agni, the moon of Soma;" and xii. 1, 1, 2: *Somo vai chandramāḥ* | "Soma is the moon." In v. 3, 3, 12, and in ix. 4, 3, 16, Soma is said to be the king of the Brāhmans (*Somo 'smākam brāhmaṇānāṁ rājā*). In the Vishṇu Purāṇa (book i. chap. 22, p. 85 of Wilson's translation, vol. 2, Dr. Hall's ed.) the double character of Soma is indicated in these words: "Brahmā appointed Soma to be monarch of the stars and planets, of Brāhmans and of plants, of sacrifices and of austere devotions" (*nakshattra-graha-viprāṇāṁ vīrudhāṁ chāpy aśeshataḥ* | *Somaṁ rājye dadau Brahmā yajnānaṁ tapasām api*).

[403] The word so rendered is *bārhataiḥ*. In the Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, its sense is said to be doubtful. Professor Weber (Ind. St. v. 178 ff. where these verses, with the rest of the hymn in which they occur, is translated and annotated) renders it "lofty ones" (Erhabene). Langlois makes it "overseers." The moon is mentioned again in verses 18 and 19. In R.V. viii. 71, 8, Soma sparkling in the cups is compared to the moon shining on the waters (*yo apsu chandramāḥ iva somaś chamūshu dadṛiśe* | *piba id asya tvam īśishe*). See Professor Benfey's note on R.V. i. 84, 15, in his Orient and Occident, ii. 246.

[404] Weber and Langlois take *māsaḥ* for a nominative. Böhtlingk and Roth cite the passage under *mās*, thus making it a genitive.

he does appear along with Indra in that conflict of his against the fiend, and that too in such a way that a department of labour is assigned to him, which, in most of the other hymns, is appropriated exclusively to Indra. And, finally, in some few passages, it is he who, all alone, breaks through the caverns of Bala, in order to bring to light the concealed treasures of the fertilizing water, or, according to the figurative language employed, the cows with abundant milk" (pp. 71 ff.).

After quoting R.V. ii. 24, 3 f. (which will be cited below) Professor Roth proceeds: "It is therefore brahma, prayer, with which the god breaks open the hiding place of the enemy. Prayer pierces through to the object of its desire, and attains it. And if now we should seek to discover, in the natural phenomenon to which reference is made, viz., in the storm, that force which so mightily breaks through the hostile bulwarks, it is the lightning alone which can be the outward symbol of the victorious god. Brahmaṇaspati is, therefore, called the 'shining,' the 'gold-coloured' (v. 43, 12). The thunder is his voice" (p. 74). Again: "Brahmaṇaspati's domain extends still further; it reaches as far as the efficacy of invocation. He succours also in battle (R.V. vi. 73, 2)" (p. 74). "And, finally, a widely extended creative power is ascribed to him in the remarkable verses of a hymn of the tenth maṇḍala (68, 8 ff.) attributed to Ayāsya of the race of Angiras" (p. 75).

(1) Passages in which Bṛihaspati and Brahmaṇaspati are celebrated.

I subjoin one entire hymn and portions of some others, which will illustrate the characteristics ascribed to Brahmaṇaspati in the Rig-veda, and will shew how that name alternates with Bṛihaspati in different verses of the same composition.

R.V. ii. 23, 1. *Gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe kaviṁ kavīnām upama-śravastamam | jyeshṭharājam brahmaṇām Brahmaṇaspate ā naḥ śriṇvann ūtaye sīda sadanam | 2. Devāś chit te asurya prachetaso Bṛihaspate yajniyam bhāgam ānaśuḥ | usrāḥ iva sūryo jyotishā maho viśveshām ij janitā brahmaṇām asi | 3. Ā vibādhya parirapas tamāṁsi cha jyotishmantaṁ ratham ṛitasya tishṭhasi | Bṛihaspate bhīmam amitradambhanaṁ rakshohaṇaṁ*

boon which it demanded" (p. 67). "Immediately derived from this neuter noun brahma is the name of the god Brahmaṇaspati, who is, in many respects, a remarkable deity. His entire character is such as does not belong to the earliest stage of the Vedic mythical creations, but points to a second shape which the religious consciousness endeavoured to take, without, however, being able actually to carry it fully into effect. The entire series of the principal divinities of the Veda belongs to the domain of natural symbolism, which appears here more decided, unmixed, and transparent than perhaps among any other people of the Indo-germanic race, but which, on this account, is also less rich in references to other departments of life, and has not been able to get beyond a certain uniformity. But Brahmaṇaspati is one of the divine beings who do not stand immediately within the circle of physical life, but form the transition from it to the moral life of the human spirit. In him, the lord or protector of prayer, is seen the power and dignity of devotion, the energetic action of the will upon the gods who are the personifications of natural objects, and immediately upon nature. And it may still be plainly perceived in what manner this god, as a new-comer, was introduced into the circle of mythological beings already established, and could only find a place by the side of the other gods, or by supplanting them.[404]

"Indra is the highest god of the Vedic faith, or, at least, the one whose action has the most immediate bearing on the welfare of men. He is the god of the friendly noon-day firmament, which, after all obscurations, again shines anew, on which the fertility of the earth and the tranquility and enjoyment of human existence depend. And the prayer which most frequently recurs in the Veda, and is addressed to Indra, is that he will counteract the attempts of the cloud-demon who threatens to carry away the fertilizing waters of the sky, or holds them shut up in the caverns of the mountains, will pour forth those waters, fertilize the earth, and bestow nourishment on men and cattle. Now, if the essence of the god Brahmaṇaspati really expresses, as the name imports, the victorious power of prayer, then we should find him in this circle of myths, more than in any other. And in point of fact

[404] "All the gods whose names are compounded with *pati* ('lord of'—) must be reckoned among the more recent, *e.g.* Vāchaspati, Vāstoshpati, Kshetrasya pati. They were the products of reflection.

"We invoke thee, Brahmaṇaspati, the commander of hosts,[405] the wise, the most highly renowned of sages, the monarch of prayers; do thou hear us, and take thy place on our hearth, bringing succour. 2. Even the gods have, o divine Bṛihaspati, obtained the worshipful portion of thee, who art wise: as the great sun by his light generates rays, so art thou the generator of all prayers. 3. Overcoming demons and darkness, thou standest upon the luminous, awful, foe-subduing, rakshas-slaying, cow-pen-cleaving, heaven-reaching, chariot of the ceremonial. 4. By thy wise guidance thou leadest and preservest men; no calamity can befal him who offers gifts to thee; thou vexest, and overcomest the wrath of, the enemy of devotion; this, o Bṛihaspati, constitutes thy greatness. 5. No calamity or misfortune from any quarter, neither foes nor deceivers, can overwhelm the man—(thou repellest from him all evil spirits)—whom thou, a sure protector, dost guard, o Brahmaṇaspati. 6. Thou art the wise guardian who opens for us a way; with hymns we pay homage to thy sovereign power. Bṛihaspati, may his own hot ill luck destroy the man who devises evil against us. 7. Whatever hostile mortal, powerful[406] and rapacious, assails us who are innocent, do thou, Bṛihaspati, turn him away from our path, and enable us easily to reach the feast of the gods. 8. We invoke thee, o deliverer, who art the protector of our bodies, and our partial patron; destroy, o Bṛihaspati, the revilers of the gods; let not the wicked attain high prosperity. 9. May we through thee, our prosperer, o Brahmaṇaspati, acquire enviable riches profitable for men. Crush the foes, whether far or near, who assail us [and make them] destitute. 10. Through thee, o Bṛihaspati, a liberal and generous friend, may we obtain the highest vigour. Let not our malicious enemy gain the mastery over us; may we who are friendly in our intentions overcome them by our hymns. 11. Stubborn, strong, he enters into the battle, he vexes the foe, he overpowers him in conflict. Thou, Brahmaṇaspati, art a real avenger of guilt, a subduer even of the fierce and vehemently passionate man. 12. Let us not be struck by the shaft of the man who, with ungodly mind, seeks to injure us, who, esteeming himself fierce, seeks to slay (any of thy) worshippers

[405] Compare the epithet *sarvagaṇa* in v. 51, 12.
[406] *Sānuka* = *samuchhrita*, according to Sayaṇa.

gotrabhidaṁ svarvidam | 4. *Sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janaṁ yas tubhyaṁ dāśād na tam aṁho aśnavat* | *brahmadvishas tapano manyumīr asi Bṛihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam* | 5. *Na tam aṁho na duritaṁ kutaśchana nārātayas titirur na dvayāvinaḥ* | *viśvāḥ id asmād dhvaraso vi bādhase yaṁ sugopāḥ rakshasi Brahmaṇaspate* | 6. *Tvaṁ no gopāḥ pathikṛid vichakshaṇas tava vratāya matibhir jarāmahe* | *Bṛihaspate yo no abhi hvaro dadhe svā tam marmartu duchhunā harasvatī* | 7. *Uta vā yo no marchayād anāgaso arātīvā martaḥ sānuko vṛikaḥ* | *Bṛihaspate apa taṁ vartaya pathaḥ sugaṁ no asyai devavītaye kṛidhi* | 8. *Trātāraṁ tvā tanūnāṁ havāmahe avaspartar adhivaktāram asmayum* | *Bṛihaspate devanido ni barhaya mā durevāḥ uttaraṁ sumnam un naśan* | 9 (=Nir. iii. 11). *Tvayā vayam suvṛidhā Brahmaṇaspate spārhā vasu manushyā ā dadīmahi* | *yāḥ no dūre taḷito yāḥ arātayo abhi santi jambhaya tāḥ anapnasaḥ* | 10. *Tvayā vayam uttamaṁ dhīmahi vayo Bṛihaspate papriṇā sasninā yujā* | *mā no duśśaṁso abhidipsur īśata pra suśaṁsāḥ matibhis tārishīmahi* | 11. *Anānudo vṛishabho jagmir āhavaṁ nishṭaptā śatrum pṛitanāsu sāsahiḥ* | *asi satyaḥ ṛiṇayāḥ Brahmaṇaspate ugrasya chid damitā vīḷuharshinaḥ* | 12. *Adevena manasā yo rishyaṇyati śāsām ugro manyamāno jighāṁsati* | *Bṛihaspate mā praṇak tasya no vadho ni karma manyuṁ durevasya śardhataḥ* | 13. *Bhareshu havyo namasopasadyo gantā vājeshu sanitā dhanam dhanam* | *viśvāḥ id aryo abhidipsvo mṛidho Bṛihaspatir vi vavarha rathān iva* | 14. *Tejishṭhayā tapanī rakshasas tapa ye tvā nide dadhire dṛishṭavīryam* | *āvis tat kṛishva yad asat te ukthyam Bṛihaspate vi parirapo ardaya* | 15. *Bṛihaspate ati yad aryo arhād dyumad vibhāti kratumaj janeshu* | *yad dīdayat śavasā ṛitaprajāta tad asmāsu draviṇam dhehi chitram* | 16. *Mā naḥ stenebhyo ye abhi druhas pade nirāmiṇo ripavo 'nneshu jagṛidhuḥ* | *ā devānām ohate vi vrayo hṛidi Bṛihaspate na paraḥ sāmno viduḥ* | 17. *Viśvebhyo hi tvā bhuvanebhyas pari Tvashṭā 'janat sāmnaḥ sāmnaḥ kaviḥ* | *sa ṛiṇachid ṛiṇayāḥ Brahmaṇaspatir druho hantā mahaḥ ṛitasya dhartari* | 18. *Tava śriye vi ajihīta parvato gavāṁ gotram udasṛijo yad Angiraḥ* | *Indreṇa yujā tamasā parivṛitam Bṛihaspate nir apām aubjo arṇavam* | 19. *Brahmaṇaspate tvam asya yantā sūktasya bodhi tanayaṁ cha jinva* | *viśvaṁ tad bhadraṁ yad avanti devāḥ bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ* |

Although the translation which I subjoin is very imperfect, and I am uncertain as to the sense of many words and phrases occurring in it, the general sense is clear and undoubted:

Brahmaṇaspati, who by his power brought low the things which should be overthrown, and by his wrath split open the clouds, has also cast down the things which were unshaken, he has penetrated the mountain which was full of riches. 3. This was an exploit fit for the most godlike of the gods to achieve; firm things were loosened, and strong things yielded to him; he drove forth the cows, by prayer he split Vala, he chased away the darkness, and revealed the sky.[407] 4. All the celestials drank of the stone-covered fountain, yielding a sweet stream, which Brahmaṇaspati split open; they poured out together an abundant supply of water. . . . . 8. Wherever Brahmaṇaspati desires, thither he reaches with his well-stringed, swift-darting bow. Excellent are his arrows wherewith he shoots; they are keen-eyed to behold men, and drawn back to the ear."

iv. 50, 1. *Yas tastambha sahasā vi jmo antān Bṛihaspatis trishadasthe ravena | tam pratnāsaḥ ṛishayo dīdhyānāḥ puro viprāḥ dadhire mandrajihvam |* 4. *Bṛihaspatiḥ prathamaṁ jāyamāno maho jyotishaḥ parame vyoman | saptāsyas tuvijāto ravena vi saptaraśmir adhamat tamāṁsi |* 5. *Sa sushṭubhā sa ṛikvatā gaṇena Valaṁ ruroja phaligaṁ raveṇa | Bṛihaspatir usriyāḥ havyasūdaḥ kanikradad vāvaśatīr udājat |* 6. *Eva pitre viśvadevāya vṛishṇe yajnair vidhema namasā havirbhiḥ | Bṛihaspate suprajāḥ vīravanto vayaṁ syāma patayo rayīṇām |* 7. *Sa id rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śushmeṇa tasthāv abhi vīryeṇa | Bṛihaspatiṁ yaḥ subhṛitam bibharti valgūyati vandate pūrvabhājam |*

"1. Contemplating Bṛihaspati with the pleasant tongue, who occupies three abodes, and by his power and his voice holds apart the ends of the earth, the ancient rishis placed him in their front. . . . . 4.[408] Bṛihaspati, when first born from the great light in the highest heaven, seven-faced, mighty in nature, seven-rayed, blew asunder the darkness with his voice. 5. With the lauding, hymning band he by his voice broke through Vala, the cloud. Bṛihaspati, shouting, drove forth the butter-yielding, loudly-lowing cows. 6. Thus let us worship the vigorous father, who is possessed of all divine attributes, with sacrifices, and reverence, and oblations. May we, Bṛihaspati, have abundant offspring, vigorous sons, and be lords of riches. 7. That king who main-

[407] This and the following verse are translated in p. 73 of the article of Professor Roth, quoted at the commencement of this section.

[408] Verses 4 ff. are translated by Professor Roth in pp. 79 f. of the article quoted at the beginning of this section.

ho praises and magnifies him as
ion, overcomes all hostile powers

jasum bhed Brihaspatir agnitapo
ṭtam ādad āvir nidhīn akriṇod
akunasya garbham ud usriyāḥ pa
2). Aśnāpinaddham madhu pary a
ṭtam | nish taj jabhāra chamasaṁ
itya | 9. Soshām avindat saḥ sva
ūṁsi | Brihaspatir govapusho Vala
|

fiery gleams the defences of the
urs that which has been enveloped
res of the cows. 7. . . . As if splitti
bird, he by his own power drove
8. He beheld the sweet liquid
imming in shallow water; Brihasp
, a tree, having cloven (Vala) with
awn, the Sky, Agni; with his glea
Brihaspati smote forth, as it were, th
who had assumed the form of a bull

spatir mantraṁ vadati ukthyam | ya
ā devāḥ okāṁsi chakrire | 6. Tam
antraṁ devaḥ anehasam | "5. Brah
ory hymn, in which Indra, Varuṇa
their abode. 6. This spotless hymn
o gods, utter on the festivals." 400

ham mandrajihvam Brihaspatiṁ vardhaya
ucho yasya devāḥ āśrinvanti navamānasya
a vāchaḥ sachante sargo yo na devayatām
aspati, the irresistible, the vigorous, the
ht to be praised with hymns, a shining
both gods and men listen when he utters

ted above, p. 74, Professor Roth remarks on these
Brahmaṇaspati's) voice. This voice of thunder, again,
dent of prayer, is by a beautiful transference brought
yer which, spoken on earth, finds, as it were, its echo

praise. 2. To him proceed well-ordered words, like a stream of devout men which has been set in motion."

v. 43, 12. *Ā vedhasaṁ nīlapṛishṭhaṁ bṛihantaṁ Bṛihaspatiṁ sadane sādayadhvam | sādadyonim dame ā dīdivāṁsaṁ hiraṇyavarṇam arushaṁ sapema* | "Seat on the sacrificial ground the wise, the dark-backed, the mighty Bṛihaspati. Let us reverence the golden-hued ruddy god who sits on our hearth, who shines in our house."

x. 98, 7. *Devaśrutaṁ vṛishṭivaniṁ rarāṇo Bṛihaspatir vācham asmai ayachhat* | "Bṛihaspati, fulfilling (his desire), gave him (Devāpi) a hymn seeking for rain, which the gods heard."

(2) *Parentage and attributes of the god.*

Brahmaṇaspati, or Bṛihaspati, appears to be described in vii. 97, 8, as the offspring of the two Worlds, who magnified him by their power (*devī devasya rodasī janitrī Bṛihaspatiṁ vavṛidhatur mahitvā*); whilst in ii. 23, 17, he is said to have been generated by Tvashṭṛi (see above). He is called a priest, x. 141, 3 (*brahmāṇaṁ cha Bṛihaspatim*); is associated with the Ṛikvans, or singers (vii. 10, 4; x. 14, 3; compare x. 36, 5; x. 64, 4); is denominated an Āngirasa (iv. 40, 1; vi. 73, 1; x. 47, 6); is the generator, the utterer, the lord, the inspirer, of prayer (ii. 23, 1, 2; i. 40, 5; x. 98, 7), who by prayer accomplishes his designs (ii. 24, 3), and mounting the shining and awful chariot of the ceremonial, proceeds to conquer the enemies of prayer and of the gods (ii. 23, 3 f., 8). He is the guide, patron, and protector of the pious, who are saved by him from all dangers and calamities (ibid. verses 4 ff.); and are blessed by him with wealth and prosperity (ibid. 9 f.). He is styled the father of the gods, ii. 26, 3 (*devānām pitaram*); is said to have blown forth the births of the gods like a blacksmith (see above, p. 48); to be possessed of all divine attributes, *viśvadevya*, or *viśvadeva* (iii. 62, 4; iv. 50, 6); bright, *śuchi* (iii. 62, 5; vii. 97, 7); pure, *śundhyu* (vii. 97, 7); omniform, *viśvarūpa* (iii. 62, 6); possessed of all desirable things, *viśvavāra* (vii. 10, 4; vii. 97, 4); to have a hundred wings, *śatapatra* (vii. 97, 7); to carry a golden spear, *hiraṇyavāśī* (ibid.; compare ii. 24, 8, where a bow and arrows are assigned to him); to be a devourer of enemies, *vṛitrakhāda* (x. 65, 10; comp. vi. 73, 3); a leader of armies along with Indra, etc., *Indraḥ āsāṁ*

[x.] 103, 8), and armed with an iron
[...]nūnam paraśuṁ svāyasaṁ [...]; clear-voiced, śuchikranda yena v[...]
[...] āyushaḥ (x. 100, 5); a remov[...]
[...]ulent, revat, vasuvit; an increas[...]
[...]ivardhana (i. 18, 2). Plants are
[...]ḥ . . . Bṛihaspatiprasūtāḥ (x. 97,
[...]e conveyed by easy-going ruddy h[...]
[...]haspatim sahavāho vahanti (vii. 97,
[...]ave heard the cries of Trita, who
[...]was calling on the gods, and to
[...]position, i. 105, 17 (Tritaḥ kūpe av[...]
Bṛihaspatiḥ kriṇvann aṁhūraṇād u[...]
destroying Vala, and carrying off
[...]e imprisoned waters of the sky, h[...]
[...]the quotation I have made above fr[...]
as in the texts which have been tra[...]
[...]ave seen, described as holding asun[...]

[Br]ahmaṇaspati are identifiable with Ag[ni]

[...]ati are regarded as names of Agni
[...]f the Rig-veda, vol. i. p. 249 (note 36
[...]ote 1), and index, vol. iv., under t[...]
[...]so, in the introduction to the 1st vo[...]
[...]., writes as follows: "Brahmaṇaspa[...]
[...] out his character from the occasion [...]
[...]ms to be identifiable with Agni, with th[...]
[...]ding over prayer. The characteristic pr[...]
[...]wever, are not very distinctly developed i[...]
(see also the notes in pp. 41, 111, 112)
[...]is second volume, p. ix. however, Profess[or]
[...]ribed in the 2nd ashṭaka of the R.V., Bṛihas[...]
[...] separately, is identical with Indra, by his
[...]and wielding the thunderbolt (p[...]
[...]ain (p. 199)

[...] Langlois spells Bṛihaspati, Vṛihaspati.

284); but he is hymned indiscriminately with Brahmaṇaspati, wh[o is] styled the lord of the Gaṇas, or companies of divinities, and also, wh[ich] is in harmony with his former character, chief or most excellent l[ord] of mantras or prayers of the Vedas (p. 262); he also, in some of [his] attributes, as those of dividing the clouds, and sending rain, and [re]covering the stolen kine (p. 268) is identical with Indra, although w[ith] some inconsistency he is spoken of as distinct from, although associa[ted] with, him (p. 270); but this may be a misconception of the scholi[ast], etc." Finally, Professor Müller (Transl. of R.V. i. 77) states his opin[ion] that "Brahmaṇaspati and Bṛihaspati are both varieties of Agni, [the] priest and purohita of gods and men, and as such he is invo[ked] together with the Maruts, etc.," as he had previously remarked t[hat] Agni also is. The verse to which this note refers, R.V. i. 38, 13 [is] as follows: *achha vada tanā girā jarāyai brahmaṇaspatim agnim mit[ram] na darśatam*, which Professor Müller renders thus: "Speak out ever with thy voice to praise the lord of prayer, Agni, who is lik[e a] friend, the bright one."

This identification, in the strict sense, of Brahmaṇaspati with A[gni] is supported by some texts, but opposed to others. Of the for[mer] class are the following:

ii. 1, 3. *Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur uru[gāyo] namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid brahmaṇaspate* | "Thou, Agni, [art] Indra, the most vigorous of the good; thou art the wide-striding [and] adorable Vishṇu; thou, o Brahmaṇaspati (or lord of prayer), a[rt the] priest (*brahmā*), the possessor of wealth, etc." Here, although Ag[ni is] also identified with Indra and Vishṇu, as he is with other deitie[s in] the following verses, the connection between him and Brahmaṇas[pati] is shown to be more intimate and real by the fact that both the la[tter] word and Agni are in the vocative. In the next passage also Bṛi[has]pati, as well as Mātariśvan may be regarded as an epithet of A[gni]:

iii. 26, 2. *Taṁ śubhram Agnim avase havāmahe vaiśvānaram māta[riś]vānam ukthyam | Bṛihaspatim manusho devatātaye vipraṁ hotā[ram] atithiṁ raghushyadam* | "We call to our succour the bright Agni, [the] friend of all mankind; Mātariśvan, who is worthy to be hym[ned;] Bṛihaspati, the wise invoker, the guest, swiftly-moving, that he [may] come to a man's worship of the gods."

The verse above quoted, v. 43, 12, is also alternatively explaine[d]

...: athavā iyam Āgneyī | bṛihataḥ...
...Bṛihaspatir Agnir uchyate | tathā...
...-sādana-hiraṇyavarṇatvādi-linga-...
...Agni is the subject of the verse-...
...nd ceremonial, Agni is denoted.
...he marks of having a back of...
... on the. sacrificial ground, of hav...
...ti is Agni." And in ii. 2, 7, Ag...
...Earth favourable to the worshipp...
...aprithivī brahmaṇā kṛidhi). Fu...
...well as Brahmaṇaspati and Bṛiha...
...designated as Angiras, or Āngirasa-...
..., Brahmaṇaspati or Bṛihaspati is...
...i. Thus in x. 68, 9, Bṛihaspati is...
... heaven, and Agni, and by a hym...
...s (saḥ ushām avindat saḥ svaḥ so ag...
... In vii. 10, 4, Agni is asked to b...
...Rudra, Aditi, etc. In the follo...
...nt gods are invoked or named toget...
...from Brāhmaṇaspati or Bṛihaspati,...
...f.; vii. 41, 1; vii. 44, 1; ix. 5,...
...; x. 141, 3.

SECTION XVIII.

YAMA AND THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

(1) *References to immortality in the earlier books of the Rig-veda.*

It is in the ninth and tenth books of the Rig-veda that we find the most distinct and prominent references to a future life. It is true that the Ṛibhus, on account of their artistic skill, are said, in some texts in the earlier books, to have been promised, and to have attained, immortality and divine honours (see above p. 226, and R.V. iv. 35, 3, where it is said: *atha aita Vājāḥ amṛitasya panthām ganam devānām Ṛibhavaḥ suhastāḥ* | "Then, skilful Vājas, Ṛibhus, ye proceeded on the road of immortality, to the assemblage of the gods;" and verse 8: *ye devāso abhavata sukṛityā śyenāḥ iva id adhi divi nisheda* | *te ratnaṁ dhāta śavaso napātaḥ Saudhanvanāḥ abhavata amṛitāsaḥ* | "Ye who through your skill have become gods, and like falcons are seated in the sky, do ye, children of strength, give us riches; ye, o sons of Sudhanvan, have become immortal."). This, however, is a special case of deification, and would not prove that ordinary mortals were considered to survive after the termination of their earthly existence. There are, however, a few other passages which must be understood as intimating a belief in a future state of happiness. Thus Agni is said in i. 31, 7, to exalt a mortal to immortality (*tvaṁ taṁ Agne amṛitatve uttame martaṁ dadhāsi*); and to be the guardian of immortality (*adabdho gopāḥ amṛitasya rakshitā*). And the same power is ascribed to Soma in i. 91, 1: *tava praṇītī pitaro ... Indo deveshu ratnam abhajanta dhīrāḥ* | "By thy guidance, o Soma, our sage ancestors have obtained riches among the gods;" and also in verse 18: *apyāyamāno amṛitāya Soma divi śravāṁsi uttamāni dhi...* "Soma, becoming abundant to (produce) immortality, place (for us) excellent treasures in the sky."[411] Some other passages to the

[411] Professor Benfey, however, translates differently: "take possession of the renown in heaven."

5. *Nākasya prishṭhe adhi tishṭhati* | 6. *Dakshiṇāvatām id imāni* ... *akshiṇāvanto amṛitam bhajante dak*... The liberal man abides placed up... the gods. 6. These brilliant thin... largesses; there are suns for th... ; they prolong their lives. i. 15... *aśyām naro yatra devayavo mad*... *Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhvaḥ u*... ṇu's) beloved abode where men de... the bond of the wide-striding go... sphere of Vishṇu." i. 179, 6. ... *satyāḥ deveshu āśisho jagāma* | ... nds 414: he realised his aspirations a... orshipper prays: *prajābhir Agne a*... ith my offspring, attain immortality... sought to place their worshippers i... *asmān imahe amṛitatve dadhātana*). v. 63... ortality." vii. 57, 6. *Dadāta no a*... or Roth, s.v. *prajā*, explains: "add...

x. 107, 2 (*uchhā divi dakshiṇāvanto asthu*... *ḥ amṛitatvam bhajante vāsodāḥ soma pra tir*... high in the sky; the givers of horses live ... rtality; the givers of raiment prolong their liv... e employed, *pāthas*, occurs also in iii. 55, ... *ḥ priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ* | "Vishṇu... e, occupying the beloved, imperishable regio... In i. 163, 13, the horse which had been im... highest abode, to the gods (*upa prāgāt para*... *ātaram cha* | *adya devān jushṭatamo hi gamy*... *uttaram sumnam* "the highest happiness," and ... e gods" (*devānām sumne*); but it does not app... i. 159, 2, Heaven and Earth seem to be declared ... eir offspring (*uru prajāyāḥ amṛitam*). ... *varṇau* by "pleasure and austerity" *kāmam ch*...

... gloss and Wilson's note, in *loco*, where the immortali... mortality through offspring, and as consisting in an u... dants, the immortality of a mortal (*amṛitatvam santa*... *prajām anu prajāyate tad u te martya amṛitam" iti*...

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…ntu gāvaḥ | śaṁ naḥ Ṛibhavaḥ sukṛitaḥ su…
…aveshu | "May the lords of truth be prop…
horses and kine; may the skilful Ṛi…
the Fathers, be propitious to us in our…
Tvaṁ Soma pitṛibhiḥ saṁvidāno anu dy…
…hou, Soma, in concert with the Fathers,…
Earth."

…ere a few detached texts on the same su…
…h books: ix. 83, 3. Māyāvino mamire…
…itaro garbham ādadhuḥ | "By his won…
…formed, the Fathers, beholders of men,…
68, 11. Abhi śyāvaṁ na kriśanebhir a…
…n apiṁśan | "The Fathers have adorned…
…horse is decorated with pearls (?)." x. 88,…
…nām ahaṁ devānām uta martyānām | "I h…
…mortals, that of the Fathers, and that of…
…ahi jyotiḥ pitṛibhir dattam āgāt | "The g…
…ers has arrived."

…Brāhmaṇas, and in the Purāṇas, the Fath…
…ed as being a distinct order of beings from m…
…rom their being separately created. See the…
. 23 f., 37, 58, 79 f.

…mns relating to Yama and the Fathers.

…he passages in the ninth and tenth books to whi…
…d, owing to the great interest and importance of th…
…they refer, I shall first quote the most essential par…
…h, and then supply a summary of the conclusio…
… or involve.

…with the brief account of Yama's parentage in th…
…mn, already quoted above, p. 227, and the dialogu…
…d his twin sister Yamī, in the tenth hymn of the tenth…

…, 1. "Tvashṭṛi makes a marriage for his daughter. (Hear…
…s whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, becoming…

[416] See the 1st vol. of this Work, p. 434.

wedded, the wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of similar form, gave her to Vivasvat. And she bore the Aśvins when that happened. Saraṇyū abandoned the two pairs of twins."[417]

The following hymn contains a dialogue between Yama and his twin sister Yamī, in which, according to Professor Roth, she is to be considered as urging a matrimonial union between them for the continuation of the human species, of which, in the opinion of that writer, they appear to have been regarded as the earliest pair.[418] In verse 4, they are declared to have been the offspring of the Gandharva and his wife.

R.V. x. 10, 1.[419] *O chit sakhāyam sakhyā vavrityām tiraḥ puru chid arṇavam jaganvān | pitur napātam ā dadhīta vedhāḥ adhi kshami prataram dīdhyānaḥ | 2. Na te sakhā sakhyam vashṭi etat salakshmā yad vishurūpā bhavāti | mahas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ divo dharttāraḥ urviyā pari khyan | 3. Uśanti gha te amṛitāsaḥ etad ekasya chit tyajasam martyasya | ni te mano manasi dhāyi asme janyuḥ patis tanvam ā viviśyāḥ | 4. Na yat purā chakṛima kad ha nūnam ṛitā vadanto anṛitam rapema |*

[417] After this section was first written I received Professor Max Müller's second series of Lectures on the Science of Language. The learned and ingenious author there discusses at length the meaning of the myths regarding Vivasvat, Saraṇyū, and their offspring (pp. 481 ff., and 508 ff.). He understands Vivasvat to represent the sky, Saraṇyū the dawn, Yama originally the day, and Yamī, his twin sister, the night (p. 509). I shall briefly refer, as I proceed, to some of his further explanations, leaving the reader to consult the work itself for fuller information.

[418] See Professor Roth's remarks on Yama in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, and in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f. "They are," he says, "as their names denote, twin brother and sister, and are the first human pair, the originators of the race. As the Hebrew conception closely connected the parents of mankind by making the woman formed from a portion of the body of the man, so by the Indian tradition they are placed in the relationship of twins. This thought is laid by the hymn in question in the mouth of Yamī herself, when she is made to say: 'Even in the womb the Creator made us for man and wife.'" Professor Müller, on the other hand, says (Lect., 2nd ser., p. 510): "There is a curious dialogue between her (Yamī) and her brother, where she (the night) implores her brother (the day) to make her his wife, and where he declines her offer, 'because,' as he says, 'they have called it a sin that a brother should marry his sister.'" Again, p. 521, "There is not a single word in the Veda pointing to *Yama* and *Yamī* as the first couple of mortals, as the Indian Adam and Eve.... If Yama had been the first created of men, surely the Vedic poets, in speaking of him, could not have passed this over in silence." See, however, the passage from the A.V. xviii. 3, 13, to be quoted further on.

[419] This hymn is repeated in the A.V. xviii. 1, 1 ff. I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some improvements in my translation.

...oshā sā no nābhiḥ paramam jāmi tan nau
...npatī kar devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūp...
...tānī veda nāv asya prithivī uta dyauḥ
...ahnaḥ kaḥ īm dadarśa kaḥ iha pravoch...
...dhāma kad u bravaḥ āhano vīchyā nṛīn
...aḥ āgan samāne yonau sahaśeyyāya |
...vi chid vriheva 420 rathyā iva chakrā |
...te devānām spaśaḥ iha ye charanti | 8.
...hi tūyam tena vi vriha rathyā iva chakrā
...asyet Sūryasya chakshur muhur un mimīy...
...andhū Yamīr Yamasya bibhṛiyād ajāmi |
...gachhann uttarā yugāni yatra jāmayaḥ kṛ...
...i vṛishabhāya bāhum anyam ichhasva subh...
...tā asad yad anātham bhavāti kim u svasā
...a-mūtā bahu etad rapāmi tanvā me tanv...
...ai u te tanvā tanvam sam paprichyām pāp...
...hāt | 13. (=Nir. vi. 28) Bato bata asi Ya...
...tat | anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva na
...n cha avidāma | anyā kila tvām kakshyā
...ujeva vṛiksham 421 | 14. (=Nir. xi. 34) Anyam
...u tvām pari shvajāta libujeva vṛiksham | tas...
...a vā tava adha krinushva samvidam subhadrām

...at I might attract a friend to friendly acts. M...
...fter traversing a vast ocean, receive a grandson
... far forward over the earth.[422] 2. (Yama.) Th...
...esire this intimacy that (his) kinswoman shoul...
...en. The heroes, the sons of the great Spirit, th...
... sky, look far and wide around (see verse 8).
...ortals desire this of thee, (they desire) a descendan...
... the one sole mortal. Let thy soul be united to...
...sband, penetrate the body of (thy) wife. 4. (Yama.)
...ow what we have never done before? Shall we wh...
...ow what we have never done before? Shall we who...
...peakers of righteousness, utter unrighteousness? Th...

...A.V. vi. 90, 1; vi. 127, 3.
...A.V. vi. 8, 1.
...e occurs with variations in the Sāma-veda, i. 340. The sense of it, as
...thers, is obscure. If the sage (vedhas) mean Yama, his father may be
...he Gandharva, and the grandson of the latter may be the son whom Yamī
... to bear to her twin brother (Yama). Compare the first half of verse 3.

Gandharva in the (aerial) waters, and his aqueous wife[433]—such is our source, such is our high relationship. 5. (Yamī.) The divine Tvashṭṛi, the creator, the vivifier, the shaper of all forms, made as husband and wife, (while we were yet) in the womb.[434] No one can infringe his ordinances. Earth and heaven know this of us. 6. (Yama.) Who knows this first day? Who has seen it? Who can declare it? Vast is the realm of Mitra and Varuṇa. What wilt thou, o wanton woman, say in thy thoughtlessness (?) to men? 7. (Yamī.) The desire of Yama has come upon me, Yamī, to lie with him on the same couch. Let me, as a wife, bare my body to my husband. Let us whirl round like the two wheels of a chariot. 8. (Yama.) These spies of the gods who range throughout this world stand not still, neither do they wink. Depart, quickly, wanton woman, with some other man than me. Whirl round with him like the two wheels of a chariot. 9. (Yamī.) Though she should wait upon him by night and by day, still the eye of the sun would open again. Both in heaven and earth twins are closely united. Let Yamī treat Yama as if she were not his sister. 10. (Yama.) Later ages shall come when kinsmen and kinswomen shall do what is unbecoming their relation. Spread thy arm beneath a male. Desire, o fair one, another husband than me. 11. (Yamī.) How can a man be a brother, when (a woman) is left without a helper? And what is a sister, when misery (is allowed to) come upon her? Overcome by desire, I am thus importunate. Unite thy body with mine. 12. (Yama.) I will not unite my body with thine. They call him a sinner who sexually approaches his sister. Seek thy gratification with some other than me. Fair one, thy brother desires not this.[435] 13. (Yamī.)[436] Thou art weak, alas, o Yama; we perceive not

[433] Compare Müller's Lectures, 2nd. series, p. 483. He takes Gandharva for Vivasvat, and his aqueous wife (*Apyā Yoshā*) for Saraṇyū, in accordance with Sāyaṇa.

[434] In like manner Tvashṭṛi is said, A.V. vi. 78, 3, to have formed a husband and wife for each other. See above, p. 225; also viii. 72, 8.

[435] The Atharva-veda (xviii. 1, 13, 14) expands this verse into two: *na te nātham Yami atrāham asmi na te tanūm tanvā sam papṛichyām | anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva na te bhrātā subhage vashṭi etat* | 14. *Na vai u te tanūm tanvā sam papṛichyām pāpam āhur yaḥ svasāram nigachhāt | asamyad etad manaso hṛido me bhrātā svasuḥ śayane yat śayīya* | "I am not in this thy helper, o Yamī; I will not unite my body with thine. Seek thy gratification with some other than me. Fair one, thy brother desires not this. I will not unite my body with thine. They call him a sinner who sexually approaches his sister. This is abhorrent to my soul and heart, that I, a brother, should lie on my sister's bed."

[436] This verse is quoted and explained in Nirukta, vi. 28.

Another woman shall enlace and emb-
a creeping plant a tree. 14. (Yama.)
, o Yamī, and another man thee, as a cr-
desire his heart, and he thine. Make

is addressed to Yama.

xviii. 1, 49. Nir. x. 20). Pareyivāṁsam
panthām anupaspaśānam | Vaivasvatam sa-
rājānam havishā duvasya | [A.V. xviii. 3,
tyānām yaḥ preyāya prathamo lokam eta-
janānām Yamam rājānam havishā sa-
m prathamo viveda naishā gavyūtir apab-
pitaraḥ pareyur enā jajnānāḥ pathyāḥ
Yamo Angirobhir Bṛihaspatir Ṛikvab-
vāvṛidhur ye cha devāḥ svāhā anye
Imam Yama prastaram ā hi sīda Angirob-
tvā mantrāḥ kavi-śastāḥ vahantu enā rā-
Angirobhir āgahi yajniyebhir Yama Vairūp-
antam huve yaḥ pitā te asmin yajne barhish-
naḥ pitaro Navagvāḥ Atharvāṇo Bhṛigavaḥ so-
sumatau yajniyānām api bhadre saumanase syām
iḥ pūrvyebhir yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ
ā madantā Yamam paśyāsi Varuṇam cha devam
ibhiḥ sam Yamena ishṭāpūrttena parame vyoman
unar astam ehi sangachhasva tanvā suwarchāḥ |
sarpatāto asmai etam pitaro lokam akran | ahobh-
aktam Yamo dadāti avasānam asmai | 10. Ati drav-
chaturakshau śabalau sādhunā pathā | atha pitṛ-
Yamena ye sadhamādam madanti | 11. Yau te śvāna-
chaturakshau pathirakshī nṛichakshasau | tābhyā-

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arasinha Purāṇa, i. 13, contains a dialogue between Yama and
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not appear to be on the same subject as that in the hymn before us.
A.V. vi. 28, 3: Yaḥ prathamaḥ pravatam āsasāda bahubhyaḥ pa-
śānaḥ | yo asya īśe dvipado yaś chatushpadas tasmai Yamāya nam-
| "Reverence to that Yama, to Death, who first reached the rive-
path for many, who is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures."

enam pari dehi rājan svasti cha asmai anamīvaṁ cha dhehi | 12. *Urūṇasāv asutṛipā udumbalau Yamasya dūtau charato janān anu* | *tāv asmabhyaṁ dṛiśaye sūryāya punar dātām asum adyeha bhadram* | 13. *Yamāya somaṁ sunuta Yamāya juhuta haviḥ* | *Yamaṁ ha yajno gachhati agnidūto arankṛitaḥ* | 14. *Yamāya ghṛitavad havir juhota pra cha tishṭhata* | *sa no deveshu ā yamad dīrgham āyuḥ pra jīvase* | 15. *Yamāya madhumattamaṁ rājne havyaṁ juhotana* | *idaṁ namaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ pūrvajebhyaḥ pūrvebhyaḥ pathikṛidbhyaḥ* |

"Worship with an oblation King Yama, son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams,[429] and spied out the road for many. [Compare Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 13: 'Reverence ye with an oblation Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who was the first of men that died, and the first that departed to this (celestial) world.'] 2. Yama was the first who found for us the way. This home is not to be taken from us. Those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers have departed. 3. Mātalī magnified by the Kavyas, Yama by the Angirases, and Bṛihaspati by the Ṛikvans—both those whom the gods magnified, and those who (magnified) the gods—of these some are gladdened by Svāhā, and others by Svadhā. 4. Place thyself, Yama, on this sacrificial seat, in concert with the Angirases and Fathers. Let the texts recited by the sages bring thee hither. Delight thyself, o king, with this oblation. 4. Come with the adorable Angirases; delight thyself here, Yama, with the children of Virūpa.[430] Seated on the grass at this sacrifice, I invoke Vivasvat, who is thy father. 6. (Nir. xi. 19.) May we enjoy the good will and gracious

[429] This is the rendering of the words *pravato mahīr anu*, adopted by Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 138. In support of this sense of mighty (celestial) waters, he refers to R.V. ix. 113, 8 (which I shall quote further on), and to verse 9 of this hymn. In his article on the story of Jemshīd, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, he had translated the words, "from the deep to the heights;" and Dr. Haug, in his "Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees," p. 234, similarly renders, "from the depths to the heights." In the Atharva-veda, xviii. 4, 7, however, where the same words occur, *tīrthais taranti pravato mahīr iti yajnakṛitaḥ sukṛito yena yanti* ("They cross by fords the great rivers, [by the road] which the virtuous offerers of sacrifice pass,") they seem more likely to mean the mighty streams. Compare Professor Müller's Lectures, ii. 515.

[430] Virūpa is mentioned in R.V. i. 45, 3; viii. 64, 6; and the Virūpas in iii. 53, 6, and x. 62, 5 f. See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 246 and note.

any soul or heart in thee. Another woman shall enlace and embrace thee like a girdle, or as a creeping plant a tree. 14. (Yama.) Thou shalt embrace another man, o Yamī, and another man thee, as a creeping plant a tree. Do thou desire his heart, and he thine. Make then a fortunate alliance." [427]

The next hymn I quote is addressed to Yama.

R.V. x. 14, 1 (=A.V. xviii. 1, 49. Nir. x. 20). *Pareyivāṁsam pravato mahīr anu bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam* | *Vaivasvataṁ sangamanaṁ janānāṁ Yamaṁ rājānaṁ havishā duvasya* | [A.V. xviii. 3, 13. *Yo mamāra prathamo martyānāṁ yaḥ preyāya prathamo lokam etam* | *Vaivasvataṁ sangamanaṁ janānāṁ Yamaṁ rājānaṁ havishā saparyata*] [428] | 2. *Yamo no gātum prathamo viveda naishā gavyūtir apabhartavai u* | *yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyur enā jajnānāḥ pathyāḥ anu svāḥ* | 3. *Mātalī Kavyair Yamo Angirobhir Bṛihaspatir Ṛikvabhir vavṛidhānaḥ* | *Yāṁś cha devāḥ vavṛidhur ye cha devāḥ svāhā anye svadhayā anye madanti* | 4. *Imaṁ Yama prastaram ā hi sīda Angirobhiḥ pitṛibhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* | *ā tvā mantrāḥ kavi-śastāḥ vahantu enā rājan havishā mādayasva* | 5. *Angirobhir āgahi yajniyebhir Yama Vairupair iha mādayasva* | *Vivasvantaṁ huve yaḥ pitā te asmin yajne barhishi ā nishadya* | 6. *Angiraso naḥ pitaro Navagvāḥ Atharvāṇo Bhṛigavaḥ somyāsaḥ* | *teshāṁ vayaṁ sumatau yajniyānām api bhadre saumanase syāma* | 7. *Prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhir yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ* | *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā Yamam paśyāsi Varuṇaṁ cha devam* | 8. *Sangachhasva pitṛibhiḥ saṁ Yamena ishṭāpūrttena parame vyoman* | *hitvāya avadyam punar astam ehi sangachhasva tanvā suvarchāḥ* | 9. *Apeta vīta vi cha sarpatāto asmai etam pitaro lokam akran* | *ahobhir adbhir aktubhir vyaktaṁ Yamo dadāti avasānam asmai* | 10. *Ati drava Sārameyau śvānau chaturakshau śabalau sādhunā pathā* | *atha pitṛīn suvidatrān upehi Yamena ye sadhamādam madanti* | 11. *Yau te śvānau Yama rakshitārau chaturakshau pathirakshī nṛichakshasau* | *tābhyām*

[427] It appears from Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. p. 82, that the Narasinha Purāṇa, i. 13, contains a dialogue between Yama and Yamī; but I am informed by Dr. Hall, who has looked at the passage, that the conversation does not appear to be on the same subject as that in the hymn before us.

[428] Compare A.V. vi. 28, 3: *Yaḥ prathamaḥ pravataṁ āsasāda bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānaḥ* | *yo asya īśe dvipado yaś chatushpadas tasmai Yamāya namo astu mṛityave* | "Reverence to that Yama, to Death, who first reached the river, spying out a path for many, who is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures."

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"Worship with an oblation King Yama, son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams,[429] and spied out the road for many. [Compare Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 13: 'Reverence ye with an oblation Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who was the first of men that died, and the first that departed to this (celestial) world.'] 2. Yama was the first who found for us the way. This home is not to be taken from us. Those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers have departed. 3. Mātalī magnified by the Kavyas, Yama by the Angirases, and Bṛihaspati by the Ṛikvans—both those whom the gods magnified, and those who (magnified) the gods—of these some are gladdened by Svāhā, and others by Svadhā. 4. Place thyself, Yama, on this sacrificial seat, in concert with the Angirases and Fathers. Let the texts recited by the sages bring thee hither. Delight thyself, o king, with this oblation. 4. Come with the adorable Angirases; delight thyself here, Yama, with the children of Virūpa.[430] Seated on the grass at this sacrifice, I invoke Vivasvat, who is thy father. 6. (Nir. xi. 19.) May we enjoy the good will and gracious

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benevolence of those adorable beings, the Angirases, our Fathers, the Navagvas, the Atharvans, the Bhṛigus, offerers of soma. 7. Depart thou,[431] depart by the ancient paths (to the place) whither our early fathers have departed. (There) shalt thou see the two kings, Yama and the god Varuṇa, exhilarated by the oblation (*svadhā*), (or, exulting in independent power). 8. Meet with the Fathers, meet with Yama,[432] meet with the [recompense of] the sacrifices thou hast offered[433] in the highest heaven. Throwing off all imperfection again go to thy home.[434] Become united to a body, and clothed in a shining

[431] The following verses (as appears from Professor Müller's Essay on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1855, p. xi.) are addressed at funerals to the souls of the departed, while their bodies are being consumed on the funeral pile.

[432] The A.V. xviii. 2, 21 is as follows: 21. *Hvayāmi te manasā manaḥ ihemān gṛihān upa jujushānaḥ ehi* | *saṁ gachhasva pitṛibhiḥ saṁ yamena syonās tvā vātāḥ upa vāntu śagmāḥ* | 22. *Ut tvā vahantu Maruto udavāhāḥ udaprutaḥ* | *ajena kṛiṇvantu śītaṁ varshenokshantu bāl iti* | 23. *Ud ahvam āyur āyushe kratve dakshāya jīvase* | *svān gachhatu te mano adhā pitṝīn upa drava* | "With my soul I call thy soul; come with delight to these abodes; meet with the Fathers, meet with Yama; may delightful, pleasant breezes blow upon thee. 22. May the water-bringing, water-shedding Maruts bear thee upward, and creating coolness by their motion, sprinkle thee with rain. 23. . . . . May thy soul go to its own (kindred), and hasten to the Fathers."

[433] The phrase *ishṭāpūrta* is explained by Dr. Haug (Ait. Br. ii. p. 474, note). *Ishṭa*, he says, means "what is sacrificed," and *āpūrtta*, "filled up to." "For all sacrifices go up to heaven, and are stored up there to be taken possession of by the sacrificer on his arrival in heaven." The words before us will therefore mean "rejoin thy sacrifices which were stored up." The Atharva-veda, xviii. 2, 20, expresses the sentiment here referred to by Dr. Haug in these words: *svadhāḥ yāś chakṛishe jīvaṁs tās te santu madhuśchutaḥ* | "May the oblations which thou offeredst while alive (now) drop thee honey." And in A.V. xi. 1, 36, it is said: *etaiḥ sukṛitair anu gachema yajnaṁ nāke tishṭhantam adhi saptaraśmau* | "With these good deeds may we follow the sacrifice which abides in the heaven with seven rays." Compare A.V. vi. 122, 4: *yajnaṁ yantam manasā bṛihantam anvārohāmi tapasā sayoniḥ* | *upahūtāḥ Agne jarasaḥ parastāt tṛitīye nāke sadhamādham madema* | "With my soul I ascend after the great sacrifice as it goes, dwelling together with my austere-fervour; may we, Agni, invited, enjoy a festival in the third heaven beyond (the reach of) decay." And A.V. vi. 123, 2: *anvāgantā yajamānaḥ svasti ishṭāpūrtaṁ sma kṛiṇutāvir asmai* | 4. *Sa pachāmi sa dadāmi sa yaje sa dattād mā yūsham* | 5. *Viddhi pūrtasya no rājan sa deva sumanā bhava* | 2. "The sacrificer will follow in peace; show him what he has offered. 4. I cook, I give, I offer oblations; may I not be separated from what I have given. 5. O king, recognise what we have bestowed; be gracious." Compare A.V. iii. 29, 1.

[434] Müller (in the Essay just referred to, p. xiv.) translates this verse thus: "Leave evil there, then return home, and take a form," etc. This rendering appears to make the departed return to this world to resume his body, though in a glorified state,

form.[436] 9. Go ye, depart ye, hasten ye from hence.[437] Th
have made for him this place. Yama gives him an abo
tinguished by days, and waters, and lights. 10. By an s
path do thou hasten past the two four-eyed brindled
offspring of Saramā. Then approach the benevolent Fath
dwell in festivity with Yama (compare A.V. xviii. 4, 10).
trust him,[438] o Yama, to thy two four-eyed, road-guardi
observing watch-dogs; and bestow on him prosperity and hea
The two brown messengers of Yama, broad of nostril and in
wander about among men.[439] May they give us again to-day th
cious breath of life, that we may behold the sun. 13. Pour
soma to Yama, offer him an oblation. To Yama the sacrifi
ceeds when heralded by Agni and prepared. 14. Offer to Ya
oblation with butter, and be active. May he grant us to live

which does not seem to bring out a good sense. Roth, on the other hand (in
Germ. Or. Society, iv. 428), connects the word *punaḥ* with what precedes, and r
the verse thus: "Enter thy home, laying down again all imperfection," etc.

435 The A.V. xviii. 2, 24, says: *mā te mano mā 'sor mā 'ngānām mā rasasy
mā te hāsta tanvaḥ kinchaneha* | 25. *Mā tvā vṛikshaḥ sam bādhishṭa mā devī pṛ
mahī* | *lokam pitṛishu vitvā edhasva Yamarājasu* | 26. *Yat te angam atihitam p
chair apānaḥ prāṇo yaḥ u vāte paretaḥ* | *tat te sangatya pitaraḥ sanīḍāḥ gh
ghāsam punar ā veśayantu* | "Let not thy soul nor anything of thy spirit (asu
of thy members, or of thy substance, or of thy body, disappear. 25. Let no tree
thee, nor the great divine earth. Having found an abode among the Fathers, flou
among the subjects of Yama. 26. Whatever member of thine has been removed
or breath of thine has departed in the wind, may the combined Fathers reunite
all with thee."

436 These words, according to Professor Müller, are addressed to evil spirits.

437 *Avasānam.* Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 37, where Yama is said to recognise t
who are his own: *dadāmi asmai avasānam etad yaḥ esha āgād mama ched ab
iha* | *Yamaś chikitvān prati etad āha mamaisha rāye upa tishṭhatām iha* | "I
this abode to this man who has come hither, if he is mine. Yama, perceiving,
again, 'He is mine, let him come hither to prosperity.'"

438 See Roth, Journal German Oriental Society, iv. 428, at the foot, and his
planation of *pari dehi*, s.v. *dā* (see also x. 16, 2; and A.V. viii. 2, 20, 22). Mü
on the other hand (p. xiv.), translates: "Surround him, Yama, protecting him f
the dogs," etc.

439 The two dogs of Yama are also mentioned in A.V. viii. 1, 9, where one of th
is said to be black (*śyāma*) and the other spotted (*śabala*). In A.V. viii. 2, 11,
messengers of Yama, who wander among men, are spoken of in the plural, witho
being described as dogs (*Vaivasvatena prahitān Yama-dūtāṁś charato 'pa sedhā
sarvān*). In A.V. v. 30, 6, they are spoken of as two: *dūtau Yamasya mā 'nug
adhi jīvapurā ihi* | "Do not follow Yama's two messengers; come to the cities of t
living." In A.V. viii. 8, 10 f. also the messengers of Death and Yama are mentione

life among the gods. 15. Offer a most honied oblation to king Yama. Let this salutation (be presented) to the earliest-born, the ancient rishis, who made for us a path."

Hymn 15 of the same Maṇḍala is addressed to the Fathers, or departed ancestors, who, as we have already seen, are conceived to be living in a state of blessedness in the other world, though in some places, as we shall see, some of them are conceived to have other abodes. I will quote some verses from it, which will show still further their enjoyments, powers, and prerogatives:—

x. 15, 1. *Ud îratâm avare ut parâsaḥ ud madhyamâḥ pitaraḥ somyâsaḥ | asuṁ ye îyur avṛikâḥ ṛitajnâs te no avantu pitaro haveshu |* 2. *Idam pitṛibhyo namo astu adya ye pûrvâso ye uparâsaḥ îyuḥ | ye pârthive rajasi â nishattâḥ ye vâ nûnaṁ suvṛijanâsu vikshu |* .... 5. *Upahûtâḥ pitaraḥ somyâso barhishyeshu nidhishu priyeshu | te â gamantu te iha śruvantu adhi bruvantu te avantu asmân |* 6. *Âchya jânu dakshiṇato nishadya imaṁ yajnam abhi gṛinîta viśve | mâ hiṁsishṭa pitaraḥ kena chin no yad vaḥ âgaḥ purushatâ karâma |* 7. *Âsînâso aruṇînâm upasthe rayiṁ dhatta dâśushe martyâya | putrebhyaḥ pitaras tasya vasvaḥ pra yachhata te ihorjaṁ dadhâta |* 8. *Ye naḥ pûrve pitaraḥ somyaso anûhire somapîthaṁ vasishṭhâḥ | tebhir Yamaḥ saṁrarâṇo havîṁshi uśann uśadbhiḥ pratikâmam attu |* .... 10. *Ye satyâso havirado havishpâḥ Indreṇa devaiḥ sarathaṁ dadhânâḥ | â Agne yâhi sahasraṁ devavandaiḥ paraiḥ pûrvaiḥ pitṛibhir gharmasadbhiḥ |* 11. *Agnishvâttâḥ pitaraḥ â iha gachhata sadaḥ sadaḥ sîdata supraṇîtayaḥ | atta havîṁshi prayatâni barhishi atha rayiṁ sarvavîraṁ dadhâtana |* .... 13. *Ye cheha pitaro ye cha neha yâṁś cha vidma yâṁś cha na pravidma | tvaṁ vettha yati te jâtavedaḥ svadhâbhir yajnaṁ sukṛitaṁ jushasva |* 14. *Ye agnidagdhâḥ ye anagnidagdhâḥ madhye divaḥ svadhayâ mâdayante | tebhiḥ svarâḷ asunîtim etâṁ yathâvaśaṁ tanvaṁ kalpayasva |*

"1 (=V. S. 19, 49; Nir. 11, 18). Let the lower, the upper, and the middle Fathers, the offerers of soma, arise. May these Fathers, innocuous, and versed in righteousness, who have attained to (higher) life (*asu*)[440] protect us in the invocations. 2 (=V. S. 19, 68). Let this reverence be to-day paid to the Fathers who departed first, and who (departed) last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere,[441] or who are

[440] Compare the word *asura*, "Spirit," and *asunîti*, in verse 14, below.

[441] Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 49: *Ye naḥ pituḥ pitaro ye pitâmahâḥ ye âviviśur uru*

now among the powerful races (the gods). . . . . 5 (=V. S. 19, 57). Invited to these favourite oblations placed on the grass, may the Fathers, the offerers of soma, come; may they hear us, may they intercede for us, and preserve us. 6 (=V. S. 19, 62). Bending the knee, and sitting to the south, do ye all accept this sacrifice. Do us no injury, o Fathers, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. 7 (=V. S. 19, 63) Sitting upon the ruddy [woollen coverlets], bestow wealth on the mortal who worships you. Fathers, bestow this wealth upon your sons, and now grant them sustenance. 8 (=V. S. 19, 51). May Yama feast according to his desire on the oblations, eager, and sharing his gratification with the eager Vasishṭhas, our ancient ancestors, who presented the soma libation. 10. Come, Agni, with a thousand of those exalted ancient Fathers, adorers of the gods, sitters at the fire, who are true, who are eaters and drinkers of oblations, and who are received into the same chariot with Indra and the gods. 11 (=V. S. 19, 59). Come hither, ye Agnishvātta Fathers; occupy each a seat, ye wise directors; eat the oblations[442] which have been arranged on the grass, and then bestow wealth on us, with all our offspring[443] . . . . 13. Thou knowest, o Jātavedas, how many those Fathers are who are here and who are not here, those whom we know and do not know; accept

antariksham | *ye ākshiyanti prithivīm uta dyām tebhyaḥ pitṛibhyo namasā vidhema* | "Let us worship with reverence those Fathers who are the fathers, and those who are the grandfathers, of our father; those who have entered into the atmosphere, or who inhabit the earth or the sky." See also A.V. xviii. 3, 59.

[442] According to the A.V. xviii. 2, 28, evil spirits sometimes come along with the Fathers: *ye dasyavo pitṛishu pravishṭāḥ jnātimukhāḥ ahutādaś charanti* | *parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti Agnir tān asmāt pra dhamāti yajnāt* | "May Agni blow away from this sacrifice those Dasyus who come, entering among the Fathers, with the faces of friends, who have no share in the oblations, whether they wear gross or subtile bodies." Compare V. S. ii. 30, and commentary.

[443] Compare A.V. vi. 41, 3: *mā no hāsishur ṛishayo daivyāḥ ye tanūpāḥ ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ* | *amartyāḥ martyān abhi naḥ sachadhwam āyur dhatta prataram jīvase naḥ* | "Let not the divine rishis, who are the protectors of our bodies, forsake us. Do ye who are immortal visit us who are mortals; put into us vitality that we may live longer." A.V. viii. 8, 15: *Gandharvāpsarasaḥ sarpān devān puṇyajanān pitṛīn* | *dṛishṭān adṛishṭān ishṇāmi yathā senām amūm hanan* | "I incite the Gandharvas, Apsarases, serpents, gods, those holy men the Fathers, the seen and the unseen, that they may destroy this army." According to the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, 461, there are seven troops of Pitṛis or Fathers, four embodied (*mūrttimantaḥ*) and three bodiless (*aśarīriṇaḥ*).

the sacrifice well offered with the oblations. 14 (= V. (Father … thou, o self-resplendent god[444] — along with those … whether they have undergone cremation or not, are gladdened … oblation—grant us this (higher) vitality (*asunīti*),[445] and a… cording to our desire."

A funeral hymn addressed to Agni[446] (x. 16) also cont… verses which illustrate the views of the writer regarding a f…

x. 16, 1. *Mā enam Agne vi daho mā 'bhi śocho mā … chikshipo mā śarīram | yadā śritam krinavo Jātavedo athem… hinutāt pitṛibhyaḥ* | 2. *Sṛitam yadā karasi Jātavedo athem… dattāt pitṛibhyaḥ | yadā gachhāti asunītim etām atha devānā… bhavāti* | 3. *Sūryam chakshur gachhatu vātam ātmā dyām cha g… thivīm cha dharmaṇā | apo vā gachha yadi tatra te hitam oshadh… tishṭha śarīraiḥ* | 4. *Ajo bhagas tapasā tam tapasva tam te śoc… tam te archiḥ | yās te śivās tanvo Jātavedas tābhir vahainam su… lokam* | 5. *Ava sṛija punar agne pitṛibhyo yas te āhutaś charat… bhiḥ | āyur vasānaḥ upa vetu śeshaḥ sangachhatām tanvā Jātave… Yat te kṛishṇaḥ śakunaḥ ātutoda pipīlaḥ sarpaḥ uta vā śvāpadaḥ… tad viśvam agadam kṛiṇotu Somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān āviveśa* |

"1. Do not, Agni, burn up or consume him (the deceased) …

[444] As Agni is addressed in the two preceding verses, it might have been … that he is referred to in this epithet of self-resplendent (*svarāṭ*), or sovere… especially as the same function is assigned to him in x. 16, 5, as is assig… deity addressed in this verse. But the commentator on the Vājasaneyi S… 60 (where the verse occurs, with most of the others in this hymn, though … same order), understands it of Yama; as does also Professor Roth (see s… in the passage of the A.V., where it occurs along with *asunīti*. See next …

[445] This word also occurs in the second verse of the next, the 16th hymn … x. 59, 5, 6, it appears to be employed as the personification of a god … Professor Müller, Journ. R.A.S. vol. ii. (1866), p. 460, note 2, however … that "there is nothing to show that Asunīti is a female deity." "It may … for Yama, as Professor Roth supposes; but it may also be a simple invocation … many names of the deity." He himself renders it "guide of life," ibid. In … 3, 59, it is joined with *svarāṭ*: *ye naḥ pituḥ pitaro ye pitāmahāḥ ye āvivi… tariksham | tebhyaḥ svarāḍ asunītir no adya yathāvaśam tanvaḥ kalpay…* the monarch (or self-resplendent being) who bestows vitality fashion fo… and grandfathers of our father, who have entered the wide atmosphere, a… day, bodies according to our desire."

[446] According to Professor Müller (Funeral Rites of the Brahmans, p… verses from this hymn are repeated after those from hymn 14, while th… the departed are being burnt.

dissolve his skin, or his body.[447] When thou has matured[448] him
Jātavedas, then send him to the Fathers. 2. When thou matur
him, Jātavedas, then consign him to the Fathers. When he sh
reach that state of vitality, he shall then fulfil the pleasure of t
gods. 3. Let his eye go to the sun,[449] his breath to the wind. Go t
the sky, and to the earth, according to (the) nature (of thy sever
parts); or go to the waters, if that is suitable for thee; enter into th
plants with thy members. 4. As for his unborn part, do thou (Agni
kindle it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy lustre kindle it; with
those forms of thine which are auspicious convey it to the world of
the righteous.[450] 5. Give up again, Agni, to the Fathers, him who

447 Compare A.V. xviii. 4, 10–13. In the sixty-fourth verse of the same hymn it is said: *yad vo Agnir ajahād ekam angam pitṛilokam̃ gamayan jātavedāḥ | tad vaḥ punar ā pyāyayāmi sāngāḥ svarge pitaro mādayadhvam* | "Whatever limb of you Agni Jātavedas left behind, when conveying you to the world of the Fathers, that I here restore to you. Revel in heaven, ye Fathers, with (all) your members."

448 Compare A.V. xviii. 4, 12.

449 In A.V. viii. 2, 3, a man dead, or in danger of dying, is addressed in these words: *vātāt te prāṇam avidam̃ sūryāch chakshur aham̃ tava | yat te manas tvayi tad dhārayāmi sam̃ vitsva angair vada jihvayā ālapan* | "I have obtained thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun; I place in thee thy soul (*manas*); have sensation in thy limbs; speak, uttering (words) with thy tongue." Compare A.V. v. 24, 9: *Sūryaś chakshushām adhipatiḥ* | "Sūrya is the superintending lord of the eyes;" and A.V. xi. 8, 31: *Sūryaś chakshur Vātaḥ prāṇam purushasya vi bhejire* | "Sūrya occupied the eye, and Vāta (the wind) the breath of Purusha (or man)." See also A.V. xix. 43, 2, 3. Compare further Plato, Repub. vi. 18, where Socrates says of the eye: 'Αλλ' ἡλιοειδέστατόν γε οἶμαι τῶν περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀργάνων. "I regard it [the eye] as of all the organs of sensation, possessing the most affinity to the sun." Eur. Suppl. 532 f. Ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο, ἐνταῦθ' ἀπῆλθε, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν. "But each element of the body has departed to the quarter whence it came, the breath to the aether, the body itself to the earth." A similar idea is expressed in a verse of Goethe, which I had formerly read, and for a copy of which, with the context, I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht. The passage occurs in the introduction to the Farbenlehre (Ed. 1858, vol. xxxvii. p. 5), and is as follows: "Hierbei erinnern wir uns der alten ionischen Schule, welche mit so grosser Bedeutsamkeit immer wiederholte: nur von gleichem werde Gleiches erkannt; wie auch der Worte eines alten Mystikers, die wir in deutschen Reimen folgendermaszen ausdrücken möchten:

Wär' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Wie könnten wir das Licht erblicken?
Lebt' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken?

Jene unmittelbare Verwandtschaft des Lichtes und des Auges wird niemand läugnen, aber" u.s.w.

450 In A.V. xviii. 2, 36, Agni is entreated to burn mildly, and to spend his fury on the

ed to thee with oblations. Putting on life, let him approach us; let him meet with his body, O Jātavedas. 6. Whatever any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or beast of prey, has [illegible] gni restore to thee all that, and Soma who has entered [illegible] mans." Compare Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xviii. 51. *Agnim [illegible] ghṛitena divyaṁ suparṇam vayasā brihantam | tena vayaṁ [illegible] nasya vishṭapam svo ruhāṇāḥ adhi nākam uttamam* | 52. [illegible] *o ajarau patatriṇau yābhyāṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne* | [illegible] *sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra rishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ* [illegible] "With power and with butter I attach Agni, the [illegible] ghty in energy: through him may we go to the sphere [illegible] nding the sky to the highest heaven. 52. Borne by [illegible] eaying, flying pinions, wherewith thou, Agni, slayest [illegible] ay we soar to the world of the righteous, whither [illegible] st-born rishis have gone." [illegible] of the A.V. Agni is similarly addressed. Thus in [illegible]

[illegible] *ntariksham prithivīm uta dyām yan mātaram pitaraṁ* [illegible] *tasmād gārhapatyo no Agnir ud in nayāti sukṛitasya* [illegible]

[illegible] th (*śaṁ tapa mā 'ti tapo Agne mā tanvaṁ tapa* | *vaneshu* [illegible] *ṁm astu yad haraḥ*). The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa has the fol- [illegible] 11, 1: *Kaś chid ha vai asmāl lokāt pretya ātmānaṁ veda* [illegible] | *kaśchit svaṁ lokaṁ na pratijānāti* | *agnimugdho ha eva* [illegible] *ṁ na pratijānāti* | *atho yo ha eva etam agniṁ sāvitraṁ veda* [illegible] *a ātmānaṁ veda "ayam aham asmi" iti* | *sa svaṁ lokam* [illegible] *enam tat sāvitraḥ svargaṁ lokam abhi vahati* | "One man knows himself that 'this is I myself.' Another does not [illegible] Bewildered by Agni, and overcome by smoke, he does not [illegible] Now he who knows this Agni Sāvitra, when he departs [illegible] self, 'that this is I myself.' He recognizes his own world [illegible] the heavenly world." A few lines further on it is said that [illegible] in the next world the treasure of the man who does not [illegible] owledge, whilst he who knows Agni Sāvitra finds his [illegible] *anevaṁvidusho amushmin loke śevadhiṁ dhayanti* | [illegible] *āvitraṁ veda tasya ha eva ahorātrāṇi amushmin* [illegible] e Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 6, says of Agni: *Pratnaṁ sada* [illegible] *gnir divyaṁ tatāna* | *tvaṁ nas tantur uta setur* [illegible] *aḥ* | *tvayā 'gne prishṭhaṁ vayam āruhema atha* [illegible], exploring the ancient abode, has extended the ce[illegible] rd, and our bridge; thou art the path which co[illegible] ascend to the summit (of heaven), and there li[illegible]." The same Brāhmaṇa says in another place [illegible] es of the gods, and that whoever knows this po[illegible] *āṇi* | *yaḥ evaṁ veda grihī eva bhavati*).

lokam | "Whatever injury we have done to air, earth, or sky, to father or mother, may Agni Gārhapatya (delivering) us from that, convey us up to the world of righteousness." xii. 2, 45. *Jīvānām āyuḥ pra tira tvam Agne pitrīṇāṁ lokam api gachhantu ye mṛitāḥ* | "Do thou, Agni, prolong the lives of living creatures; and may those who are dead go to the world of the Fathers." xviii. 3, 71. *Ārabhasva jātavedas tejasvad haro astu te* | *śarīram asya sandaha athainaṁ dhehi sukṛitām u loke* | "Seize him, Agni, let thy heat be powerful; burn his body; then place him in the world of the righteous." xviii. 4, 9. *Pūrvo 'gnis tvā tapatu śam purastād śam paśchāt tapatu gārhapatyaḥ* | *dakshiṇāgnis te tapatu śarma varma uttarato madhyato antarikshād diśo diśo Agne paripāhi ghorāt* | 10. *Yūyam Agne śantamābhis tanūbhir ījánam abhi lokaṁ svargam* | *aśvāḥ bhūtvā pṛishṭivāho vahātha yatra devaiḥ sadhamādam madanti* | "May the eastern fire warm thee propitiously in front (or to the east), and the gārhapatya fire behind (or to the west); may the southern fire warm thee, as thy defender and protector: Agni, preserve from everything dreadful on the north, in the middle, from the air, and from every side. 10. Do ye (the various forms of) Agni, become horses, and carry the sacrificer on your backs in your most gracious forms to heaven, where men hold festival with the gods."

(4) *Summary of the conceptions conveyed in the preceding quotations.*

I shall now extract from these texts and others a summary of the conceptions which they convey.

Yama is the son of Vivasvat (ix. 113, 8; x. 14, 1 [=A.V. xviii. 1, 49]; x. 14, 5; x. 58, 1; x. 60, 10), and of Saraṇyū, the immortal daughter of Tvashṭṛi (x. 17, 1, 2). He is elsewhere said, as Professor Roth considers[451] (see above), to have been one of the original pair of

[451] Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426; Journal of American Oriental Society, iii. 335; Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 138. As Professor Müller denies (see above, p. 288) that Yama was regarded by the Vedic poets as the first man, he explains as follows (Lectures, 2nd Series, p. 514 ff.) the process by which he came to be transformed into the monarch of the dead: "Let us imagine, then," he says, "as well as we can, that *yama*, twin, was used as the name of the evening, or the setting sun, and we shall be able perhaps to understand how in the end Yama came to be the king of the departed and the god of death. As the East was to the early thinkers the source of life, the West was to them *Nirṛiti*, the *exodus*, the land of

human beings (x. 10, 2), and to have sprung from the Gandharva, a deity of the atmosphere, and his wife (x. 10, 4). In the same hymn (*passim*) he is declared to have resisted the solicitations of his twin-sister Yamī to form a sexual union with her for the continuation of the species.[452] He was the first of mortals who died, and discovered the way to the other world; he guides other men thither, and assembles them in a home, which is secured to them for ever (x. 14, 1, 2; A.V. vi. 28, 3; xviii. 1, 49, 50; xviii. 3, 13).[453] In one place he is represented as carousing with the gods under a leafy tree, R.V. x.

death. The sun, conceived as setting or dying every day, was the first who had trodden the path of life from East to West—the first mortal—the first to show us the way when our course is run, and our sun sets in the far West." . . . . "That Yama's character is solar might be guessed from his being called the son of Vivasvat. Vivasvat, like Yama, is sometimes considered as sending death. R.V. viii. 67, 20: 'May the shaft of Vivasvat, o Ādityas, the poisoned arrow, not strike us before we are old!'" [And in A.V. xix. 9, 7, it is said: "May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Vivasvat, may the Ender (death) be favourable to us (*śaṁ no Mitraḥ śaṁ Varuṇaḥ śaṁ Vivasvān śaṁ Antakaḥ*). On the other hand Vivasvat is sometimes spoken of as preserving from Yama. Thus in A.V. xviii. 3, 62, it is said: *Vivasvān no amṛitatve dadhātu paraitu mṛityur amṛitaṁ naḥ aitu | imān rakshatu purushān ā jarimṇo mo shu eshām asavo Yamaṁ guḥ* | "May Vivasvat place us in a state of immortality. May death pass away, and deathlessness come to us. May he preserve these men from decay. May their spirits not depart to Yama."—J.M.] . . . . "His (Yama's) own seat is called the house of the gods (x. 135, 7); and these words follow immediately on a verse in which it is said: 'the abyss is stretched out in the East, the outgoing is in the West." (In a note the following are referred to as additional passages to be consulted, viz., R.V. i. 116, 2; vii. 33, 9; ix. 68, 3, 5; x. 12, 6; x. 13, 2, 4; x. 53, 3; x. 64, 3; x. 123, 6.) "These indications, though fragmentary, are sufficient to show that the character of Yama, such as we find it in the last book of the Rig-veda, might well have been suggested by the setting sun, personified as the leader of the human race, as himself a mortal, yet as a king, as the ruler of the departed, as worshipped with the fathers, as the first witness of an immortality to be enjoyed by the fathers," etc. I may remark that in the S'atap. Br. xiv. 1, 3, 4, Yama is identified with the sun; but he is, a little further on, xiv. 2, 2, 11, similarly identified with Vāyu.

452 See Professor Roth's observations on this dialogue in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f.

453 See Professor Roth's remarks on these passages in the Journals, etc., above referred to. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 427, he remarks on these hymns: "We here find, not without astonishment, beautiful conceptions on immortality, expressed in unadorned language with child-like conviction. If it were necessary, we might here find the most powerful weapons against the view which has lately been revived, and proclaimed as new, that Persia was the only birthplace of the idea of immortality, and that even the nations of Europe had derived it from that quarter; as if the religious spirit of every gifted race was not able to arrive at it by its own strength."

135, 1[454] (*yasmin vrikshe supalāśe devaiḥ sampibate Yamaḥ*). E king, and dwells in celestial light, in the innermost sanctu heaven, ix. 113, 7, 8 (see above, p. 226, and below, where the p will be quoted at greater length), where the departed behol associated in blessedness with Varuṇa (x. 14, 7). He grants lu abodes in heaven to the pious (x. 14, 9), who dwell with h festive enjoyment (x. 14, 8, 10). In the A.V. xviii. 2, 32, he i to be superior to Vivasvat, and to be himself surpassed by none (P *paro 'varo Vivasvān tataḥ paraṁ na ati paśyāmi kinchana*).

In the Rig-veda Yama is nowhere represented (as he is in the Indian mythology)[455] as having anything to do with the future pu ment of the wicked. In fact, the hymns of that Veda contain, as as I am aware, no prominent mention of any such penal retributi but the passages which appear to recognize the existence of a Tarta will be quoted further on. Nevertheless, Yama is still to some ext an object of terror. In x. 14, 10–12, he is represented as having t insatiable dogs, with four eyes and wide nostrils, which guard the ro to his abode, and which the departed are advised to hurry past with possible speed. These dogs are said to wander about among men a his messengers (x. 14, 12), no doubt for the purpose of summonin them to the presence of their master, who is in another place, x. 165, 4 identified with death, and is described as sending a bird as the herald of doom (*yasya dūtaḥ prahitaḥ esha etat tasmai Yamāya namo astu*

[454] In A.V. xviii. 4, 3, the Ādityas are said to feast on honey in heaven (*madhv ślakshayanti*).

[455] According to the Purāṇas, "Yama fulfils the office of judge of the dead, as well as sovereign of the damned; all that die appearing before him, and being confronted with Chitragupta, the recorder, by whom their actions have been registered. The virtuous are thence conveyed to Swarga, or Elysium, whilst the wicked are driven to the different regions of Naraka, or Tartarus." (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 216 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. 2). Chitragupta is described in the following tasteless and extravagant style in the Vṛihannāradīya Purāṇa, quoted in Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 10, note: *Pralayāmbuda-nirghosho añjanādri-sama-prabhaḥ | vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvātriṁśad-bhuja-saṁyutaḥ | yojana-traya-vistāro raktāksho dīrghanāsikaḥ | daṁshṭrā-karāla-vadano vāpītulya-vilochanaḥ | mṛityu-jvarādibhir yuktaś chitragupto vibhīshaṇaḥ* | "The dreadful Chitragupta, with a voice like that issuing from the clouds at the mundane dissolution, gleaming like a mountain of collyrium, terrible with lightning-like weapons, having thirty-two arms, as big as three yojanas, red-eyed, long-nosed, his face furnished with grinders and projecting teeth, his eyes resembling oblong ponds, bearing death and diseases."

mrityave, compare A.V. vi. 29, 1 ff.). And in a verse of the A.V. (xviii. 2, 27), death is said to be the messenger of Yama, who conveys the spirits of men to the abode of their forefathers. In another place (R.V. x. 97, 16) deliverance is sought from the bonds of Yama, as well as those of Varuṇa (*munchantu mā śapathyād atho Varuṇyād uta | atho Yamasya paḍbīśāt*, see also A.V. viii. 7, 28). In R.V. i. 38, 5, too, where it is said (*mā vo mṛigo na yavase jaritā bhūd ajoshyaḥ | pathā Yamasya gād upa*) "Let not thy worshipper be disregarded like a wild animal in a pasture, or go along the road of Yama," Yama is equivalent to death. In the following verse (already quoted) of the A.V. vi. 28, 3, also, Yama is identified with Mṛityu (death): "Reverence be to Yama, death, who first reached the river, spying out the road for many, who is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures." (This verse coincides in part with R.V. x. 14, 1, quoted above.) Compare also A.V. v. 30, 12; vi. 63, 2.)

When the remains of the deceased have been placed upon the funeral pile, and the process of cremation has begun, Agni, the god of fire, is prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or his limbs, but after the flames have done their work, to convey to the Fathers the mortal who has been presented to him as an offering. The eye of the departed is bidden to go to the sun; his breath to the wind; and his different members to the sky, the earth, the waters, or the plants, according to their several affinities. As for his unborn part (*ajo bhāgaḥ*), Agni is supplicated to kindle it with his heat and flame, and, assuming his most auspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous (x. 16, 1–5; Vāj. Sanh. xviii. 51 f.).[456] Before, however, this unborn part can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness.[457] Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and

[456] In the S'atap. Br. xi. 2, 1, 1, a man is said to be thrice born; first from his father and mother, the second time through sacrifice, and the third time when, after death and cremation, he once more emerges into life (*trir ha vai purusho jāyate | etan nu eva mātuś cha adhi pituś cha agre jāyate | atha yam yajnaḥ upanamatisa yad yajate tad dvitīyam jāyate | atha yatra mriyate yatra enam agnāv abhyūdadhati sa yat tataḥ sambhavati tat tṛitīyam jāyate*).

[457] A.V. ix. 5, 1. *Ā naya etam ā rabhasva sukṛitām lokam api gachhatu prajānan | tīrtvā tamāmsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ākramatām tṛitīyam* | 3. *Pra pado 'va nenigdhi duścharitam yat chachāra śuddhaiḥ śaphair ā kramatām prajānan | tīrtvā tamāmsi bahudhā vipaśyann ajo nākam ākramatām tṛitīyam* | From the contents of

Proceeding by the paths which the fathers trod (R.V. x. 1
spirit, invested with a lustre like that of the gods, A.V. xi. 1
devāḥ jyotishā dyām udāyan brahmaudanam paktvā sukṛitasy
tena geshma sukṛitasya lokaṁ svar ārohanto abhi nākam uttam
to the realms of eternal light (ix. 113, 7,) in a car, or on wi
iv. 34, 4), on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays
shases (Vāj. Sanh. xviii. 52), wafted upwards by the Maruts, f
soft and gentle breezes, and refrigerated by showers (A.V.
21 ff.); recovers there its ancient body in a complete (A.V.

verse 2 (where the *aja* is said to be carried to Indra as his share), and
mention of "hoofs" in verse 3, I am now led to think that these verses
goat, and not to the unborn spirit (both being denoted by the word *aja*),
some of the expressions seem more properly applicable to the latter than to th
In any case, however, the verses prove that any being proceeding from
heaven has to traverse a region of darkness before he can reach his destina
translate as follows: "Convey him; carry him; let him, understanding, go
world of the righteous. Crossing the gloom, in many directions immense,
goat ascend to the third heaven. . . . 3. Wash his feet if he has committed
ness: understanding, let him ascend with cleansed hoofs. Crossing the gloom,
in many directions, let the goat ascend the third heaven." Compare R.V. i.
(= A.V. vii. 53, 7) quoted above in the Section on Sūrya, p. 160. In th
Sanh. xxxi. 18, also, the great Purusha, of sun-like brightness (*āditya-var*
said to dwell above the darkness (*tamasaḥ parastāt*). See also Manu, iv. 242.
commentator, on this latter passage, however, as well as Roth, s.v. *tamas*, u
stands the phrase *dustaram tamas*, "darkness hard to cross," as referring to
Compare the phrases *adhamam tamas* and *andham tamas*, to be adduced furthe
The word *aja* seems to have the sense of "the unborn" in different passages
R.V., and in A.V. x. 7, 31 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, 2, *aja*); but it may
the sense of "goat" throughout the whole of A.V. ix. 5, though B. and R. a
verse 7 as one of the places where it means "unborn." That verse, however
be rendered thus: "The goat is Agni; they call the goat light; they say that
is to be given by a living man to the priest. A goat, when given in this world
believing man, disperses the gloom afar (*Ajo Agnir ajam u jyotir āhur ajaṁ*
brahmaṇe deyam āhuḥ | ajas tamāṁsi apa hanti dūram asmin loke śraddadh
dattaḥ)." In the same way it is said, in verse 10: *Ajas trināke tridive*
pṛishṭhe nākasya pṛishṭhe dadivāṁsaṁ dadhāti | panchaudano brahmaṇe
mānaḥ | "The *aja panchaudana*, given to a priest, places him who besto
in the third heaven, in the third sky, on the third summit, on the top o
heaven," and in verse 21: "This *aja panchaudana* is an illimitable offer
In the A.V. xviii. 2, 48, there are said to be three heavens: "The w
(*udanvatī*) heaven is the lowest, the *pīlumatī* is the intermediate heaven, and
third is the *pradyaus*, in which the Fathers dwell" (*udanvatī dyaur avamā*
matīti madhyamā | tṛitīyā ha pradyaur iti yasyām pitaraḥ āsate). This ag
with the mention of the third heaven in A.V. ix. 5, 1. Three skies (*tisro dyā*
are also mentioned in R.V. vii. 101, 4; and in R.V. vii. 104, 11, three earths (*ti*

glorified form,[609] meets with the forefathers who are living
with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized by him as
wn (A.V. xviii. 2, 37), a delectable abode (R.V. x. 14,
nters upon a more perfect life (R.V. x. 14, 8; x. 15,
5), which is crowned with the fulfilment of all desires
), is passed in the presence of the gods (x. 14, 14), and
fulfilment of their pleasure (x. 16, 2).

otations from the hymns on the subject of paradise and future punishment.

g passages of the A.V. an expectation is expressed
ations will be maintained in the next world :—
gam lokam abhi no nayāsi saṁ jāyayā saha putraiḥ
āḥ). Professor Roth, *s.v. div.* refers to other passages, among
Yad uttame Maruto madhyame vā yad vā avame subhagāso
ortunate Maruts, ye are in the highest, middle, or lowest,
2, says there are three heavens and three earths (*tisro divas*
.V. vi. 21, says there are three earths, of which our earth
best) (*imāḥ yās tisraḥ prithivīs tāsāṁ ha bhūmir uttamā*).
6, it is said that the man who bestows an *aja panchaudana*,
(*dakshiṇā-jyotisham* : compare *hiraṇya-jyotisham*, A.V. x.
nes broken, or his marrow sucked out, but shall be intro-
to heaven) : verse 23 (*na tasyāsthīni bhindyāt na majjno*
samādāya idam idam pra veśayet | 26. *Svargaṁ lokam*
aṁ dakshiṇā-jyotishaṁ dadāti). These passages, in which
over their bodily organization in all its completeness, form
epresentations in the Homeric poems regarding the un-
hosts of the departed. The passage of the Odyssey, xi.
Achilles tells Ulysses that he would rather be the slave
rule over all the departed. I find, however, the fol-
Weber (Ind. Stud. ii. 206,) on the words *yathā*
m so in the world of the Fathers," Kaṭha Upanishad,
opular conception, according to which the souls of the
cian Hades, experience no waking, but only a kind of
und this idea (which at a later period entirely
a Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 2, 2, where the following
yadi jāgrad yadi svapne enāṁsi chakṛima vayam
ng or waking] is given; *manushyāḥ vai jāgrat*
ishāch cha enam pitṛikilvishāch munchati | ['
s what is asleep. He frees him from the sins

dy, see Roth, in the Journal of the American Ori

svargam | "Do thou conduct us to heaven; let us be with our w
and children."

vi. 120, 3: *Yatra suhārdaḥ sukṛito madanti vihāya rogaṁ svāyāḥ | aślonāḥ angair ahrutāḥ svarge tatra paśyema pitara putram* | "In heaven, where our virtuous friends enjoy bless having left behind the infirmities of their bodies, free from lame distortion of their limbs, may we behold our parents and our chil (Compare A.V. iii. 28, 5 f.)

ix. 5, 27: *Yā pūrvam patiṁ vittvā athānyaṁ vindate patim | audanaṁ cha tāv ajaṁ dadāto na vi yoshataḥ* | 28. *Samānaloko punarbhuvā 'paraḥ patiḥ | yo 'jaṁ panchaudanaṁ dakshiṇājy dadāti* | "When a woman has had one husband before, an another, if they present the aja panchaudana offering, they sh be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same worl his re-wedded wife, if he offers the aja panchaudana, etc."

xviii. 2, 23: *Svān gachhatu te manaḥ adha pitṛīn upa drava* thy soul (*manas*) go to its own; and hasten to the fathers."

The enjoyments of this future state are said, in R.V. ix. 11 to be conferred by the god Soma, and are described as follows:

7. *Yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam | tasmin mā pavamāna amṛite loke akshaye Indrāyendo parisrava* | 8. *Yat Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tat amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 9. *Yatrānukāmaṁ charaṇaṁ trināke tridive lokāḥ jyotishmantas tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 10 *kāmāḥ nikāmās cha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam | svadhā cha y ptis cha tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 11. *Yatrānandāś cha modā pramudaḥ āsate | kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām amṛitaṁ*

7. "Place me, o purified (Soma), in that imperishable a changing world, where perpetual light and glory are found. me immortal (in the realm) where king Vaivasvata (Yama) where the sanctuary of the sky exists, and those great waters 9. Make me immortal in the third heaven, in the third sky action is unrestrained,[461] and the regions are luminous. 10. M

[460] In the later Indian writings the widow who burns herself on her funeral pile is supposed to rejoin him in Svarga. See the texts cited by Co Essays, i. 116 f.

[461] "In heaven he acts according to his pleasure" (*kāmachāro 'sya s bhavati*).—Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 9.

immortal in the world where there are pleasures and enjoyments,—in the sphere of the sun,—where ambrosia and satisfaction are found. 11. Make me immortal in the world where there are joys, and delights, and pleasures, and gratifications; where the objects of desire are attained."

The pleasures here referred to are most probably to be understood as of a sensual kind.[462] Such at least is the prospect held out in the following passage of the Atharva-veda, iv. 34, 2:[463]

A.V. iv. 34, 2. *Anasthāḥ pūtāḥ pavanena śuddhāḥ śuchayaḥ śuchim api yanti lokam* | *naishāṁ śiśnam pradahati jātavedāḥ svarge loke bahu straiṇam eshām* | 3. *Vishṭāriṇam odanaṁ ye pachanti nainān avartiḥ sachate kadāchana* | *āste Yame upa yāti devān saṁ gandharvair madate somyebhiḥ* | 4. *Vishṭāriṇam odanaṁ ye pachanti nainān Yamaḥ pari mushṇāti retaḥ* | *rathī ha bhūtvā rathayāne īyate pakshī ha bhūtvā 'ti divaḥ sameti* | "Boneless,[464] pure, cleansed by the wind, shining, they

[462] Roth is, however, of a different opinion. He says (Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. iii. 343): "The place where these glorified ones are to live is heaven. In order to show that not merely an outer court of the divine dwellings is set apart for them, the highest heaven, the midst or innermost part of heaven, is expressly spoken of as their seat. This is their place of rest; and its divine splendour is not disfigured by any specification of particular beauties or enjoyments, such as those with which other religions have been wont to adorn the mansions of the blest.... There they are happy: the language used to describe their condition is the same with which is denoted the most exalted felicity." He then quotes the verses of ix. 113, 7 ff. already adduced, and adds: "what.... shall be the employment of the blest, in what sphere their activity shall expend itself; to this question ancient Hindu wisdom sought no answer. The words used in verse 11 of hymn ix. 113 to denote the gratifications of paradise, viz: *anandāḥ, modāḥ, pramudaḥ*, are employed in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 6, 5 f., to signify sexual enjoyment on earth (*prajāpatiḥ striyāṁ yaśo mushkayor adadhāt sapam* | *kāmasya tṛiptim ānandaṁ tasyāgne bhājayeha mā* | *modaḥ pramodaḥ ānando mushkayor nihitaḥ sapaḥ* | *sṛitveva kāmasya tṛipyāni dakshiṇānām pratigrahe*).

[463] Compare S'atap. Br. x. 4, 4, 4. *Yad u ha vai evamvit tapas tapyate ā maithunāt sarvam ha asya tat svargam lokam abhisambhavati* | "When a man, knowing this, practises austere fervour, he retains in heaven all his functions, even to that of sexual intercourse."

[464] Though the connection is merely verbal, I quote here a passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vi. p. 10, of India Office MS., No. 1702: *Brahmavādino vadanti kasmāt satyād anasthikena prajāḥ pravīyante 'sthanvatīr jāyante iti* | *yad hiraṇyam ghṛite 'vadhāya juhoti tasmād anasthikena prajāḥ pravīyante 'sthanvatīr jāyante* | "Those versed in sacred science ask on what principle it is that creatures are generated by a boneless substance, and yet are born with bones? It is because the sacrificer places gold in the fire when he casts into it his oblation, that creatures propagated by a boneless substance are born with bones."

go to a shining region; Agni[465] does not consume their generative organ; in the celestial sphere they have abundance of sexual gratification.[466] 3. Want never comes upon those who cook the vishṭārin oblation. (Such a man) abides with Yama, goes to the gods, and lives in blessedness with the Gandharvas, the quaffers of soma. 4. Yama does not steal away the generative power of those who cook the vishṭārin oblation. (Such a man) becomes lord of a chariot on which he is borne along; becoming winged, he soars beyond the sky." In that region the faithful are also promised ponds filled with clarified butter, honey, wine, milk, and curds (verse 6).[467]

It is clear, in fact, that in the Vedic age the gods themselves were not regarded as possessing a purely spiritual nature, but as subject to the influence of various sensual appetites. We have formerly seen how constantly they are represented as delighting in the soma-juice, and in the exhilaration which it produced. Yama is described as carousing with the gods (R.V. x. 135, 1), the Âdityas as eating honey (A.V.

465 This, no doubt, alludes to the fire of the funeral pile.

466 Compare Mahābhārata, xii. 3657: *Varāpsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramāṇā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti |* "Thousands of handsome Apsarases run up in haste to the hero who has been slain in battle (exclaiming) 'be my husband.'" And again, v. 3667: *Abhīrūṇām ime lokāḥ bhāsvanto hanta paśyata | pūrṇāḥ gandharvakanyābhiḥ sarvakāma-duho 'kshayāḥ |* "Behold, these shining worlds belong to the fearless, filled with maidens of the Gandharvas, and yielding all kinds of enjoyments." In like manner, the Kaṭha Upanishad, i. 25, refers to the Apsarases: *Ye ye kāmāḥ durlabhāḥ martya-loke sarvān kāmāṃś chhandataḥ prārthayasva | imāḥ rāmāḥ sarathāḥ satūryāḥ na hi īdṛiśāḥ lambhanīyāḥ manushyaiḥ | ābhir mat-prattābhiḥ parichārayasva |* "Ask at thy will, says Yama to Nachiketas, all those pleasures which are difficult to be had in the world of mortals, those fair ones with their cars and instruments of music,– for such as they are not to be obtained by men; receive them from me, and allow thyself to be waited on by them." (The brief germ of this fine Upanishad, I may remark,—though the fact had been before noted by Professor Weber,—is to be found in the Taitt. Br. iii. 11, 8, 1–6). See also the Kaushitakī Upanishad, as translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 398, and Cowell, Bibliotheca Ind. p. 147.

467 See the S'atap. Br. xiv. 7, 1, 32 ff. (= Bṛih. Arany. Up. pp. 817 ff.), where it is said that the enjoyments of the Fathers are a hundred times greater than those of a man who lives in perfect prosperity, is the lord of others, and enjoys all human pleasures (*sa yo manushyāṇāṃ rāddhaḥ samṛiddho bhavati anyeshām adhipatiḥ sarvair mānushyakaiḥ kāmaiḥ sampannatamaḥ sa manushyāṇām paramaḥ ānandaḥ | 33. Atha ye śatam manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa pitṛīṇām ekaḥ ānandaḥ*). In the same way, the enjoyments of the Karmadevas, those beings who have attained the rank of gods by their merits, are a hundred times greater than those of the Fathers, and again the enjoyments of the gods by nature (*ājānadevāḥ*) are a hundred times greater than those of the Karmadevas, etc.

thers as indulging in festivity or revelry ith Yama (R.V. x. 14, 10 = compare A.V. id in R.V. iii. 53, 6 (see above, p. 81 f.) to d pleasure, in his house. In two verses of young bride is encouraged to ascend the e the mother of children, by the consider- been the first to enter into the married nal intercourse with their spouses (*ā roha a prajām janaya patye asmai* | 32. *Devāḥ amaspriśanta tanvas tanūbhiḥ*). In A.V. iv. a class of gods, who are described as hairy, ut as assuming a handsome appearance to thly females, are called upon to desist from and not to interfere with mortals, as they e Apsarases (*priyo driśe iva bhūtvā gandhar- ito nāśayāmasi brahmaṇā vīryāvatā* | 12. *ndharvāḥ patayo yūyam* | *apa dhāvata amar- am*). Compare verses 2–4 and 7 of the same 5). If even the gods were imagined by the have such a decided element of carnality in ely to be supposed that these same poets, or immediate predecessors, should have risen to ly spiritual heaven as the reward of a virtuous

A.V. iii. 29, 3, immunity from taxation seems to t the texts which I have cited from the A.V. furnish no ose in the Rig-veda, as the former collection is of later) the hymns of the A.V. are probably not much posterior nth books of the R.V., with which I have been dealing; reflected in the texts of the A.V. need not be supposed raneously with its expression in these particular [illegible] own from a previous period. We ought not to [illegible] xistence, in an elementary form, of ideas which app[illegible] cter of a later age. Thus we find in the A.V. x. 8, [illegible] (*guṇas*) as enveloping the lotus with nine gates ([illegible] *guṇebhir āvṛitam*), and there is perhaps no re[illegible] *ṇas*, so well known in later cosmogonies, are refer[illegible] se qualities, are mentioned together, A.V. viii. 2, [illegible] name" and "form" (*nāma* and *rūpa*) celebrated [illegible] d to in A.V. x. 2, 12, and xi. 7, 1 (*uchhisht*[illegible]

be held out as a boon to be anticipated in the next world. It is there said that the offerer of a black-footed sheep "ascends to the sky where no tribute is paid by the weak to the stronger" (*ye dadāti śitipādam aviṁ lokena sammitam | sa nākam abhyārohati yatra śuklo* [*śulkaḥ?*] *na kriyate abalena balīyase*), and in verse 5 it is promised that a person of the same description shall "live for ever in the sun and moon" (*pradātā upa jīvati sūrya-māsayor akshitam*).

The virtues for which men are admitted to the realms of the blessed are thus described in hymn 154 of the tenth book of the R.V. 1. *Somaḥ ekebhyaḥ pavate ghṛitam eke upāsate | yebhyo madhu pradhāvati tāṁś chid evāpi gachhatāt* | 2. *Tapasā ye anādhṛishyās tapasā ye svar yayuḥ | tapo ye chakrire mahas tāṁś chid*—| 3. *Ye yudhyante pradhaneshu śūrāso ye tanūtyajaḥ | ye vā sahasradakshiṇās tān*—| 4. *Ye chit pūrve ṛitasāpaḥ ṛitāvānaḥ ṛitāvṛidhaḥ | pitṛīn tapasvato Yama tān*—| 5. *Sahasranīthāḥ kavayo ye gopāyanti sūryam | ṛishīn tapasvato Yama tapojān api gachhatāt* | "Soma is purified for some; others seek after clarified butter. Let him (the deceased) depart to those for whom the honied beverage flows. 2. Let him depart to those who, through rigorous abstraction (*tapas*), are invincible, who, through *tapas*, have gone to heaven; to those who have performed great *tapas*. 3. Let him depart to the combatants in battles, to the heroes who have there sacrificed their lives, or to those who have bestowed thousands of largesses. 4. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere ancient Fathers who have practised and promoted sacred rites. 5. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere rishis, born of rigorous abstraction, to those sages, skilled in a thousand sciences, who guard the sun."[469] (Compare A.V. xix. 43, 1 ff.)

R.V. i. 125, 5, and x. 107, 2, which have been already quoted above, p. 285, also proclaim the rewards of liberality, a virtue which the Brāhmans, who are its object, have always been forward to extol. (Compare also verse 8 of the hymn last referred to.)

The Fathers who have attained to the heavenly state are described as being objects of adoration to their descendants. They are said to be of different classes, upper, intermediate, and lower, or those who inhabit the heaven (or sky), the air, and the earth (R.V. x. 15, 1; A.V. xviii. 2, 49), while in the verse preceding the one last quoted (A.V. xviii. 2,

[469] These verses form part of the funeral liturgy of the Brahmans. See Müller, on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, p. xi.

e are three heavens, of which the Fathers
mentioned by
t. Their different races are Bhrigus, Vas-
ūpas, Navagvas, Atharvans, all known to
-6; x. 15, 8). Though not all Their de-
e known to Agni (x. 15, 13), supplicate
hip and oblations (x. 15, 2, 9), of any
deprecate their wrath on account (x. 15, 6),
been committed against them (x. 15, 5),
ede for, and protect their votaries (x.
n opulence, long life, and offspring,
14: *Parāyata pitaraḥ ā cha yata ayaṁ vo*
datto asmabhyaṁ draviṇeha bhadraṁ rayiṁ
; xviii. 4, 62: *Āyur asmabhyaṁ dadhataḥ*
hair abhi naḥ sachadhvam). They are re-
the libations prepared for them on earth
e invited to come with Yama, his father
feast with avidity, and to their hearts'
food (x. 14, 4, 5; x. 15, 9). They ac-
sands, borne on the same car with Indra
range themselves in order on the sacrificial
° Wonderful powers are ascribed to them,
.V. xviii. 2, 28), to blow away the evil spirits
hallowed society in the guise of friends. In
d that "the Fathers have adorned the sky
orse with golden ornaments, and have placed
nd light in the day" (*abhi śyāvaṁ na kṛiśane-*
pitaro dyām apiṁśan).
npare those entertained by the Romans about
's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography
nd the opinions of the unreformed Christian
ers and prerogatives of the saints.
refer indistinctly to some punishment (whether
al infliction) of the wicked:
rātaro na yoshaṇo vyantaḥ patiripo na jana-
anṛitāḥ asatyāḥ idam padam ajanata gabhīraṁ

ings to the Pitṛis, Colebrooke's Essay on the Religious
Mis. Essays, i. 180 ff.

"This deep abyss has been produced (for those who), being sinners false, untrue, go about like women without brothers, like wicked females hostile to their husbands."

R.V. vii. 104, 3: *Indrāsomā dushkṛito vavre antar anārambhaṇe tamasi pravidhyatam | yathā nātaḥ punar ekaśchanodayad ityādi* | 17 *Pra yā jigāti khargaleva naktam upa druhā tanvaṁ gūhamānā vavrān anantān ava sā padīshṭa ityādi* | "Indra and Soma, dash those malicious (Rakshases) into the abyss, into bottomless darkness, so that not even one of them may get out," etc. 17. "May that injurious Rākshasī, who goes about at night like an owl, concealing herself, fall into the bottomless abysses."

But these last texts form part of a hymn which refers to evil spirits.

R.V. ix. 73, 8: *Vidvān sa viśvā bhuvanā 'bhi paśyati avajushṭān vidhyati karte avratān* | "Knowing, he (Soma) beholds all worlds; he hurls the hated and irreligious into the abyss" (*karte*).

In x. 152, 4, Indra is prayed to consign to the lower darkness the man who injures his worshipper (*yo asmān abhi dāsati adharaṁ gamayā tamaḥ*: compare A.V. i. 21, 2); and in A.V. viii. 2, 24, the nethermost darkness is mentioned (*na vai tatra mriyante no yanti adhamaṁ tamaḥ*), "They do not die there, nor go to the nethermost darkness." See also A.v. ix. 2, 4, 9, 10, and 17; x. 3, 9; xii. 3, 49; xiii. 1, 32, where similar phrases occur (associated in one place, x. 3, 9, with *asūrttam rajas*, the distant (?) atmosphere); and R.V. x. 103, 12, and A.V. xviii. 3, 3, where the expression *andham tamas*, "blind darkness," is found.[471] But it is not clear that in these passages the words denote a place of punishment. In A.V. v. 30, 11, it is said to a sick man: *udehi mṛityor gambhīrāt krishṇāch chit tamasas pari* | "Rise from deep death, even from the black darkness." In A.V. viii. 1, *tamas* is used by itself, apparently for the state of the dead; and A.V. viii. 2, 2, "the light of the living" (*jīvatām jyotiḥ*) is mentioned. In the preceding verse, 1, *rajas* and *tamas* are joined: "do not depart to the atmosphere and darkness" (*rajas tamo mopagāḥ mā pra m... ṭhāḥ*). In A.V, xii. 4, 36, however, the adjective form of the ordinary word for hell (*nāraka loka*) occurs; and that region is threatened as the future abode of the man whose offence is there specified (*athā... nārakaṁ lokaṁ nirundhānasya yāchitām*).

[471] Manu, viii. 94, connects *andham tamas* with hell, saying that a lying witness goes to hell in "blind darkness."

In the following passages of the Mahābhārata (xii. 6969 f.) hell and darkness (*tamas*) are identified: *Anṛitaṁ tamaso rūpaṁ tamasā nīyate hy adhaḥ* | *tamo-grastāḥ na paśyanti prakāśaṁ tamasā vṛitāḥ* | 6970. *Svargaḥ prakāśaḥ ity āhur narakaṁ tamaḥ eva cha* | "Falsehood is the embodiment of darkness (*tamas*): by darkness a man is carried downwards. Those who are seized by darkness, being enveloped in darkness, do not see the light. Heaven they say is light (*prakāśa*), and hell is darkness (*tamas*)."[472]

In one of the passages which have been quoted above (x. 16, 4) the "unborn part" of man is spoken of as being conveyed by Agni to "the world of the righteous." It will be observed that the word here employed is different from *ātman*, the term which at a later period was invariably used to denote the immaterial soul; and that this same word *ātman* occurs in the preceding verse in the sense of breath, as we must infer from the fact of its being bidden to mingle with the wind, the element to which it is akin. In some other passages of the Rig-veda we find the word *manas* employed for the soul, or the living principle which exists after death. Thus in x. 58, 1, it is said: *Yat te Yamaṁ Vaivasvatam mano jāgāma dūrakam* | *tat te āvarttayāmasi iha kshayāya jīvase* | "Thy soul, which has gone afar to Yama Vaivasvata, we bring back hither to dwell and to live." In the verses which follow, the soul is said to be brought back from a great many other places, the heaven, the earth, the four quarters of the sky, the ocean, the waters, the planets, the sun, the dawn, the past, the future, etc. And again in x. 60, 10, we find the same word employed: *Yamād ahaṁ Vaivasvatāt Subandhor manaḥ ābharam* | *jīvātave na mṛityave atho arishṭatātaye* | "I have brought the soul of Subandhu that it may live and not die, but be secure." Compare A.V. v. 3, 6, 13; vi. 53, 2; viii. 1, 3; viii. 2, 3; and Vāj. Sanh. iii. 53–56. *Ātman* is, however, used in some parts of the Rig-veda for the animating principle, as where the sun is called the soul of all things moving and stationary (i. 115, 1), or where Soma is called the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8), and of Indra (ix. 85, 3).

[472] Compare Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 6, 40: "Heaven is that which delights the mind; hell is that which gives it pain; hence, vice is called hell; virtue is called heaven" (*manaḥ-prīti-karaḥ svargo narakas tad-viparyayaḥ* | *naraka-svarga-saṁjñe vai pāpa-puṇye dvijottama*).

(6) *Quotations from later works regarding a future existence.*

I shall now adduce some passages from other Indian works of a later date, such as the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the epic poems, and the Purāṇas, to show how far the opinions which their authors entertained coincide with those representations of a future life which I have extracted from the Rig-, Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas.

In the 9th vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (pp. 237 ff.) Professor Weber has communicated a legend from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, on penal retribution after death, to which he has prefixed some interesting remarks on the history of Indian opinion regarding the vanity of personal existence, and the desire to escape from the perpetual cycle of births to which that opinion conducts. He remarks that, owing to the fragmentary nature of the surviving documents of Indian literature, we are not yet in a position to trace with any distinctness the rise and growth of the doctrine of transmigration; though he considers it to admit of no doubt that the tenet in question was gradually developed in India itself, and not introduced from any foreign country. (See Professor Benfey's remarks on this subject in his Orient und Occident, vol. iii. pp. 169 f.) In the hymns of the Rig-veda, Prof. Weber goes on to observe, there is no trace discoverable of the metempsychosis, or of any disgust with personal existence. On the contrary, they manifest a cheerful enjoyment of life, and the most earnest desire for its prolongation in this world, as well as its continuation in the next. "So too," Professor Weber proceeds, "in the Brāhmaṇas, immortality, or at least longevity, is promised to those who rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice, while those who are deficient in this respect depart before their natural term of life (*purā ha āyushaḥ*)[473] to the next world, where they are weighed in a balance (xi. 2, 7, 33)[474] and receive good or evil according t

[473] Compare R.V. x. 37, 6: *bhadraṁ jīvanto jaraṇām aśīmahi*; S'atap. Br. xi. 8, 3, 6: *sarvam āyur eti* [...] *ā ha eva jarāyai jīvati*; S'atap. Br. x. 4, 3, 1, where the expression *purā jarasaḥ* is found; as it is also in R.V. viii. 56, 20, and A.V. v. 30, 17. *Purā ha āyusho mriyate* occurs in S'atap. Br. ii. 1, 4, 9: x. 2, 30; xi. 3, 56 [...] *purā āyushaḥ svargaṁ lokaṁ preyāt* in x. 2, 6, 7; and *sarvam āyur eti* in x. 2, 6, 19. Se[e] also Taitt. Sanh. iii. 2, 1, 2. Compare Psalm lv. 24: "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days;" Psalm cii. 25, and Jeremiah xvii. 11.

[474] The passage (xi. 2, 7, 33) to which Weber has referred runs as follows: *Ath[a]* [...] *yad dakshiṇo vedyantaḥ | sa yat sādhu karoti tad antarvedi ath[a]* [...] *ha eshā eva tulā*

their deeds. The more sacrifices any one has offered, the more ethereal is the body he obtains, or, as the Brāhmaṇa expresses it (x. 1, 5, 4),[475] the more rarely does he need to eat. In other passages, again (iv. 6, 1, 1: xi. 1, 8, 6; xii. 8, 3, 31),[476] it is promised as the highest reward, that the pious man shall be born in the next world with his entire body (*sarvatanūr eva sāngaḥ*). Here the high estimation of

yad asādhu tad bahirvedi tasmād dakshiṇam vedyantam adhispṛiśya iva āsīta | *tulāyām ha vai amushmin loke ādadhati* | *yatarad yaṁsyati tad anveshyati yadi sādhu vā asādhu vā iti* | *atha yaḥ evaṁ veda asmin ha eva loke tulām ārohati* | *ati amushmin loke tulādhānam muchyate sādhukṛityā ha eva asya yachhati na pāpakṛityā* | "For in the next world they place (his good and evil deeds) in a balance. Whichever of the two shall outweigh (the other), that he shall follow, whether it be good or evil. Now, whosoever knows this places himself in the balance in this world, and is freed from being weighed in the next world; it is by good deeds and not by bad that (his scale) outweighs."

[475] x. 1, 5, 4: *Atha ato yajnavīryāṇām eva* | *sāyam prātar ha vai amushmin loke agnihotra-hud aśnāti tāvatī ha tasmin yajne ūrg ardhamāse ardhamāse daśapūrṇamāsa-yājī chaturshu chaturshu māseshu chāturmāsya-yājī shaṭsu shaṭsu paśubandha-yājī saṁvatsare saṁvatsare somayājī śate śate saṁvatsareshu agnichit kāmam aśnāti kāmaṁ na* | *tad ha etad yāvat śataṁ saṁvatsarās tāvad amṛitam anantam aparyantam* | *sa yo ha etad evam veda evaṁ ha eva asya etad amṛitam anantam aparyantam bhavati* | *tasya yad api ishīkayā iva upahanyāt tad eva asya amṛitam anantam aparyantam bhavati* | "Then as regards the powers of the sacrifices. In the next world the offerer of an Agnihotra eats morning and evening. So much nourishment resides in that sacrifice. The performer of the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice eats every fortnight, the performer of the Chāturmāsya every four months, the performer of the Paśubandha every six months, the offerer of the Soma every year, whilst the kindler of fire eats every hundred years, or abstains at his pleasure. This means, that during this period of a hundred years he enjoys an immortal, unending, and unlimited life. He who so knows this enjoys in the same way this immortal, unending, and unlimited existence. Whatever part of him is separated, even as if by a straw, becomes immortal, unending, and unlimited."

[476] iv. 6, 1, 1: *Sa ha sarvatanūr eva yajamāno 'mushmin loke sambhavati* | "This sacrificer is born with his whole body (*sarvatanūḥ*) in the next world." xi. 1, 8, 6: *Esha ha vai yajamānasya amushmin loke ātmā bhavati yad yajnaḥ* | *sa ha sarvatanūr eva yajamāno amushnin loke sambhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān nishkrītyā yajate* | "This sacrifice becomes in the next world the soul of the sacrificer. The sacrificer who, knowing this, sacrifices with an expiation, is born with his whole body in the next world." xii. 8, 3, 31: *Pra iva vai esha lokāṁś cha devatāś cha viśati yaḥ sautrāmaṇyā 'bhishichyate* | *tad etad avāntarām ātmānam upahvayate tathā kṛitsnaḥ eva sarvatanūḥ sāngaḥ sambhavati* | "He who is consecrated by the Sautrāmaṇī enters the worlds, and among the gods. He then .... and is born entire, with his whole body and limbs." In the A.V. xi. 3, 32, and 49, it is said: *Esha vai odanaḥ sarvāngaḥ sarvaparuḥ sarvatanūḥ* | *sarvāngaḥ eva sarvaparuḥ sarvatanūḥ sambhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda* | "This *odana* (boiled rice) is complete in its limbs, joints, and body. He who knows this is born complete in limbs, joints, and body."

individual existence culminates, and a purely personal immortality is involved. It is evidently in connection with this that the loss of a dead man's bones is regarded by his friends as disgraceful, as the severest punishment of arrogance (xi. 6, 3, 11; xiv. 6, 9, 28);"[477] since, according to the custom prescribed by the Sūtras, the bones should be collected after cremation.

[The following passage from the same work (x. 4, 3, 9,) is not inconsistent with the above view. According to the story, the gods become immortal without parting with their bodies; and although men were not to enjoy immortality without "shuffling off their mortal coil," a subsequent resumption of their bodies in a glorified state is not thereby excluded: 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd "Atha eva sarve manushyāḥ amṛitāḥ bhavishyanti atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati" iti | te ha ūchur "na ataḥ 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgaṁ harāsai | atha vyāvṛitya śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā" iti | yad vai tad abruvan "vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā" iti | eshā ha eva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ |* 10. *Te ye evaṁ etad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti | te sambhavantaḥ eva amṛitatvam abhisambhavanti | atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punaḥ punar bhavanti |*

"Death said to the gods (who had become immortal by performing certain rites), 'in the very same way all men (also) shall become immortal; then what portion will remain for me?' The gods replied,

[477] xi. 6, 3, 11: *Sa ha uvācha "anatipraśnyām mā devatām atyaprākshīḥ purā itithyai marishyasi na te asthīni chana gṛihān prāpsyanti" iti | sa ha tathaiva mamāra | tasya ha apy anyad manyamānāḥ parimoshiṇo asthīny apajahruḥ | tasmād na upavādī syāt |* "Do not scrutinize too far the deity which ought not to be too far scrutinized. Thou shalt die before such a time; not even thy bones shall reach thy home. So he died; and robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else. Wherefore let no man be contentious." xiv. 6, 9, 28 (=Bṛihad Āranyaka Upanishad, iii. 9, 26; p. 210 f. of Roer's English translation): *Taṁ tvā aupanishadam purusham pṛichhāmi taṁ ched me na vivakshyasi mūrdhā te vipatishyati" iti | taṁ ha S'ākalyo na mene | tasya ha mūrdhā vipapāta | tasya ha apy anyad manyamānāḥ parimoshiṇo asthīny apajahruḥ |* "I ask thee regarding this Purusha of the Upanishads. If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head shall fall off. S'ākalya did not understand this Purusha. So his head fell off; and robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else." (Compare 1 Kings xiii. 22, and Jeremiah viii. 1, 2). See also the story of Atyaṁhas Āruṇi and Plaksha Dayyāmpāti in Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 3–6.

'Henceforward no other being shall become immortal with his body, when thou shalt have seized that part (the body).[478] Now, every one who is to become immortal through knowledge, or by work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'by knowledge or by work,' means that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or who perform this rite, are born again after death; and by being so born, they attain immortality. Whilst those who do not so know, or who do not perform this rite, are indeed born again after death, but become again and again his (death's) food." See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 48 ff., where this passage is given with its context.]

Professor Weber proceeds: "But whereas, in the oldest times, immortality in the abodes of the blessed, where milk and honey flow (xi. 5, 6, 4)[479] is regarded as the reward of virtue or wisdom, whilst the sinner or the fool is, after a short life, doomed to the annihilation of his personal existence, the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas is that after death all are born again in the next world, where they are recompensed according to their deeds, the good being rewarded, and the wicked punished (vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1; xi. 7, 2, 23)."[480]

478 It appears, however, from the Taitt. S. vi. (p. 67*a* of the Indian Office MS.), that men were also conceived of as getting to heaven without dying. *Brahmavādino vadanti "kim tad yajne yajamānaḥ kurute yena jīvan suvargam lokam eti" iti | jīvagraho vai esha yad adābhyo 'nabhishutasya grihṇāti | jīvantam eva enam survargam lokam gamayati* | "Men versed in sacred science say 'What does the sacrificer perform in the sacrifice by which he ascends to heaven alive?' This adābhya libation is an offering of the living [Soma, *i.e.* of the plant uncrushed, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. jīvagraha*]; (the priest) offers this without pouring it out; and conveys the worshipper alive to heaven."

479 xi. 5, 6, 3 f. (See the 3rd vol. of this work, where this passage is cited in the original with its context): "Study of the Vedas is the Brahma-sacrifice. . . . . The man who, knowing this, daily practises the study of the Vedas, conquers thrice as vast a region—and that, too, undecaying—as the region which he conquers who bestows this whole earth filled with wealth. Wherefore study of the Vedas is to be practised. 4. Verses of the Ṛik. are oblations of milk to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily studies the Rig-veda, does in fact satisfy the gods with oblations of milk; and they, when satisfied, satisfy him with prosperity, with breath, with generative power, with completeness in his being, with all excellent possessions. (Compare S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 7, 6, and A.V. iv. 34, 6, 7.)

480 vi. 2, 2, 27: *Tasmād āhuḥ kritam lokam purusho 'bhi jāyate* | "Hence they say that a man is born into the world which he has made." x. 6, 3, 1: *Atha khalu kratumayo 'yam purushaḥ | sa yāvatkratur ayam asmāl lokāt praiti evaṁkratur ha amum lokam pretya abhisambhavati* | "Now truly this man is composed of

[The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, however, also expresses the conception of a higher state than that of desire and gratification, in a passage (x. 5, 4, 15) where it is said: 15. So 'sya esha sarvasya antam eva ātmā | sa esha apām madhye | sa esha sarvaiḥ kāmaiḥ sampannaḥ | āpo vai sarve kāmāḥ | sa esha akāmaḥ sarvakāmo na hy etaṁ kasyachana kāmaḥ | 16. Tad esha śloko bhavati "vidyayā tad ārohanti yatra kāmāḥ parāgatāḥ | na tatra dakshiṇāḥ yanti nāvidvāṁsaḥ tapasvinaḥ" iti | na ha eva ta... na dakshiṇābhir na tapasā 'nevaṁvid aśnute | evaṁvidām ha eva ... lokaḥ | "This soul is the end of all this. It abides in the midst of the waters. It is supplied with all objects of desire. For the waters are all the objects of desire.[441] This (soul) is free from desire, and (yet) possesses all the objects of desire, for it desires nothing. 15. On this subject there is this verse: 'By knowledge men ascend to that condition in which desires have passed away. Thither gifts do not reach, nor austere devotees who are destitute of knowledge.'[442] For a person who does not possess this knowledge does not attain that world by gifts or by rigorous abstraction. It pertains only to those who have such knowledge."][443]

sacrifice. So many sacrifices as he has performed when he departs from this world, with so many is he born in the other world after his death."

[441] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 6: *Apsu vai sarve kāmāḥ śritāḥ* | "In the waters all objects of desire are contained."

[442] This verse is quoted in S'ankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, pp. 9.. and 952, of the edit. in Bibl. Ind.

[443] In another passage a curious contrast is drawn between two different kinds of sacrificers, the *ātmayājin* and the *devayājin*, S'atap. Br. xi. 2, 6, 13: *ātmayājī śreyān | devayājī ity ātmayājī iti ha brūyāt | sa ha vai ātmayājī yo veda "idam me anena angaṁ saṁskriyate idam me anena angam upadhīyate" iti | sa yathā 'his tvacho nirmuchyeta evam asmād martyāt śarīrāt pāpmano nirmuchyate sa ṛiṅmayo yajurmayaḥ sāmamaya āhutimayaḥ svargaṁ lokam abhi sambhavati | atha ha sa devayājī yo veda devān aham idaṁ yaje devān samarpayāmi iti sa yathā śreyase pāpīyān baliṁ hared vaiśyo vā rājne baliṁ hared evaṁ sa sa ha na tāvantaṁ lokaṁ jayati yāvantam itaraḥ* | "He who sacrifices to himself is superior. A man should say 'There is a worshipper who sacrifices to the gods,' and 'another who sacrifices to himself.' He who understands that by such and such [a rite] such and such one of his members is rectified, and that by such and such another rite such and such another of his members is restored,—he is the person who sacrifices to himself; he is freed from this mortal body, from sin (or misery), as a serpent is freed from its worn out skin, and acquiring the nature of the Ṛik, Yajush, and Sāman, and of Sacrifice, he attains to heaven. 2. On the other hand, he who understands that with such a... worships the gods, and offers it up to them, is like an inferi... such an oblation

Professor Weber adds in a note: "According to a very ancient conception, the soul, after being breathed forth from the body, ascends to the abodes of the blessed on the wings of the air, of the wind (Ἑρμείας ψυχοπομπός),[484] having itself been changed into an aerial form. With this is connected the later idea of the resolution of the senses of the dying into fire, sun, moon, wind, and the regions of the sky[485] (x. 3, 3, 8; xiv. 6, 2, 13), and the still more modern and systematic notion of their being resolved into the five elements. In one place (i. 9, 3, 10)[486] I find the idea that the rays of the sun are themselves the pious

who presents tribute to a superior, or as a Vaiśya brings tribute to a king; and he does not conquer for himself so great a world as the other does." Professor Aufrecht inclines to think that there is no such difference between the sense of *ātmayājin* here and in Manu, xii. 91, as is indicated in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, and that in the passage before us *ātman* must be taken in the Vedantic sense, and the compound explained to mean "he who sacrifices in himself, that is, in his own individuality, as an integral part of the universal soul," quoting Kullūka on Manu, xii. 91, in proof of this sense. He also refers to S'atap. Br. x. 3, 2, 13 (*kiṁ chhandaḥ kā devatā ūnātiriktāni iti | nyūnākshharā chhandaḥ āpo devatā ūnātiriktāni | sā esha ātmavidyā eva | etanmayo ha etāḥ devatāḥ etam ātmānam abhisambhavati*), which I translate: "What the metre, what deity are the things which are defective or superfluous? The *nyūnākshharā* (metre with deficient syllables) is the metre; the waters are the deity representing the things which are defective or superfluous. This is the knowledge of soul. He who is composed of this attains to these deities, to this soul." Here the knowledge of soul in the Vedantic sense may be referred to. But in the previous passage the *ātmayājin* is represented, not as attaining to soul, but to heaven, a destination which he who has a knowledge of soul in the Vedantic sense no longer desires.

484 Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 21 f., quoted above.

485 x. 3, 3, 8: *Sa yadā evaṁvid asmāl lokāt praiti vāchā eva Agnim apyeti chakshushā Ādityam manasā Chandraṁ śrotreṇa Diśaḥ prāṇena Vāyum | sa etānmayaḥ eva bhūtvā etāsām devatānāṁ yāṁ yāṁ kāmayate sā bhūtvā ilayati |* "Whoever departs from this world knowing this goes with his voice to fire (Agni), with his eye to the sun (Āditya; compare R.V. x. 16, 3, quoted above), with his mind (*manas*) to the moon, with his ear to the regions, with his breath (*prāṇa*) to the wind (Vāyu; compare R.V. x. 16, 3). Having attained the nature of these, and become any one of these deities that he desires, he rests." xiv. 6, 2, 13 (=Bṛih. Āraṇy. Up. p. 542 f.): *Yatra asya purushasya mṛitasya agnim vāg apyeti vātam prāṇaś chakshur ādityam manaś chandraṁ diśaḥ śrotram pṛithivīṁ śarīram ākāśam ātmā oshadhīr lomāni vanaspatīn keśāḥ apsu lohitaṁ cha retaś cha nidhīyate kva ayaṁ tadā purusho bhavati |* "When the voice of the departed soul goes to fire, his breath to the wind, his eye to the sun, his mind to the moon, his hearing to the regions, his body to the earth, his soul to the æther, the hairs of his body to the plants, the hairs of his head to the trees, his blood and his seminal fluid to the waters,—where then is this spirit?"

486 i. 9, 3, 10: *Yaḥ esha tapati tasya ye raśmayas te sukṛitaḥ | atha yat param bhāḥ Prajāpatir vā svargo vā lokaḥ |* "The rays of him who shines (the sun) are the pious. The light which is above is Prajāpati, or the heavenly world."

(…kritas); and in another (vi. 5, 4, 8)[487] the conception that the stars are the lights of the righteous who go to heaven. With this the similar statement in the Indralokāgamana may be compared."

The following are some other passages of the Brāhmaṇas (not cited by Professor Weber) regarding future rewards. In the Satap. Br. xi. 6, 2, 2, 3, it is said: "He who sacrifices thus obtains perpetual prosperity and renown, and conquers for himself an union[488] with these two gods (*Āditya* and *Agni*), and an abode in the same sphere." (See the original passages with the context in the 1st vol. of this Work, pp. 426 ff.) In the same work (ii. 6, 4, 8) it is said that those who offer particular sacrifices become Agni, Varuṇa, or Indra, and attain to union, and to the same spheres, with those gods respectively (*sa yad vaiśvadevena yajate Agnir eva tarhi bhavaty Agner eva sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati | atha yad Varuṇapraghāsair yajate Varuṇaḥ eva tarhi bhavati ityādi*). And in the same way the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 10, 11, 6 f., states that the possessors of particular kinds of knowledge attain to union with Āditya (the Sun), and to union, and to the same spheres, with Agni, with Vāyu, with Indra, with Bṛihaspati, with Prajāpati, and with Brahmā. In the same work, iii. 10, 9, 11, mention is made of a certain sage who, through his knowledge, became a golden swan, went to heaven, and attained to union with the sun (*Ahīno ha Āśvatthyaḥ sāvitraṁ vidāñchakāra* | 11. *Sa ha haṁso hiraṇmayo bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam iyāya ādityasya sāyujyam*). The Satap

[487] vi. 5, 4, 8: *Ye hi janāḥ puṇyakritaḥ svargaṁ lokaṁ yanti teshām etāni jyo*
tīṁshi | "These (the stars) are the lights of the practisers of holy acts who go t
heaven." The passage of the Indralokāgamana (Mbh. iii. 1745 ff.), referred to by Pro
fessor Weber, is as follows: *Na tatra sūryaḥ somo vā dyotate nacha pāvakaḥ* | 174
Svayaiva prabhayā tatra dyotante puṇyalabdhayā | *tārārūpāṇi yānīha dṛiśyan*
dyutimanti vai | 1747. *Dīpavad viprakṛishṭatvāt tanūni sumahānty api* | *tāni tat*
prabhāsvanti rūpavanti cha Pāṇḍavaḥ | 1748. *Dadarśa sveshu dhishṇyeshu dīpava*
svayā 'rchishā | *tatra rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ vīrāścha nihatāḥ yudhi* | 1751.
sukṛitinaḥ pārtha sveshu dhishṇyeshv avasthitāḥ | 1752. *Yān dṛishṭavān asi vi*
tārārūpāṇi bhūtale | "The sun shines not there (in Indra's heaven), nor the mo
nor fire. There the righteous shine by their own light, acquired by their own vir
Arjuna beheld there, shining in their own spheres, luminous and beautiful, th
bright forms of the stars which, when seen from the earth, appear from distanc
be as small as lamps, although they are very vast." "These," as Arjuna's condu
explained to him, "were the righteous occupying their own spheres, whom, when
earth, he had seen in the sky in the form of stars."

[488] The word *sāyujya*, "close union," here used, seems to prepare the way for
and *mukti*, "dissolution," or "absorption," into the supreme spirit.

Br. xi. 4, 4, 1, also speaks of union with Brahmā: *Shaḍ vai Brahmaṇo dvāraḥ Agnir Vāyur Āpaś Chandramāḥ Vidyud Ādityaḥ* | 21. *Sa yaḥ upadagdhena havishā yajate Agninā sa ha Brahmaṇo dvāreṇa pratipadyate* | *sa 'gninā Brahmaṇo dvāreṇa pratipadya Brahmaṇaḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati* | "There are six doors to Brahma, viz., Agni, Vāyu, the Waters, the Moon, Lightning, the Sun. 2. He who sacrifices with a burnt offering, arrives by Agni, as the door to Brahmā; and having so arrived, he attains to a union with Brahmā, and abides in the same sphere with him." In A.V. xix. 7, 1, 1, a Brahmaloka is mentioned. [For the Puranic idea of the world of Brahma, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, 4to. ed., p. 48, note 3, and p. 213, note 3 (or, for the first of these passages, Professor Hall's 8vo. ed., vol. i. p. 98), and for the second, vol. ii. p. 228, of the same edition.]

In the Śatap. Br. xi. 5, 6, 9, it is declared that a man who reads the Vedas in a particular manner is "freed from dying again, and attains to a sameness of nature with Brahmā (*Brahmaṇaḥ sātmatām*). Even if he cannot read with much power, let him read one sentence relating to the gods." (See the original passage with the context in the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 18 ff.)

The following curious passage is from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 44: *Sa vai esha na kadāchana astam eti na udeti* | *taṁ yad astam eti iti manyante ahnaḥ eva tad antam itvā atha ātmānaṁ viparyasyate rātrīm eva avastāt kurute ahaḥ parastāt* | *atha yad enam prātar udeti iti manyante rātrer eva tad antam itvā atha ātmānam viparyasyate ahar eva avastāt kurute rātrīm parastāt* | *sa vai esha na kadāchana nimrochati* | *na ha vai kadāchana nimrochati etasya ha sāyujyaṁ sarūpatāṁ salokatām aśnute yaḥ evaṁ veda yaḥ evaṁ veda* |

"The Sun neither ever sets or rises. When people think he sets he (only) turns himself round, after reaching the end of the day, and makes night below and day above. Then when people think he rises in the morning he (only) turns himself round after reaching the end of the night, and makes day below and night above. In truth, he never sets. The man who knows this, that the sun never sets, enjoys union and sameness of nature with him, and abides in the same sphere."[489]

[489] See Prof. Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. p. 242. I differ from that scholar in translating *parastāt*, "above," and not "on the other side." Compare Ind. Stud. ix. p. 278. See also Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 8; p. 241 of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, vol. ii.

another passage (ii. 17) the same work declares how far heaven om earth: *Sahasram anūchyaṁ svargakāmasya | sahasrāśvīne vai svargo lokaḥ* | "He who desires heaven should repeat a thousand ses). For the heavenly world is distant from hence a thousand journey on horseback."

the Satap. Br. vi. 6, 2, 4, it is said that the door of heaven ga-loka) is situated in the north-eastern regions (*yad u eva udeṅ ṅ tishṭhan | etasyāṁ ha diśi svargasya lokasya dvāram*), while that by h the heaven of the Fathers is entered, lies to the south-east *chīṁ cha dakshiṇāṁ cha | etasyāṁ ha diśi pitṛilokasya dvāram*, ibid. 8, 1, 5).[490]

n the legend on future retribution, quoted by Weber, as above ed, from the same Brāhmaṇa (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) it is related that igu, the son of Varuṇa, visited, by his father's command, the four nts of the compass, where he saw men being cut into pieces and n by other men, who, when questioned by Bhṛigu, declared that y were revenging on their victims the treatment which they had ived at their hands in the other world (on earth). These victims allegorically explained in the Brāhmaṇa as representing the trees, nals, plants, and waters employed in sacrifice. But Professor ber is of opinion that the story is an old popular legend regarding penal retribution executed by the former sufferers themselves on e who had oppressed them while on earth, and that the narrative been appropriated by the priests and introduced into the Brāhma to relieve the monotony of its tedious disquisitions, and explained he manner I have stated.

return to Professor Weber's discussion of the doctrine of the manas regarding a future state.

The Brāhmaṇas, however," he continues, "are not explicit in rd to the duration of these rewards and punishments; and it is that we have to seek the origin of the doctrine of transmigration. nen of the mild disposition and reflective spirit of the Indians, it d not appear that reward and punishment could be eternal. They d conceive that it must be possible by atonement and purification come absolved from the punishment of the sins committed in this

[490] See Weber, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, ix. 243, 308.

short life. And in the same way they could not imagine that the reward of virtues practised during the same brief period could continue for ever. The dogma of transmigration answered plainly to both of these suppositions, though in another respect it could scarcely do so; for where was either a beginning or an end to be sought? The spirit of inquiry sought to escape from this dilemma by systematic refinements (*sonderung*), but only became more hopelessly entangled; and at length it was only extricated by cutting the knot, by succumbing to the influence of the aspiration after complete redemption from the bondage of the world, and of individual existence; so that that destiny, which was in earlier times regarded as the greatest punishment, was now recognized as the highest reward. This mode of cutting the knot is the work of Buddha and Buddhism; and the best proof that the fundamental substance of the Brāhmaṇas is pre-Buddhistic is (apart from all other evidence) to be found in this, that they do not recognize the existence of the dilemma in question, that they know nothing of the contempt of life to which we have alluded, but rather express with directness and naïveté a fresh and genuine love of existence, and a yearning after immortality. It is only some passages of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka and of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, which form an exception to this assertion; and on that account they must be held evidently to belong to the period immediately preceding Buddha's appearance, or even to that which followed it."

It does not quite agree with the conclusion here announced that the passage I have quoted above from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 6, 9, appears to speak of union with Brahma;—unless Brahmā, and not Brahma, is meant, and unless the word *sātmatā* is to be understood in some other sense than the later one of absorption into his essence.

Though Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods are represented in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas as leading a sensual and immoral life,[491] and though the Apsarases, or celestial nymphs, are expressly declared to be courtezans,[492] form the subject of most voluptuous descriptions,[493] and are

[491] See the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 41.

[492] Ibid. p. 394; and Rāmāyaṇa, i. 45, 35 (ed. Schlegel), and i. 46, 2 (Gorresio).

[493] See Mahābhārata, iii. 1821 ff.; Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara Kāṇḍa, xxvi. 16 ff. (Bombay ed.).

as being sent by the gods from time to time to seduce austere
ınchastity, and are promised, as we have already seen, as the
, of warriors in a future life,—yet the pictures drawn of
those works are not always of such a gross character. In
t of the highest stage of heavenly blessedness contained in the
ta, iii. 15441 ff., there is no promise of any sensual gratification
t appears (vv. 15407–15487) that a sage named Mudgala had
of poverty, piety, and self-restraint, offering hospitality to
of Brahmans, according to his humble means, with the grain
gleaned like a pigeon (*kāpotīm vṛittim āsthitaḥ*), and which
vidow of Zarephath's oil) never underwent diminution, or
eased again when it was required (verse 15413: *brihidro-*
y asya dadato 'nnam mahātmanaḥ | śishṭam mātsaryahīnasya
ithidarśanāt). At length another holy man, called Durvāsas,
Indian tradition for his irascible temper, came to prove Mud-
ers of endurance; and six times devoured all the food which
ble saint possessed. Finding that the temper of his host was
unaffected by these trials, Durvāsas expressed the highest
of his virtue, and declared that he would go bodily to
As he spoke these words a messenger of the gods arrived in a
, and called upon Mudgala to ascend to a state of complete
The sage, however, desired first to learn the advantages
cks of the heavenly state, and the messenger proceeded to
. 15441 ff.) first what kind of people go there, viz., those
rformed austerities or celebrated great sacrifices, the truth-
hodox, the righteous, the self-restrained, the meek, the
rave, etc. These celestial abodes were, he said, shining,
filled with all delights. There is seen the vast golden
ru, and the holy garden Nandana, etc., where the righ-
There hunger, thirst, weariness, cold, heat, fear, are
ere is nothing disgusting or disagreeable; the scents are
e sounds are pleasant to the ear and mind; there is no
mentation, nor decay, nor labour, nor envy, nor jealousy,
There the blessed are clothed with glorious bodies,
duced by their works, and not generated by any father
Their garlands are fragrant and unfading; they ride in
Beyond these regions there are, however, others of a

higher character—those to which the rishis, who have been purified by their works, proceed. Still further on are those where the Ṛibhus, who are gods even to the gods, dwell, and where there is no annoyance occasioned by women (*strī-kṛitas tāpaḥ*),[494] or by envy arising from the sight of worldly grandeur. The blessed there do not subsist on oblations, nor do they feed upon ambrosia; they have celestial and not coarse material bodies. These eternal gods of gods do not desire pleasure; they do not change with the revolutions of Kalpas (great mundane ages). How can they then be subject either to decay or death? They experience neither joy, nor pleasure, nor delight, neither happiness nor suffering, neither love nor hatred. That highest state, so difficult to attain, and which is beyond the reach of those who seek after pleasure (*agamyā kāma-gocharaiḥ*), is desired even by the gods. This celestial felicity, the messenger says, is now within Mudgala's reach,—the fruit of his good deeds. The speaker next, according to his promise, explains the drawbacks of the heavenly state. As the fruit of works done on earth is enjoyed in heaven, whilst no other new works are performed there from which new rewards could spring, this enjoyment is cut off from its root, and must therefore come to an end (verse 15468: *kṛitasya karmaṇas tatra bhujyate yat phalaṁ divi | na chānyat kriyate karma mūla-chhedena bhujyate*). For this world is the place for works, while the other is the place for reward (verse 15475: *karmabhūmir iyam brahman phalabhūmir asau matā*). This loss of gratifications to which the heart has become devoted, and the dissatisfaction and pain which arise in the minds of those who have sunk to a lower estate, from beholding the more brilliant prosperity of others, is intolerable. To this must be added the consciousness and the bewilderment of those who so descend, and the fear of falling which they experience when their garlands begin to fade. Such are the defects which attach to all existence till it is absorbed in Brahma. But the state of those who have fallen from heaven is not altogether without compensation. As a result of their previous good deeds they are born in a condition of happiness; though, if they are not vigilant, they sink still lower. Having given this explanation, the messenger of the gods invites Mudgala to accompany him to paradise. The saint, however, after consideration, replies that

[494] Compare Plato, Republic, i. 4.

he can have nothing to do with a state of happiness which is vitiated by so great defects, and the termination of which is followed by so great misery. He has therefore no desire for heaven; and will seek only that eternal abode where there is no sorrow, nor distress, nor change. He then asks the celestial messenger what other sphere there is which is free from all defects. The messenger replies, that above the abode of Brahmā is the pure eternal light, the highest sphere of Vishṇu, who is regarded as the supreme Brahma. Thither none can proceed who are devoted to objects of sense, or who are the slaves of dishonesty, avarice, anger, delusion, or malice; but only the unselfish, the humble, those who are indifferent to pain and pleasure, those whose senses are under restraint, and those who practise contemplation and fix their minds on the deity. The sage then dismissed the messenger of the gods, began to practise ascetic virtues, becoming indifferent to praise and blame, regarding clods, stones, and gold as alike. Pure knowledge led to fixed contemplation; and that again imparted strength and complete comprehension, whereby he attained supreme eternal perfection, in the nature of quietude [*nirvāṇa*] (*jnānayogena śuddhena dhyānanityo babhūva ha | dhyānayogād balaṁ labdhvā prāpya buddhim anuttamām | jagāma śāśvatīṁ siddhim parāṁ nirvāṇa-lakshaṇām*).[196]

The difference between the results of meritorious works and of knowledge, so familiar to the religious philosophy of the Hindus, is clearly set forth in the following verses of the Mahābhārata, xii. 8810 ff.:

Karmaṇā badhyate jantur vidyayā tu pramuchyate | tasmāt karma na kurvanti yatayaḥ pāradarśinaḥ | 8811. *Karmaṇā jāyate pretya mūrtimān shoḍaśātmakaḥ | vidyayā jāyate nityam avyaktaṁ hy avyayātmakam* | 8812. *Karma tv eke praśaṁsanti svalpabuddhi-ratāḥ narāḥ | tena te deha-jālāni ramayantaḥ upāsate* | 8813. *Ye sma buddhim parām prāptāḥ dharma-naipuṇa-darśinaḥ | na te karma praśaṁsanti kūpaṁ nadyām pibann iva* | 8814. *Karmaṇaḥ phalam āpnoti sukhaduḥkhe bhavābhavau | vidyayā tad avāpnoti yatra gatvā na śochati* | 8815. *Yatra gatvā na mriyate yatra gatvā na jāyate | na punar jāyate yatra yatra gatvā na varttate* | 8816. *Yatra tad Brahma paramam avyaktam achalaṁ dhruvam | avyākṛitam anāyāsam amṛitaṁ chāviyogi cha* |

[196] See the other passages quoted, *s.v.*, by Böhtlingk and Roth, from Brāhmanical writings where this word is used. Its employment by Buddhists to express the highest destiny of mundane creatures is well known.

"By works a creature is bound; by knowledge he is liberated; wherefore devotees gifted with perfect insight perform no works. Through works a creature is born again after death, with a body (of one or other) of sixteen descriptions; by knowledge he becomes the Eternal, Imperceptible, and Undecaying. Some men of little understanding eulogise works, and so embrace with delight the entanglements of corporeal existence. But those who have reached the highest intelligence, and a perfect comprehension of righteousness, do not commend works, as a person drinking from a river thinks little of a well. The results which a man obtains from works are pleasure and pain, prosperity and adversity; by knowledge he gains that condition in which his griefs are at an end, in which he dies not, in which his birth is not repeated, from which he does not return; in which that supreme Brahma exists imperceptible, unchanging, etc., etc."

(7) *Yama, and a future life,—a metrical sketch.*

To great king Yama homage pay,
  Who was the first of men that died,
  That crossed the mighty gulf, and spied
For mortals out the heavenward way.

No power can ever close the road
  Which he to us laid open then,
  By which in long procession men
Ascend to his sublime abode.

By it our fathers all have passed;
  And that same path we too shall trace,
  And every new succeeding race
Of mortal men, while time shall last.

The god assembles round his throne
  A growing throng, the good and wise—
  All those whom, scanned with searching eyes,
He recognizes as his own.

Departed mortal,[496] speed from earth
By those old ways thy sires have trod;
Ascend, behold the expectant god
Who calls thee to a higher birth.

First must each several element
That joined to form thy living frame
Flit to the region whence it came,
And with its parent source be blent.

Thine eye shall seek the solar orb,
Thy life-breath to the wind shall fly,
Thy part ethereal to the sky;
Thine earthy part shall earth absorb.

Thine unborn part shall Agni bright
With his benignest rays illume,
And guide it through the trackless gloom
To yonder sphere of life and light.

On his resplendent pinions rise,
Or soar upon a car aloft,
By Wind-gods fanned with breezes soft,
Until thou enterest paradise.

And calmly pass, without alarm,
The four-eyed hounds that guard the road
Which leads to Yama's bright abode:
Their master's friends they dare not harm.

All imperfections leave behind:
Assume thine ancient frame once more,—
Each limb, and sense, thou hadst before,—
From every earthly taint refined,

[496] The dead are thus addressed at funeral ceremonials.

And now with heavenly glory bright,
With life intenser, nobler, blest,
With large capacity to taste
A fuller measure of delight.

Thou there once more each well-known face
Shalt see of those thou lovedst here:
Thy parents, wife, and children dear,
With rapture shalt thou soon embrace.

The Fathers, too, shalt thou behold,
The heroes who in battle died,
The saints and sages, glorified,
The pious, bounteous, kings of old.

The gods whom here in humble wise
Thou worshippedst with doubt and awe,
Shall there the impervious veil withdraw
Which hid their glory from thine eyes.

The good which thou on earth hast wrought,
Each sacrifice, each pious deed,
Shall there receive its ample meed;
No worthy act shall be forgot.

In those fair realms of cloudless day,
Where Yama every joy supplies,
And every longing satisfies,
Thy bliss shall never know decay.

(8) *Nachikétas, an ancient theosophic story, metrically rendered from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Kaṭha Upanishad.*

As an illustration of the preceding remarks of Professor Weber (in pp. 314 ff.), on the subject of transmigration, and generally of the later doctrine of the Upanishads on the nature and destiny of the soul, I introduce here a free metrical translation of the story of Nachikétas, as told briefly in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 11, 8, 1 ff., and in a

greatly developed form in the Katha Upanishad. An English translation of this Upanishad, by Dr. Roer, will be found in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. published in 1853, pp. 99 ff., and a German version in Windischmann's work, entitled "die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte," pp. 1706 ff.:

Desiring heaven, a sage of old
With sacrifice the gods adored;
Devoting to the priests his hoard
Of slowly-gathered goods and gold.

His son, young Nachikétas, stood,
And saw the gifts his father brought
To give the priests: "My sire," he thought,
"His vow has not made fully good."

"Thou hast not all, my father, given
Thou hadst to give," he calmly said;
"One offering more must yet be made,
If thou wouldst hope to merit heaven."

"To whom shall I be given, my sire?"
His father deemed the question vain;
Once more he asked, and yet again.
"To Death," his father cried in ire.

He rose to go to Death's abode;
A Voice addressed him from the air,
"Go, seek Death's house, and enter there
What time its lord shall be abroad:

"Three nights within his mansion stay,
But taste not, though a guest, his food;
And when, in hospitable mood
He comes and asks thee, thou shalt say:—

n thy house three nights have past,'
When next he asks, 'What didst thou eat?'
Say, 'First thy children were my meat,
cattle next, thy merits last.' "[497]

youth that heavenly Voice obeyed,
And dwelt three nights in Death's abode;
When questioned by his host, the god,
swered as the Voice had said.

rbed that thus his youthful guest
Had not been fitly entertained,
he god, to make amends constrained,
ranger humbly thus addressed:—

before thee, reverend child;
pray thee, crave a boon of me."
y father let me, living, see,"
y replied, "and reconciled."

om the god—"I grant thy prayer;
ut ask a second boon," replied.
May my good works," the stripling cried,
ss an endless harvest bear."

too, according, Death desired,
He yet one boon would choose, the last.
When men away from earth have past,
n live they still?" the youth inquired.

solve this question, dark and grave,
Was even for gods too hard a task:
This boon, I pray thee, cease to ask,
son," said Death, "another crave."

rds, according to the Indian commentator, it is intimated that th
is guest without food for one night, loses his children; that b
the second night, he loses his cattle; and that, finally, he for
merits in a future life, if the guest is allowed to fast during

Youth Nachikétas, undeterred,
Rejoined, "The boon I choose, bestow;
Who can like thee the answer know?
No boon with this may be compared."

Death said, "Ask all thine heart's desire;
Sons long-lived, cattle, gold, demand,
Elect a wide domain of land,
And length of days from me require;

"Or seek what earth cannot supply—
The love of witching heavenly brides
And all celestial joys besides;
But into death forbear to pry."

The youth rejoined, "The force of man
Is frail, and all excess of joys
His feeble organs soon destroys:
Our longest life is but a span.

"Wealth cannot satisfy; all zest
Of pleasure flies before thy face;
Our life depends upon thy grace:
Once more, of boons I crave the best;

"For who, with deathless youth though crowned,
And godlike force, if wise, would deign
To spend an endless life in vain
In carnal joy's disturbing round?"

When thus the stripling had withstood,
Though proffered by a god, the lure
Of sensual bliss, and craved the pure
Delight of transcendental good;

Then Death, who knew the unborn soul
And being's essence, taught the youth
The science of the highest truth,
Through which is reached the final goal:

"Two things for men's regard contend—
The good, the pleasant; he who woos
The good is blest; while they who choose
The pleasant miss the highest end.

"The wise between the two discern,
The pleasant spurn, the good embrace,
But fools the pleasant vainly chase;
To love the good they cannot learn.

"The first take knowledge for their guide;
The last by ignorance are led:
Far, far, diverge the paths they tread,
The chasm that parts their goals is wide.

"The fools who ignorance obey,
Conceive they much have learnt and know,
But roam, unwitting where they go,
As blind men, led by blind men, stray.

"Absorbed in sordid cares or strife,
The men whom earthly passions fire
To no sublimer aims aspire,
Nor dream of any future life.

"Of all the objects men can know,
The highest is the soul, too high
For common mortals to descry,
Whose eyes are dazed by outward show.

"Some men have never learnt this lore,
And some, whom sages seek to teach,
Possess no faculty to reach
That sacred doctrine's inner core.

"O skilled and wonderful, my son,
Is he the soul who gains and knows!
This subtile science only those
Can teach who think the soul as one.

"The sage whose spirit's gaze intense
This God, the Soul (from fleshly eyes
Impenetrably veiled) descries,
No longer dotes on things of sense.

"Derived from no anterior source,
The soul, unborn, exempt from all
The accidents which life befall,
Holds on its everlasting course.

"The smiter thinks that he can slay,
The smitten fears that he is slain:
The thoughts of both alike are vain;
The soul survives the murderous fray.

"Steel cannot cut, nor cleave, nor tear,
Nor fire consume, nor water wet,
Nor winds e'er dry it up, nor yet
Aught else its deathless essence wear.

"A man casts from him on the shelf
His garments old, and newer takes;
So bodies worn the soul forsakes,
And new assumes, unchanged itself.[196]

"The man who learns the soul to be
Minute, yet infinitely vast,
He, by his Maker's grace, at last
Its majesty attains to see.

"It travels far and wide, at rest;
Moves everywhere, although asleep;
Say, who but I the secret deep
Of this mysterious god has guessed?

196 The ideas in this and the preceding verse are taken from the Bhagavadgita.

NA

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[430] In the la
it is expressed

SECTION XIX.

MINOR DIVINITIES.

TRITA ĀPTYA, AHIRBUDHNYA, AND AJA EKAPĀD.

The following account of the deity, Trita, is given in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*:—

"Trita is the name of a Vedic god, who appears principally in connection with the Maruts, Vāta or Vāyu, and Indra, and to whom, as to these other deities, combats with demons, Tvāshṭra, Vṛitra, the Serpent, and others are ascribed. He is called Āptya, and his abode is conceived of as remote and hidden: hence arises the custom of wishing that evil may depart to him. He bestows long life. Several passages show the lower and certainly later view of Trita, that he fights with the demons under the guidance and protection of Indra, and thus lead to the conception of a rishi Trita (Nirukta, iv. 6)."

Reference has been already made to Trita (*a*) in p. 117, where Professor Roth's opinion, that he was an ancient god superseded by Indra, is quoted, (*b*) in p. 230, where two texts (R.V. x. 8, 8, and x. 99, 6), relating to his conflicts with the three-headed demon, are cited, and (*c*) in p. 195, where a prayer to Ushas, to drive away sleeplessness to Trita Āptya (R.V. viii. 47, 14 ff.) is adduced.

Some of the other detached verses relating to this divinity (to whom no separate hymn is dedicated) are the following: i. 52, 5; i. 105, 9; i. 163, 2 f.; i. 187, 1; ii. 11, 19 f., etc.

Ahirbudhnya is, according to the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, *budhnya*, "the Dragon of the deep, who is reckoned among the deities of the middle sphere." The deep in which he resides *is the* atmospheric ocean.

Aja Ekapād is, according to the same authorities, *s.v.*, "*the One-footed Impeller*, probably a storm-god; according to the commentator he represents the sun." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 165. These two gods, like Trita, are merely mentioned in detached verses.

SECTION XX.

THE GODDESSES MENTIONED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS.

Of the goddesses mentioned in the Rig-veda some have been noticed already in former parts of this volume, viz., Pṛithivī (pp. 21 ff.); Aditi, the mother of the Ādityas, and representative of the universe (pp. 35 ff.); Diti, her counterpart (p. 42 f.); Nishṭigrī, the mother (pp. 13 and 79), and Indrāṇī (p. 82), the wife of Indra;[500] Pṛiśni, the mother of the Maruts (p. 147); Ushas (pp. 181 ff.); and Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun, and spouse of the Aśvins, or of Soma (pp. 335 ff.). Various other goddesses are also celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda, such as Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Rodasī, Rākā, Sinīvālī, Śraddhā (Faith), Aramati, and the Apsarases, whose names, however, occur but rarely; and Sarasvatī, with her cognates, who receive considerably greater prominence.

In R.V. i. 22, 11, the goddesses, wives of the heroes (the gods), with uncut wings, are besought to protect and bless the worshipper (*abhi no devīr avasā mahaḥ śarmaṇā nṛipatnīḥ | achhinnapatrāḥ sachantām*). Compare Vāj. S. xi. 61, and Śatap. Br. vi. 5, 4, 8).

(1) *Sarasvatī.*

Sarasvatī is a goddess of some, though not of very great, importance in the Rig-veda. As observed by Yāska (Nirukta, ii. 23) she is celebrated both as a river and as a deity[501] (*tatra Sarasvatī ity etasya nadīvad devatāvach cha nigamāḥ bhavanti*). As an instance of the former

[500] Indrāṇī says, in R.V. x. 86, 9: "This mischievous creature lusts after me, as if I had no husband or sons, and yet I am the wife of Indra, and the mother of a hero," etc. (*avīrām iva mām ayaṁ śarārur abhi manyate | utāham asmi vīriṇī Indrapatnī*). Indrāṇī, as we have seen above, p. 82, is mentioned in the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, from which it appears that different goddesses had been competitors for the hand of Indra, and that Indrāṇī has been chosen because she surpassed them all in voluptuous attractions. In the same work, ii. 8, 8, 4, Vāch is said to be the wife of Indra.

[501] See also Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 3, 12: *Dvividhā hi Sarasvatī vigrahavad-devatā nadī-rūpā cha.*

character, he refers to R.V. vi. 61, 2, which I shall quote further on. She was no doubt primarily a river deity, as her name, "the watery,"[502] clearly denotes, and in this capacity she is celebrated in a few separate passages. Allusion is made in the hymns, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas (*Ṛishayo vai Sarasvatyāṁ satram āsata* | *ityādi* | Ait. Br. ii. 19; Haug, vol. ii. p. 112) to sacrifices being performed on the banks of this river and of the adjoining Dṛishadvatī;[503] and the Sarasvatī in particular seems to have been associated with the reputation for sanctity, which, according to the well-known passage in the Institutes of Manu (ii. 17 f., quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 416 f.), was ascribed to the whole region, called Brahmāvartta, lying between these two small streams, and situated immediately to the westward of the Jumna. The Sarasvatī thus appears to have been to the early Indians what the Ganges (which is only twice named in the Rig-veda) became to their descendants.[504] Already in R.V. i. 3, 10 (where, however, she is perhaps regarded as the goddess of sacrifice) she is described as "the purifier" (*pāvakā naḥ Sārasvatī*); and in R.V. x. 17, 10 = Vāj. San. 4, 2; A.V. vi. 51, 2 (after Sarasvatī has been mentioned, verses 7–9), the waters are thus celebrated: *Āpo asmān mātaraḥ śundhayantu ghṛitena no ghṛitāpvaḥ punantu* | *viśvaṁ hi ripram pravahanti devīr ud id ābhyaḥ śuchir ā pūtaḥ emi* | "May the Waters, the mothers, cleanse us, may they (the waters) who purify with butter, purify us with butter; for these goddesses bear away defilement; I come up out of them pure and cleansed." When once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were

[502] *Sarasvatī saraḥ ity udaka-nāma sartes tad-vatī* (Nirukta, ix. 26). The Brahmavaivartta-purana, ii. 6, as referred to in Professor Aufrecht's Cat. p. 23, col. 2, has a legend that the Sarasvatī was changed into a river by an imprecation of the Gangā. In the A.V. vi. 100, 1, three Sarasvatīs are spoken of, but no explanation is given of their difference.

[503] R.V. iii. 23, 4: "I place thee, Agni, on the abode of Iḷā (compare iii. 29, 4), on the most excellent spot of the earth, on the most auspicious of days. Shine, so as to enrich us, in a place of human resort, on the banks of the Dṛishadvatī, the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī" (*ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ iḷāyās pade sudinatve ahnām* | *Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyām Sarasvatyām revad Agne didīhi*).

[504] It is clear from the passages quoted in the 2nd vol. of this Work, p. 415 ff. that the Sarasvatī continued in later times also to be regarded as a sacred river, but this character was shared by other Indian streams, if not by them all.

celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with Vāch, the goddess of speech. At least, I have no other explanation to offer of this double character and identification.

Sarasvatī is frequently invited to the sacrifices along with several other goddesses, Iḷā, Bhāratī, Mahī, Hotrā, Varūtrī, Dhishaṇā (i. 13, 9; i. 142, 9; i. 188, 8; iii. 4, 8; v. 5, 8; ix. 5, 8; x. 110, 8), who, however, were never, like her, river nymphs, but personifications of some department of religious worship, or sacred science. She is also frequently invoked along with other deities (ii. 30, 8; iii. 54, 13; v. 42, 12; vii. 35, 11; viii. 38, 10; ix. 81, 4; x. 65, 1, 13; x. 141, 5).

In many of the passages[505] where Sarasvatī is celebrated, her original character is, as I have intimated, distinctly preserved. Thus in two places she is mentioned along with rivers, or fertilizing waters: vi. 52, 6 (*Sarasvatī sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā*); x. 30, 12 (*āpo revatīḥ kshayatha hi vasvaḥ kratuñ cha bhadram bibhṛithāmṛitañ cha | rāyaś cha stha svapatyasya patnīḥ Sarasvatī tad griṇate vayo dhāt* | "Ye, opulent waters, command riches; ye possess excellent power and immortality; ye are the mistresses of wealth and progeny; may Sarasvatī bestow this vitality on her worshipper"); and in x. 64, 9; x. 75, 5 f., she is specified along with the other well-known streams which are there named, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, the Gangā, the Yamunā, the Śutudri, etc. In vii. 96, 2, and viii. 21, 18, reference is made to the kings and people living along her banks (*Chitraḥ id rāja rājakāḥ id anyake yake*

505 Sāyaṇa understands i. 3, 12 (*maho arṇaḥ sarasvatī pra chetayati ketunā | dhiyo viśvāḥ virājati*), of the river, and explains it thus: "The Sarasvati, by her act (of flowing), displays a copious flood." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (xi. 26), p. 152, translates, "A mighty stream is Sarasvatī; with her light she lightens, illuminates all pious minds." He, however, regards the commencing words as figurative, and not as referring to the river. Benfey renders: "Sarasvatī, by her light, causes the great sea to be known; she shines through all thoughts." He understands the "great sea" as the universe, or as life, which he says is often designated in common Sanskrit also by the word *sāgara*. The conceptions of Sarasvatī as a river, and as the directress of ceremonies, may be blended in the passage.

Sarasvatīm anu). In vi. 61, 10, and vii. 36, 6, she is spoken of as having seven sisters, as one of seven rivers, and as the mother of streams (*saptasvasā | sarasvatī saptathī sindhumātā*). In another place she is said to pour on her fertilizing waters, to surpass all other rivers, and to flow pure from the mountains to the sea, vii. 95, 1 (*pra kshodasā dhāyasā sasre eshā Sarasvatī dharuṇam āyasī pūḥ | prabābadhānā rathyeva yāti viśvāḥ apo mahinā sindhur anyāḥ* | 2. *Ekā achetat Sarasvatī nadīnām śuchir yātī giribhyaḥ ā śamudrāt | rāyaś chetantī bhuvanasya bhūrer ghṛitam payo duduhe nāhushāya*); to be the swiftest of floods (*apasām apastamā*), vi. 61, 13; and in vi. 61, 2 and 8, to tear away, like a digger of the roots of plants, the bases of the mountains on her banks with her impetuous and resounding current (*iyam śushmebhir bisa-khā ivārujat sānu girīṇām tavishebhir ūrmibhiḥ* | 8. *Yasyāḥ ananto ahrutas tveshaś charishṇur arṇavaḥ | amaś charati roruvat*). In ii. 41, 16, she is called the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (*ambitame, nadītame, devītame*).

In vii. 96, 4–6, a river god, called Sarasvat, is assigned as a consort to Sarasvatī, who rolls along his fertilizing waters, and is invoked by the worshippers who are seeking for wives and offspring, as well as for plenty and protection (*janīyanto nu agravaḥ putrīyantaḥ sudānavaḥ | Sarasvantam havāmahe* | 5. *Ye te Sarasvaḥ ūrmayah madhumanto ghṛitaśchutaḥ | tebhir no avitā bhava* | 6. *Pīpivāmsam Sarasvataḥ stanam yo viśvadarśataḥ | bhakshīmahi prajām isham*).

In v. 43, 11, Sarasvatī is called upon to descend from the sky, from the great mountain,[506] to the sacrifice (*ā no divo bṛihataḥ parvatād ā sarasvatī yajatā gantu yajnam*); and in vi. 49, 7, where she is called the daughter of the lightning (*pāvīravī kanyā*)[507] and the wife of a hero (*vīra-patnī*),[508] she is supplicated to combine with the spouses of the gods to afford secure protection to the worshipper (*gnābhir achhidram śaraṇam sajoshāḥ durādharsham gṛiṇate śarma yamsat*). In these two passages the poet may perhaps be considered as assigning a celestial origin to the river as the offspring of thunder and rain.

[506] Sāyaṇa says that Mādhyamikī Vāch, or the goddess Vāch, who resides in the region intermediate between heaven and earth, is here intended.

[507] See Roth, *s.v.*, and compare x. 65, 13. Professor Müller, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, etc., iii. 448, assigns to pāvīravī the sense of "thundering."

[508] Sāyaṇa says her husband is Prajāpati. Would it not rather be Sarasvat?

In vi. 61, 11 f., she is said to fill the terrestrial regions and the air (*āpaprushī pārthivāni uru rajo antariksham*), and to occupy three abodes (*trisadhasthā*), and to have seven parts or be sevenfold (*sapta-dhātu*).

When regarded as a river nymph, Sarasvatī is further described as an iron barrier or fortress, and a support, vii. 95, 1 (quoted above), as bestowing wealth, fatness, and fertility, vii. 95, 2, and is besought to listen to the prayer of her worshippers at their sacrifices, ibid. 4 (*uta syā naḥ Sarasvatī jushāṇā upaśravat subhagā yajne asmin*), to receive their praises, to shelter and protect them like a tree, ibid. 5 (*prati stomaṁ Sarasvati jushasva | tava śarman priyatame dadhānāḥ upa stheyāma śaraṇaṁ na vṛiksham*), and to grant reputation to the unrenowned, ii. 41, 16 (*apraśastāḥ iva smasi praśastim amba nas kṛidhi*). In vi. 61, 14, the rishi prays that he may not be removed from her to regions which are strange (*mā tvat kshetrāṇi araṇāni ganma*).

In vi. 61, 1, she is represented as having given to Vadhryaśva a son, Divodāsa, a canceller of his debts (*iyam adadād rabhasam ṛiṇachyutaṁ Divodāsaṁ Vadhryaśvāya dāśushe*).

It is difficult to say whether in any of the passages in which Sarasvatī is invoked, even in those where she appears as the patroness of holy rites, her character as a river goddess is entirely left out of sight. In R.V. x. 17, 8, she is described as coming to the place of sacrifice in the same chariot with the oblations and the forefathers (*Sarasvati yā sarathaṁ yayātha svadhābhir devi pitṛibhir madantī*), and as an object of adoration; but, as in a following verse (the 10th), already quoted, the Waters also are invoked, it would seem that the goddess was there regarded as connected with the river. She is elsewhere represented as unctuous with butter, and as stimulating, directing, and prospering the devotions of the worshippers, i. 3, 10, 11; ii. 3, 8; vi. 61, 4 (*chodayantī sūnṛitānām chetantī sumatīnāṁ yajnaṁ dadhe Sarasvatī | Sarasvatī sādhayantī dhiyaṁ naḥ | pra no devī Sarasvatī . . . . . . dhīnām avitrī avatu*). She affords secure protection, conquers enemies (ii. 30, 8; vi. 49, 7), and destroys the revilers of the gods (vi. 61, 3). She is dreadful, moves along a golden path,[509] and is a destroyer of Vṛitra,

[509] *Hiranyavarttini*. Sāyaṇa explains *varttini* as chariot, and the compound as meaning "having a golden chariot." The same word occurs again, applied to a river, in viii. 26, 18, where Sāyaṇa makes it mean "having a golden path," *i.e.* golden banks. The words *rudra-varttani*, "whose path is dreadful," and *ghṛita-*

vi. 61, 7 (*ghorā hiraṇyavartaniḥ* | *vṛitraghnī*). The worshipper seeks to suck prosperity and riches of all description from her prolific breasts,[510] i. 89, 3; i. 164, 49 (*yas te stanaḥ śaśayo yo mayobhūr yena viśvā pushyasi vāryāṇi* | *yo ratnadhāḥ vasuvid yaḥ sudatraḥ Sarasvati tam iha dhātave kaḥ*); viii. 21, 17; x. 17, 8, 9; ix. 67, 32; she is the receptacle of all the powers of life, and bestows offspring, ii. 41, 17 (*tve viśvā Sarasvati śritā āyūṁshi devyām* | . . . . *prajāṁ devi didiḍḍhi naḥ*). In x. 184, 2, she is associated with the deities who assist procreation (*garbhaṁ dhehi Sarasvati*). In ii. 1, 11, Agni is identified with her, and several other goddesses.

In R.V. x. 131, 5 (=Vāj. S. x. 34) where the Aśvins are said to have defended Indra, Sarasvatī also is declared to have waited upon him. And in Vāj. S. xix. 12, it is said, "The gods celebrated a healing sacrifice; the Aśvins physicians, and Sarasvatī too a physician, through speech, communicated vigour to Indra" (see above, p. 94, note). The Aśvins and Sarasvatī are also connected with each other in Vāj. S. xix. 12, 15, 18, 34, 80–83, 88–90, 93–95; xx. 56–69, 73–76, 90. In xix. 94, it is said that "Sarasvatī, wife of the Aśvins, holds a well-formed embryo in her womb. Varuṇa, king in the waters, produced Indra for glory, by the aqueous fluid, as if by a sāma verse," xix. 94 (*Sarasvatī yonyāṁ garbham antar Aśvibhyām patnī sukṛitam bibharti* | *apāṁ rasena Varuṇo na sāmnā Indraṁ śriyai janayann apsu rājā*).

It does not appear that in the R.V. Sarasvatī is identified with Vāch. For some passages of that collection, in which the latter goddess is celebrated, I refer to the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 253 ff., and to a later section of this volume.

In the later mythology, as is well known, Sarasvatī was identified with Vāch, and became under different names the spouse of Brahmā, and the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and is invoked as a Muse. In the Mahābhārata she is called the mother of the Vedas (Sāntiparva, verse 12920), and the same is said of Vāch in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8,

vartani, "whose path is unctuous," are also applied to different deities in the Rig-veda. *Kṛishṇa-vartani*, "he whose path is marked by blackness," is an epithet of Agni, in viii. 23, 19, and the sense of that term is fixed by the use of the synonym *kṛishṇādhvan*. The substantive *vartani* occurs in vii. 18, 16; *vṛijina-vartani*, i. 31, 6.

[510] Compare Ait. Br. iv. 1, at the end, where her two breasts are said to be truth and falsehood.

8, 5,[511] where (and in the preceding par. 4,) she is also said to be the wife of Indra, to contain within herself all worlds, and to have been sought after by the rishis who composed the Vedic hymns (*rishayo mantra-kritah*), as well as by the gods, through austerity.

In the S'āntiparva, verse 6811, it is related that when the Brahmarshis were performing austerities, prior to the creation of the universe, "a voice derived from Brahmā entered into the ears of them all; the celestial Sarasvatī was then produced from the heavens."[512]

(2) *Āpas, the Waters, and the Rivers.*

A verse (x. 17, 10) has been already cited, in p. 338, in which the purifying virtue of the Waters is extolled; and there is another passage, i. 23, 22 (=x. 9, 8), in which the power of cleansing the worshipper from the sins of violence, cursing, and falsehood is ascribed to them (*idam āpaḥ pra vahata yat kincha duritam mayi | yad vā aham abhidudroha yad vā śepe utānritam*). They are said, in two passages, already cited in p. 205, to have given birth to Agni; a few separate hymns, vii. 47; vii. 49; x. 9, are devoted to their honour; and in numerous detached verses they are invoked along with other deities. I cite a hymn in which the Sindhu (Indus) and other rivers are celebrated:—

R.V. x. 75, 1: *Pra su vaḥ āpo mahimānam uttamaṁ kārur vochāti sadane vivasvataḥ | pra sapta sapta tredhā hi chakramuḥ pra sritvarīṇām ati Sindhur ojasā* | 2. *Pra te 'radad Varuṇo yātave pathaḥ Sindho yad vājān abhi adravas tvam | bhumyāḥ adhi pravatā yāti sānunā yad eshām agraṁ jagatām irajyasi* | 3. *Divi svano yatate bhūmyā upari anantaṁ śushmam ud iyarti bhānunā | abhrād iva prastanayanti vrishṭayaḥ Sindhur yad eti vrishabho na roruvat* | 4. *Abhi tvā Sindho śiśum in na*

[511] In the S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 52, it is said, "Mind is the ocean. From mind, the ocean, the gods, with Vāch for a shovel, dug out the triple science (*i.e.* the three Vedas). Wherefore this verse (śloka) has been uttered" (see the 3rd vol. of this Work, p. 9, etc. In the Bhīshma-p. of the M. Bh. verse 3019, Achyuta (Krishna) is said to have created Sarasvatī and the Vedas from his mind. In the Vana-p. verse 13432, the Gāyatrī is called the mother of the Vedas.

[512] Compare the verse quoted by S'ankara on the Brahma sūtras (see the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 16 and 104), from a Smriti: "In the beginning a celestial voice, formed of the Vedas, eternal, without beginning or end, was uttered by Svayambhū, from which all activities have proceeded."

mâtaraḥ vâśrâḥ arshanti payaseva dhenavaḥ | *râjeva yudhvâ nayasi tvam it sichau yad âsâm agram pravatâm inakshasi* | 5 (=Nir. ix. 26). *Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomaṁ sachata Parushṇi â* | *Asiknyâ Marudvṛidhe Vitastayâ Ârjîkîye śriṇuhi â Sushomayâ* | 6. *Tṛishṭâmayâ prathamaṁ yâtave sajûḥ Susartvâ Rasayâ S'vetyâ tyâ* | *tvaṁ Sindho Kubhayâ Gomatîm Krumum Mehatnvâ sarathaṁ yâbhir îyase* | 7. *Ṛijîtî enî ruśatî mahitvâ pari jrayâṁsi bharate rajâṁsi* | *adabdhâ Sindhur apasâm apastamâ aśvâ na chitrâ vapushî iva darśatâ* | 8. *Svaśvâ Sindhuḥ surathâ suvâsâḥ hiraṇyayî sukṛitâ vâjinîvatî* | *ûrṇâvatî yuvatiḥ sîlamâvatî utâdhi vaste subhagâ madhuvṛidham* | 9 (=Nir. vii. 7). *S'ukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuje Sindhur aśvinam tena vâjaṁ sanishad asminn âjau* | *mahân hi asya mahimâ panasyate adabdhasya svayaśaso virapśinaḥ* |

"1. Waters, let the poet declare your transcendant greatness in the abode of the worshipper. Each set of seven [streams] has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity. 2. Varuṇa hollowed out the channels of thy course, o Sindhu, when thou didst rush to thy contests. Thou flowest from [the heights of] the earth over a downward slope, when thou leadest the van of these streams. 3. A sound struggles onward in the sky above the earth. [The current] exerts an infinite force with a flash. Showers thunder as if [falling] from a cloud; when the Sindhu rolls on, it roars like a bull. 4. To thee, o Sindhu, the [other streams] rush, as lowing mother-cows with their milk to their calves. Like a warrior king [in the centre of his army] thou leadest the two wings of thy host when thou strugglest forward to the van of these torrents. 5. Receive favourably this my hymn, o Gangâ, Yamunâ, Sarasvatî, S'utudri, Parushṇi; hear, o Marudvṛidhâ, with the Asiknî, and Vitastâ, and thou, Arjîkîyâ with the Sushomâ. 6. Unite first in thy course with the Tṛishṭâmâ, the Sasartû, the Rasâ, and the S'vetî; thou [meetest] the Gomatî, and the Krumu with the Kubhâ, and the Mehatnû, and with them are borne onward as on the same car. 7. Flashing, sparkling, gleaming, in her majesty, the unconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a handsome spotted mare, the Sindhu rolls her waters over the levels. 8. Mistress of a chariot, with noble horses, richly dressed, golden, adorned, yielding nutriment, abounding in wool, youthful, rich in plants,[513] gracious, she traverses [a land]

[513] On the word *sîlamâvatî* and the following words of the line in which it occurs,

yielding sweetness [?]. 9. The Sindhu has yoked her pleasant chariot drawn by horses. By it may she grant us vigour in this struggle: for greatly celebrated is the glory of that unconquered, illustrious, and much-lauded [chariot].

In one place, vi. 50, 7, the Waters are said to be remedial and the mothers of all things fixed and moving (*yūyaṁ hi stha bhishajo mātṛitamāḥ viśvasya sthātur jayato janitrīḥ*).

(3) *The Apsarases.*

These goddesses have been already mentioned in the section on Yama, p. 309, and will be further adverted to below.

In the passage of the R.V. vii. 33, 10 ff., quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 320, the Rishi Vasishṭha is said to have sprung from an Apsaras, Urvaśī. In the dictionary of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth the Apsarases are described as female beings of a ghost-like description, whose abode is in the atmosphere. They are the wives of the Gandharvas, have the power of changing their forms, love playing at dice, and impart good luck. According to the A.V. the Apsarases are feared like other ghostly beings, and enchantments are employed against them; especially because they cause madness.

Professor Goldstücker, *s.v.* says: "Originally these divinities seem to have been personifications of the vapours which are attracted by the sun, and form into mist or clouds." (See full details in his article.)

(4) *Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, etc.*

Excepting Pṛithivī, Aditi, and Ushas, most of the other goddesses mentioned in the Rig-veda are, as I have already intimated, p. 337, of very little importance. Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Aśvinī, and Rodasī,[514] the wives of Agni, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, and Rudra respectively (Nirukta, ix. 33 f.; xi. 50; xii. 46), are only alluded to in a few passages, R.V. i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; vi. 50, 5; vi. 66, 6; vii. 34, 22. No distinct functions are assigned to them, and they do not occupy posi-

I subjoin Sāyaṇa's note, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Max Müller: x. 75, 8: *sīlamāvatī sirāṇi yayoshadhyā rajjubhūtayā bhadhyante* (*badhyante ?*) *sā sīlameti nigadyate kṛishīvalaiḥ | tādṛigoshadhyupetā utāpi cha subhagā sindhur madhuvṛidham madhuvardhakam nirguṇḍyādi adhivaste āchhādayati tasyās tīre nirguṇḍyādīni bahūni santi.*

[514] According to Sāyana (on i. 167, 5) Rodasī is *marut-patnī vidyud vā*, "The wife of the Maruts, or Lightning."

tions at all corresponding to the rank of their husbands, with whom in fact they are never associated. The insignificance of these goddesses forms a striking contrast to the prominent place assumed by the spouses of S'iva and Vishṇu, especially the former, in the later mythology. Nirṛiti is the goddess of destruction.

(5) *Araṇyānī.*

Araṇyānī (Nir. ix. 29, 30) is the goddess of forest solitude. She is celebrated in R.V. x. 146, which I shall translate in a succeeding section.

(6) *Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Gungū.*

Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Gungū (whom Sāyaṇa, on ii. *32, 8,* identifies with Kuhū), are three other goddesses mentioned in the R.V. (the *first* in ii. 32, 4, 5, 8; v. 42, 12; the second in ii. 32, 6 *ff.*; x. 184, 2; and the third in ii. 32, 8). Sāyaṇa (on ii. 32, 4) says that Rākā *is* the full moon.[515] She is, however, closely connected *with* parturition, as she is asked to "sew the work" (apparently the formation of *the* embryo) "with an unfailing needle, and to bestow a son with abundant wealth," ii. 32, 4 (*sīvyatu apaḥ sūchyā achhidyamānayā dadātu vīraṁ śatadāyam ukthyam*). Sinīvālī and Kuhū are (as we are *told* by Yāska, Nir. xi. 31) wives of the gods according to the mythologists (*nairuktāḥ*), and the two nights of the new moon (*amāvāsye*) according to the ritualists (*yājnikāḥ*), Sinīvālī being the earlier, and Kuhū the later. Sinīvālī is, however, also connected with parturition, being called *pṛithushṭukā,* "the broad-loined (or "bushy-haired"), *bahusūvarī,* "the prolific;" *subāhu,* "the handsome-armed;" *svanguri,* "the handsome-fingered, being supplicated for progeny, ii. 32, 6, 7 (*prajāṁ devi didiḍḍhi naḥ*), and asked to bestow pregnancy, x. 184, 2 (*garbhaṁ dhehi Sinīvāli*); A.V. v. 25, 3; vi. 11, 3. Yāska quotes from the Taitt. Br. iii. 3, *11,* a verse regarding Kuhū, whose name does not occur in the Rig-veda. See also the account of Anumati in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*

(7) *S'raddhā.*

Personifications of abstract ideas are not uncommon in the Rig-veda, one hymn of which (x. 151) is addressed to S'raddhā, or religious *faith.* By her, it is said, verse 1 (=Nir. ix. 31), "the (sacrificial) fire is

[515] On these goddesses see Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 228 ff. and 237.

kindled, and by her the oblation is offered up" (*śraddhayā 'gniḥ samidhyate śraddhayā hūyate haviḥ*). She is asked to prosper the liberal worshippers of the gods (verses 2, 3), and to impart faith; and is said to be an object of adoration in the morning, at noon, and at sunset (verse 5). In the Vāj. Sanhitā, xix. 30, it is said that faith (*śraddhā*) is obtained by gifts, and truth by faith (*dakshiṇā śraddhām āpnoti śraddhayā satyam āpyate*). In xix. 77 of the same work it is declared that "Prajāpati, beholding, made a distinction between the forms of truth and falsehood, connecting disbelief with the latter, and faith or belief with the former" (*dṛishṭvā rūpe vyākarot satyānṛite Prajāpatiḥ | aśraddhām anṛite 'dadhāt śraddhāṁ satye Prajāpatiḥ*). This declaration, that truth is the only proper object of faith, has a far deeper signification than this ancient writer could possibly have assigned to it, viz., that it is the ultimate truth, and not the so-called orthodoxy of any proposition, which can alone entitle it to reception.

S'raddhā is also celebrated in the Taitt. Br., ii. 8, 8, 6 f., where the above hymn of the Rig-veda is repeated; and she is there further said to dwell among the gods, to be the universe (*śraddhā devān adhivaste śraddhā viśvam idaṁ jagat*), and the mother of Kāma. (See the next Section). In the same Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, we are told that through S'raddhā a god obtains his divine character, that the divine S'raddhā is the support of the world, that she has Kāma (or the fulfilment of desire) for her calf, and yields immortality as her milk; that she is the firstborn of the religious ceremonial, and the sustainer of the whole world; and she, who is the supreme mistress of the world, is besought to bestow immortality on her worshippers (*śraddhayā devo devatvam aśnute | S'raddhā pratishṭhā lokasya devī | . . . . Kāmavatsā amṛitaṁ duhānā | S'raddhā devī prathamajā ṛitasya | viśvasya bhartrī jagataḥ pratishṭhā | tāṁ S'raddhāṁ havishā yajāmahe | sā no lokam amṛitaṁ dadhātu īśānā devī bhuvanasyādhipatnī*). In the S'atap. Br., xii. 7, 3, 11, she is called the daughter of Sūrya;[516] an appellation which is repeated in the M. Bh. S'āntiparva, verse 9449,[517] where she

[516] See what is said of the daughter of Sūrya above, in connection with the Aśvins.

[517] In this passage a great deal is said in praise of S'raddhā. The gods, it appears, had decided that the offerings of a niggardly student of the Veda and a liberal usurer were of equal value. But Prajāpati determined that they were wrong (see the same sentiment, in nearly the same words, in Manu, iv. 224 ff.), and that the liberal man's oblation, being purified by his faith, was to be accepted, whilst the other man's, being

is styled the daughter of Vivasvat (S'raddhā Vaivasvatī), as well as of Sūrya and Savitṛi (Sūryasya duhitā and Sāvitrī). (See above, p. 264 f., the story of Soma loving S'raddhā. See also the definition given of Aramati in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*)

(8) *Lakshmī and S'rī.*

Lakshmī is not found in the Rig-veda, in the sense which the word bears in the later mythology, of a goddess personifying good fortune, though the word itself occurs in x. 71, 2,[518] in a kindred signification. In the A.V., however, we have the following hymn, which speaks of a plurality of Lakshmīs, some good and some bad: vii. 115, 1: *Pra patetaḥ pāpi Lakshmi naśyetaḥ prāmutaḥ pata | ayasmayena ankena dvishate tvā sajāmasi |* 2. *Yā mā Lakshmīḥ patayālūr ajushṭā abhichaskanda vandaneva vṛikhsham | anyatrāsmat Savitas tām ito dhāḥ hiraṇyahasto vasu no rarāṇaḥ |* 3. *Ekaśatam Lakshmyo martyasya sākam tanvā janusho 'dhi jātāḥ | tāsām pāpishṭhāḥ nir itaḥ pra hiṇmaḥ śivāḥ asmabhyam jātavedo ni yachha |* 4. *Etāḥ evā vyākaram khile gāḥ nishṭhitāḥ iva | ramantām puṇyāḥ Lakshmīr yāḥ pāpīs tāḥ anīnaśam |* "Fly away hence, o unlucky (or miserable) Lakshmī, perish hence, fly away from thence: with an iron hook we fasten thee to our enemy. 2. Savitṛi, do thou who art golden-handed, bestowing on us wealth, send away from us to some other quarter the flying and hateful Lakshmī, who mounts upon me as a creeper[519] upon a tree. 3. A hundred Lakshmīs are born together with the body of a mortal at his birth. Of these we

vitiated by his unbelief, was to be rejected. Unbelief, it is added, is the greatest of sins, but faith takes away sin (*devāḥ vittam amanyanta sadṛiśam yajna-karmaṇi | śrotriyasya kudaryasya vadānyasya cha vārdhusheḥ | mīmāṁsitvobhayam devāḥ samam annam akalpayan | Prajāpatis tān uvācha "vishamam kritam" ity uta | śraddhā-pūtam vadānyasya hatam aśraddhayetarat | . . . . aśraddhā paramam pāpam śraddhā papapramochanī*). A similar sentiment is expressed in the Vana-parva, 13461 ff.: "The doubter enjoys neither this world nor the next, nor any gratification. Those ancient sages who possess true knowledge have said that faith is a sign of final liberation. . . . . Abandoning fruitless (*lit.* dry) argumentations adhere to the śruti and the smṛiti" (*nāyam loko 'sti na paro na sukham saṁśayātmanaḥ | ūchur jnānavido vṛiddhāḥ pratyayo moksha-lakshaṇam | śushka-tarkam parityajya āśrayasva śrutim smṛitim*).

518 In the words *bhadrā eshām lakshmī nihitā adhi vāchi*, "an auspicious fortune is attached to their words."

519 *Vandanā.* This word does not occur in Wilson's Dictionary, but I find there *vandā* in the sense of a creeping plant.

chase away hence the most unlucky. Do thou, Jātavedas, retain for us those which are fortunate. 4. Thus I divide them like cows standing upon barren ground. May those Lakshmīs which are auspicious rest here. Those which are unlucky I destroy." (The expression *puṇyā Lakshmī* occurs also in A.V. xii. 5, 6.)

In the Vāj. S. xxxi. 22 (*S'rīś cha te Lakshmīś cha patnyau*), S'rī and Lakshmī are said to be the two wives of Āditya, according to the commentator's explanation. In the Satap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1, S'rī is described as issuing forth from Prajāpati when he was performing intense austerity, with a view to the creation of living beings. Beholding her then standing resplendent and trembling,[520] the gods were covetous of her, and proposed to Prajāpati that they should be allowed to kill her, and appropriate her gifts. He replied that she was a female, and that males did not generally kill females. They should therefore take from her her gifts without depriving her of life. In consequence, Agni took from her food; Soma, kingly authority; Varuṇa, imperial authority; Mitra, martial energy; Indra, force; Brihaspati, priestly glory; Savitṛi, dominion; Pūshan, splendour; Sarasvatī, nourishment; and Tvashṭṛi, forms. S'rī then complained to Prajāpati that they had taken all these things from her. He told her to demand them back from them by sacrifice (*Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sṛijamāno 'tapyata | tasmāt śrāntāt tepānāt S'rīr udakrāmat | sā dīpyamānā bhrājamānā lelāyantī atishṭhat | tāṁ dīpyamānām bhrājamānāṁ lelāyantīm devāḥ abhyadhyāyan | 2. Te Prajāpatim abruvan "hanāma imām ā idam asyāḥ dadāmahai" iti | sa ha uvācha "strī vai eshā yat S'rīḥ | na vai striyaṁ ghnanti uta tvā asyāḥ jīvantyāḥ eva ādadata" iti | 3. Tasyāḥ Agnir annādyam ādatta Somo rājyaṁ Varuṇaḥ sāmrājyam Mitraḥ kshatram Indro balam Bṛihaspatir brahmavarchasam Savitā rāshṭram Pūshā bhagaṁ Sarasvatī pushṭiṁ Tvashṭā rūpāṇi | 4. Sā Prajāpatim abravīt "ā vai me idam adishata" iti | sa ha uvācha "yajnena enān punar yāchasva" iti*).

[520] *Lelāyantī*. As fixing the sense of this word Professor Aufrecht refers me to S'atap. Br. p. 136; Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Up. p. 737; Muṇḍaka Up. pp. 274, 276; and S'vetāśvatara Up. p. 332.

SECTION XXI.

PROGRESS OF THE VEDIC RELIGION TOWARDS ABSTRACT CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEITY.[521]

In a passage which I have already quoted above (p. 8), Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, informs us (vii. 5) that previous writers of the school to which he himself belonged (the Nairuktas) reduced the deities mentioned in the Vedas to three, viz., "Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vāyu or Indra, whose place in the air; and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky;" and asserted that "these deities severally receive many appellations in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi*, are applied to one and the same person [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling]." In the preceding section (vii. 4) Yāska had, however, declared that, in reality, "owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is celebrated as if it were many. The different gods are separate members of the one Soul. And some say that the rishis address their praises according to the multiplicity of natures in the [celestial] existences. And from the universality of their nature the gods are mutually produced from each other, and possess the natures of one another (see R.V. x. 7, 4 f. above, p. 48, and Nir. xi. 23, quoted in the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 11); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their chariot, soul their horses, soul their weapon, soul their arrows; soul is a god's all"[522] (*māhātmyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāmnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ*

[521] In various parts of the translations occurring in this section I received valuable assistance from Professor Aufrecht.

[522] This passage is quoted at length in the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 131-136.

karmajanmānaḥ ātmajanmānaḥ | ātmā eva eshāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā aśvāḥ ātmā āyudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya). These, however, are the views of men who lived after the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas, at a period when reflection had long been exercised upon the contents of the hymns, and when speculation had already made considerable advances. In the oldest portions of the hymns themselves we discover few traces of any such abstract conceptions of the Deity. They disclose a much more primitive stage of religious belief. They are, as I have already remarked, the productions of simple men who, under the influence of the most impressive phenomena of nature, saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers, who imagined that each of the great provinces of the universe was directed and animated by its own separate deity, and who had not yet risen to a clear idea of one supreme creator and governor of all things (pp. 5 f.). This is shown, not only by the special functions assigned to particular gods, but in many cases by the very names which they bear, corresponding to those of some of the elements or of the celestial luminaries. Thus, according to the belief of the ancient rishis, Agni was the divine being who resides and operates in fire, Sūrya the god who dwells and shines in the sun, and Indra the regent of the atmosphere, who cleaves the clouds with his thunderbolts and dispenses rain. While, however, in most parts of the Rig-veda, we not only find that such gods as Agni, Indra, and Sūrya are considered as distinct from one another, but that various other divinities, more or less akin to these, but thought of as fulfilling functions in some respects distinguishable from theirs (such as Parjanya, Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Pūshan, etc.) are represented as existing along side of them, there are other hymns in which a tendency to identification is perceptible, and traces are found of one uniform power being conceived to underlie the various manifestations of divine energy. Thus in the texts quoted in a former section (pp. 206 ff.), Agni is represented as having a threefold existence, by which may be intended, first, in his familiar form on earth; secondly, as lightning in the atmosphere; and thirdly, as the sun in the heavens. In other passages, where the same god is identified with Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc. (see p. 219), it is not clear whether this identification may not arise from a desire to magnify Agni rather than from any idea of his essential oneness with other deities with whom he is connected (see

also R.V. i. 141, 9; v. 3, 1 f.; v. 13, 6). In another hymn, iv. 42, 3, too, where Indra appears to be represented as the same with Varuṇa (*aham Indro Varuṇaḥ*, etc.; compare the context), the design of the writer may have been to place the former god on a footing of equality with the latter. There are, however, other passages in the earlier books of the Rig-veda which suffice to show that the writers had begun to regard the principal divinities as something more than mere representatives or regents of the different provinces of nature. As I have already shown (pp. 61 ff., 98 ff., 158, 163 f., 214 f.), Varuṇa, Indra, Sūrya, Savitṛi, and Agni are severally described (in strains more suitable to the supreme deity than to subaltern divinities exercising a limited dominion) as having formed and as sustaining heaven and earth, and as the rulers of the universe;[523] and Varuṇa, in particular, according to the striking representation of the hymn preserved in the A.V. (iv. 16) (though this composition may be of a somewhat later date), is invested with the divine prerogatives of omnipresence and omniscience. Although the recognized co-existence of all these deities is inconsistent with the supposition that their worshippers had attained to any clear comprehension of the unity of the godhead, and although the epithets denoting universal dominion, which are lavished upon them all in turn, may be sometimes hyperbolical or complimentary—the expressions of momentary fervour, or designed to magnify a particular deity at the expense of all other rival objects of adoration,—yet these descriptions no doubt indicate enlarged and sublime conceptions of divine power, and an advance towards the idea of one sovereign deity. When once the notion of particular gods had become expanded in the manner just specified, and had risen to an ascription of all divine attributes to the particular object of worship who was present for the time to the mind of the poet, the further step would speedily be taken of speaking of the deity under such new names as Viśvakarman and Prajāpati, appellations which do not designate any limited function connected with any single department of nature, but the more general and abstract notion of divine power operating in the production and government of the universe.

It is, perhaps, in names such as these that we may discover the point

[523] The same functions are ascribed to Vishṇu and to Rudra. See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 84 and 338.

of transition from polytheistic to monotheistic ideas. Both these two terms, which ultimately came to designate the deity regarded as the creator, had been originally used as epithets of Indra and Savitṛi, in the following passages:—R.V. iv. 53, 2, "Savitṛi, the supporter of the sky and the lord of creatures" (*divo dharttā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ*).[524] viii. 87, 2, "Thou, Indra, art most powerful; thou hast caused the sun to shine; thou art great, the universal architect, and possessest all godlike attributes" (*tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvaṁ sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi*).[525]

(1) *Texts of a more decidedly monotheistic or pantheistic character.*

I shall now adduce those passages of the Rig-veda in which a monotheistic or a pantheistic tendency is most clearly manifested. Of some of these texts I shall only state the substance, as I have formerly treated of them in detail elsewhere.

The following verse from a long hymn of an abstruse and mystical character (i. 164, 46, as already quoted in p. 219, note), though considered by Yāska (Nir. vii. 18) to have reference to Agni, and by Kātyāyana and Sāyaṇa (who, however, also quotes Yaska's opinion) to have Sūrya in view, may nevertheless be held to convey the more general idea that all the gods, though differently named and represented, are in reality one—πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία: "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; and (he is) the celestial, well-winged Garutmat. Sages name variously that which is but one: they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan."[526] (See Colebrooke's Essay, i. 26 f.; Weber's Ind. Stud. v. p. iv.)

524 So, too, Soma is called *prajāpati*, "lord of creatures" (R.V. ix. 5, 9).

525 So, too, in R.V. x. 170, 4, Sūrya is called *viśvakarman* and *viśvadevyavat*, and Savitṛi is styled *viśvadeva* in v. 82, 7, see above, p. 164. Svayambhū, "the self-existent," occcurs as an epithet of Manyu (personified Wrath) in R.V. x. 83, 4. See below the sub-section on Kāla, Time.

526 To the same effect is another text, R.V. x. 114, 5: *Suparṇam viprāḥ kavayo vachobhir ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti* | "The wise in their hymns represent under many forms the well-winged (deity), who is but one." Somewhat in the same way it is said, A.V. xiii. 3, 13 (already quoted in p. 219, note): "Agni becomes in the evening Varuṇa (the god of night), and Mitra, when rising in the morning. Becoming Savitṛi, he moves through the atmosphere, and becoming Indra, he burns along the middle of the sky." In xiii. 4, 1 ff., Savitṛi is identified with a great many other deities. The words *asya devasya .... vayāḥ Vishṇoḥ*, in

R.V. i. 89, 10 (quoted above in pp. 43 f.), suggests, on the other hand, a pantheistic sense, as it asserts all things to be the manifestations of one all-pervading principle: "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother and father and son. Aditi is all the gods and the five classes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born. Aditi is whatever shall be born." [327] Reference will be again made further on to the hymn in which Aditi is described as one of the great powers to which the creation is due.

In some of the representations of the character and functions of Tvashṭṛi, the divine artizan, who shaped the heaven and earth, we have an approach to the idea of a supreme creator of the universe (see above p. 225).

There is considerable variety in the methods by which the later poets of the R.V. attempt to conceive and express the character of the Supreme Being and his relations to the universe, as will be seen from the following details:—

(2) *Viśvakarman.*

The 81st and 82nd hymns of the tenth book of the Rig-veda are devoted to the celebration of Viśvakarman, the great architect of the universe (see above, p. 32, and the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 4 ff.); so that the word which, as we have seen, had formerly been used as an epithet of Indra, had now become the name of a deity, if not of the Deity. In these hymns Viśvakarman is represented as the one all-seeing god, who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, who, when producing heaven and earth, blows [328] them forth with his arms

R.V. vii. 40, 5, are interpreted by Sāyaṇa to mean "[The other gods] are branches of this . . . . god Vishṇu;" but the words between brackets are not in the original. In R.V. ii. 35, 8, all other beings are said to be branches of Apāmnapāt (*vayāḥ id anyā bhuvanāni asya*). I observe that in his lectures on the "Science of Language," 2nd series, p. 508, Professor Müller understands the words with which all the verses of R.V. iii. 55, conclude (*mahad devānām asuratvam ekam*) to signify, "The great divinity of the gods is *one*," which might be understood as if they asserted all the gods to be manifestations of one supreme deity. The clause, however, need not mean anything more than that the divine power of the gods is unique.

[327] Compare Æschylus, fragment 443, translated by Professor Müller, "Science of Language," ii. 441: Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός· Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον. The Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, says that the self-existent Brahma is "son, father, and mother."

[328] This image is repeated in R.V. x. 72, and may have been borrowed from R.V. iv. 2, 17.

and wings,—as the father, generator, disposer, who knows all worlds, gives the gods their names, and is beyond the comprehension of mortals. In one of the verses (the 4th) of the first of these hymns, the poet asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth? Inquire with your minds, ye sages, what was that on which he took his stand when supporting the world?" This verse is repeated in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6 (and comes in immediately after the end of R.V. x. 129, which is quoted in the same place). The compiler of the Brāhmaṇa replies to the question which the original poet had left unanswered, by saying: "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth. Sages, with my mind I declare to you, he took his stand upon Brahma when upholding the world" (see above, p. 32, note 57).

(3) *Hiraṇyagarbha.*

Another name under which the Deity is celebrated in the Rig-veda, with all the attributes of supremacy, is Hiraṇyagarbha. In the 121st hymn of the tenth book this god is said to have arisen (*samavarttata*) in the beginning, the one lord of all beings, who upholds heaven and earth, who gives life and breath, whose command even the gods obey, who is the god over all gods, and the one animating principle (*asu*) of their being. (See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 13 ff.)

(4) *Brahmaṇaspati, Daksha, and Aditi.*

In another hymn (R.V. x. 72; already quoted in pp. 48 f.), the creation of the gods is ascribed to Brahmaṇaspati (see also p. 280, above), who blew them forth like a blacksmith;[539] while the earth is said to have sprung from a being called Uttānapad; and Daksha and Aditi were produced from one another by mutual generation. The gods, though formed by Brahmaṇaspati, did not, it is said, come into existence till after Aditi, but appear to have had some share in the formation or development of the world.

The hymn is almost entirely of a mythological character, the only attempt at speculation it contains being the declaration that entity sprang from nonentity. The manner in which the author endeavours,

[539] See pp. 32 and 354.

by the introduction of different names, and the ascription to them of various agencies, to explain the process of creation, forms a striking contrast to the sublime vagueness and sense of mystery which characterize the following composition (R.V. x. 129).[530]

(5) *Nonentity, Entity, and the One*, R.V. x. 129.

1. *Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm nāsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat* | *kim āvarivaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanam gabhīram* | 2. *Na mṛityur asīd amṛitam na tarhi na rātryāḥ ahnaḥ āsīt praketaḥ* | *ānīd avātam svadhayā tad ekam tasmād ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanāsa* | 3. *Tamaḥ āsīt tamasā gūlham agre apraketam salilam sarvam ā idam* | *tuchhyena ābhu apihitam yad āsīt tapasas tad mahinā 'jāyataikam* | 4. *Kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt* | *sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshya kavayo manīshā* | 5 (=Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 74). *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt* | *retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt* | 6. *Ko addha veda kaḥ iha pra vochat kutaḥ ājātā kutaḥ iyam visṛishṭiḥ* | *arvāg devāḥ asya visarjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ābabhūva* | 7. *Iyam visṛishṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na* | *yo asyādhyakshaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda* |

"1. There was then neither nonentity nor entity: there was no

[530] This hymn has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Müller, as well as in the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 4. I have now endeavoured to improve my own version, and otherwise to illustrate the sense of the hymn. The following is a metrical rendering of its contents:—

"Then there was neither Aught nor Nought, no air nor sky beyond.
What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound?
Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day.
That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond It lay.
Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, eluding view.
That One, a void in chaos wrapt, by inward fervour grew.
Within It first arose desire, the primal germ of mind,
Which nothing with existence links, as sages searching find.
The kindling ray that shot across the dark and drear abyss,—
Was it beneath? or high aloft? What bard can answer this?
There fecundating powers were found, and mighty forces strove,—
A self-supporting mass beneath, and energy above.
Who knows, who ever told, from whence this vast creation rose?
No gods had then been born,—who then can e'er the truth disclose?
Whence sprang this world, and whether framed by hand divine or no,—
It's lord in heaven alone can tell, if even he can show."

atmosphere, nor sky above. What enveloped [all]? Where, in the receptacle of what [was it contained]? Was it water, the profound abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality: there was no distinction of day or night. That One[531] breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from, or above, it. 3. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water.[532] That One which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with nonentity. 5. The ray [or cord][533] which stretched across these [worlds], was it below or was it above? There were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.[534] 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent[535] to the development of this [universe]; who then knows whence it arose? 7. From what this creation arose, and whether [any one] made it or not,—he who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or [even] he does not know."

I am not in possession of Sāyaṇa's commentary on this hymn; but the scholiast on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (see also the explanation of verse 4, in commentary on Taitt. Āraṇy. p. 142) in which the hymn is

[531] Compare R.V. i. 164, 6, "What was that One in the form of the unborn which supported these six worlds?" (*vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi ajasya rūpe kim api svid ekam*). In Vālakhilya, x. 2, it is said: *eka evāgnir bahudhā samiddaḥ ekaḥ sūryo viśvam anu prabhūtaḥ | ekaivoshāḥ sarvam idaṁ vi bhāti ekaṁ vai idam vi babhūva sarvam* | "There is one Agni, kindled in many places; one mighty Sūrya who extends over all things; one Ushas who illuminates this entire world;—this one has been developed into the all."

[532] In the M. Bh. S'āntip. 6812 ff., it is said that from the æther "was produced water, like another darkness in darkness; and from the foam of the water was produced the wind" (*tataḥ salilam utpannaṁ tamasīvāparaṁ tamaḥ | tasmāch cha salilotpīḍād udatishṭhata mārutaḥ*).

[533] Professor Aufrecht has suggested to me that the word *raśmi* may have here the sense of thread, or cord, and not of ray.

[534] Does this receive any illustration from R.V. i. 159, 2 (quoted above, p. 21), which speaks of the "thought (*manas*) of the father" (Dyaus), and of the "mighty independent power (*mahi svatavas*) of the mother" (Earth)?

[535] Compare x. 72, 2, 3, quoted above, p. 48, and x. 97, 1, where certain plants are said to be anterior to the gods, by three yugas (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*).

repeated (ii. 8, 9, 3 ff.), explains it in conformity with the philosophical ideas of a later period. From such sources we have no right in general to expect much light on the real meaning of the ancient Vedic poets. The commentator in question, who is obliged to find in the words of the infallible Veda a meaning consistent with the speculations believed to be orthodox in his own age, interprets the first verse as follows, in terms which, indeed, after all, may not be far from correctly expressing its general purport: *Yadā pūrvasṛishṭiḥ pralīnā uttarasṛishṭiś cha na utpannā tadānīm̃ sadasatī dve api nābhūtām* | *nāmarūpaviśishṭatvena spashṭapratīyamānam̃ jagat "sat-" śabdena uchyate naravishāṇādisamānam̃ śūnyam "asad" ity uchyate* | *tadubhayam̃ nāsīt* | *kintu kāchid avyaktāvasthā āsīt* | *sā cha vispashaṭvābhavād na satī jagad-utpādakatvena sadbhāvād nāpy asatī* | "In the interval between the absorption of the previous, and the production of the subsequent, creation, there was neither entity nor nonentity. The world at the time when, by possessing both 'name' and 'form,'[558] it is clearly manifested, is designated by the word 'entity,' while a void which may be compared to such non-existing things as a 'man's horns,' etc., is called 'nonentity.' Neither of these states existed; but there was a certain unapparent condition, which, from the absence of distinctness, was not an 'entity,' while from its being the instrument of the world's production, it was not a 'nonentity.'"

A much older commentary on this verse, probably one of the oldest extant, is the following passage from the Satap. Br. x. 5, 3, 1: *na iva vai idam agre asad āsīd na iva sad āsīt* | *āsīd iva vai idam agre na iva āsīt* | *tad ha tad manaḥ eva āsa* | *2. Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktam̃ "na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm" iti* | *na iva hi sad mano na iva asat* | *3. Tad idam manaḥ sṛishṭam āvirabubhūshad niruktataram mūrtataram* | *tad ātmānam anvaichhat* | *tat tapo 'tapyata* | *tat prāmūrchhat* | *tat shaṭtrim̃śatam̃ sahasrāṇy apaśyad ātmano 'gnīn arkān manomayān manaśchitaḥ ityādi* | "In the beginning this [universe] was not either, as it were, nonexistent, nor, as it were, existent. In the

[558] These Vedāntic terms *name* and *form* occur (as observed in the Section on Yama, p. 309) in the Atharva-veda, x. 2, 12: "Who placed in him (Purusha) name, magnitude, and form?" and in xi. 7, 1: "In the remains of the sacrifice (*uchhishṭa*) name and form, in the remains of the sacrifice the world, is comprehended." The original texts will be found further on in the subsections on Purusha and Uchhishṭa. See S'atap. Br. xi. 2, 3, 1 ff., to be quoted below, in the subsection on Brahma.

beginning this universe was, as it were, and was not, as it were. Then it was only that mind. Wherefore it has been declared by the rishi (in the verse before us), 'There was then neither nonentity nor entity;' for mind was, as it were, neither entity nor nonentity. 2. Then this mind, being developed, wished to become manifested, more revealed, more embodied. It sought after itself; it practised austere fervour. It swooned. It beheld 36,000 of its own fires, suns, formed of mind, placed by mind, etc." Mind then creates voice, voice creates breath, breath creates eye, eye creates ear, ear creates work (or ceremony), and work creates fire.

These ideas of entity and nonentity[537] seem to have been familiar to the later Vedic poets, as in R.V. x. 72 (noticed above, and translated in the section on Aditi, p. 48), we find it thus declared (verses 2, 3), that in the beginning nonentity was the source of entity: "In the earliest age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity; in the first age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity." In the A.V. x. 7, 10 (which will be quoted in the subsection on Skambha), it is said that both nonentity and entity[538] exist within the god Skambha; and in verse 25 of the same hymn: "Powerful indeed are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha."[539] The Taittirīya Upanishad also (Bibliotheca Indica, p. 99) quotes a verse to the effect: "This was at first nonentity. From that sprang entity" (*asad vai idam agre āsīt | tato vai sad ajāyata*).

The author of the Chhāndogya Upanishad probably alludes to some of these texts when he says (vi. 2, 1 f. Bibl. Ind. p. 387 f.): *Sad eva somya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam | tad ha eke āhur "asad eva*

[537] The Taitt. Arany. i. 11, 1 (Bibl. Ind. p. 84), ascribes the development of existence from nonexistence to the seven rishis, etc. (*asataḥ sad ye tatakshur ṛishayaḥ sapta Atriś cha yat | sarve trayo Agastyaś cha*).

[538] Another verse of the A.V. xvii. 1, 19, says: "Entity is founded (*pratishṭhitam*) on nonentity; what has become (*bhūta*) is founded on entity. What has become is based (*āhitam*) on what is to be, and what is to be is founded on what has become" (*asati sat pratishṭhitaṁ sati bhūtam pratishṭhitam | bhūtaṁ ha bhavye āhitam bhavyam bhūte pratishṭhitam*).

[539] This phrase (see above, p. 51) is also applied to Agni in R.V. x. 5, 7, where it is said that that god, being "a thing both *asat*, nonexistent (*i.e.* unmanifested), and *sat*, existent (*i.e.* in a latent state, or in essence), in the highest heaven, in the creation of Daksha, and in the womb of Aditi (comp. R.V. x. 72, 4 f.), became in a former age

idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyaṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta" | 2. *Kutas tu khalu somya evaṁ syād iti ha uvācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti* | *sat tv eva somya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam* | *tad aikshata bahu syām prajāyeya iti* | "This, o fair youth, was in the beginning existent (or entity) (*sat*), one without a second. Now some say, 'This was in the beginning non-existent (or non-entity) (*asat*), one without a second; wherefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 2. But how, o fair youth, he proceeded, can it be so? How can the existent spring from the non-existent? But, o fair youth, this was in the beginning existent, one without a second. That [entity] thought, 'Let me multiply and be produced.'"[540]

There does not appear to be any discrepancy between the statement in R.V. x. 129, 1, "There was then neither nonentity nor entity," and the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, for in the second verse of the hymn, also, a being designated as the One is recognized as existing, which may be regarded as answering to the primal entity of the Upanishad; while the original non-existence of anything, whether nonentity or entity, asserted in the first verse, may merely signify, as the commentator on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa explains, that there was as yet no distinct manifestation of the One. In like manner the A.V. x. 7. 10, 25 (quoted above), does not assert the absolute priority of nonentity, but affirms it to be embraced in, or a member of, the divine being designated as Skambha. The Chhāndogya Upanishad has, however, a greater appearance of being at variance with itself, iii. 19, 1 (*asad evedam agre āsīt tat sad āsīt*), and with the Taittirīya Upanishad, as well as with verses 2 and 3 of the 72nd hymn of the tenth book of the R.V., above cited, which assert that entity sprang from nonentity. If these verses are to be taken literally and absolutely, we must suppose the poet to have conceived the different creative agents whom he names, Brahmaṇaspati, Uttānapad, Daksha, and Aditi, to have sprung out of nothing, or from each other, or to be secondary manifestations of the entity which was the first product of nonentity. If, however, with the commentators, we take "nonentity" to denote merely an undeveloped state, there will be no contradiction.

the first-born of our ceremonial, and is both a bull and a cow." In A.V. xi. 7, 3, it is said that the *uchhishṭha* (remains of the sacrifice) is both *san* and *asan* (masculine).

[540] See English trans. p. 101, which I have not followed.

The first movement in the process of creation as conceived in the hymn (R.V. x. 129) is this: the One, which in the beginning breathed calmly, self-sustained, is developed by the power of *tapas*, by its own inherent heat (as Professor Müller explains, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 561), or by rigorous and intense abstraction (as Professor Roth understands the word; see his Lexicon, *s.v.*).[541] This development gave occasion

[541] Roth's interpretation is supported by a text in the A.V. x. 7, 38 (see further on in the subsection on Skambha), as well as by numerous passage in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 8, 1 (quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 4), Prajāpati, who is described as being the universe, is said to have desired (*akāmayata*) to propagate himself, and to have striven and practised rigorous abstraction (*tapo 'tapyata*). And in the same Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (cited in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 25), the self-existent Brahma himself is similarly related to have practised *tapas*, and when he found that that did not confer infinity, to have offered himself in sacrifice. The gods are also said to have attained heaven and their divine character by *tapas* (see above, p. 15, and the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 20, 21, 24, and 288). Compare also the Taitt. Up. ii. 6, where it is said: *Sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā idam sarvam asṛijata yad idaṁ kincha* | "He (the supreme Soul) desired, 'Let me be multiplied and produced.'' He performed *tapas*, and having done so, he created all this." In his commentary on this passage, S'ankara explains that, in conformity with another Vedic text, knowledge is called *tapas*, and that, as the supreme Soul has no unsatisfied desires, no other sense would be suitable; and that the phrase means "He reflected upon the construction, etc., of the world which was being created" (*tapaḥ iti jnānam uchyate | "yasya jnānamayaṁ tapaḥ" iti śruty-antarād āpta-kāmatvāch cha itarasya asambhavaḥ eva | "sa tapo 'tapyata" tapas taptavān sṛijyamāna-jagad-rachanādi-vishayām ālochanām akarod ātmā ity arthaḥ*). It is true that all these passages from the Brāhmaṇas are of a later date than the hymn, but the R.V. itself, x. 167, 1, says that Indra gained heaven by *tapas* (see above, p. 14), where the word can only mean rigorous abstraction. The word is also found in R.V. ix. 113, 2, where soma-juice is said to be poured out with hallowed words, truth, faith, and *tapas* (*ṛitavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā sutaḥ*); and in x. 83, 2, 3, where Manyu (wrath personified) is besought to protect, or to slay enemies, along with *tapas*, (*tapasā sajoshāḥ*, or *tapasā yujā*). This view of the word is also supported by Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1: "Let us worship with an oblation that first-born god, by whom this entire universe which exists is surrounded (*paribhūtam*)—the self-existent Brahma, which is the highest *tapas*. He is son, father, mother. *Tapas* was produced as the first object" (*yenedaṁ viśvam paribhūtaṁ yad asti prathamajaṁ devaṁ havishā vidhema | svayambhu Brahma paramaṁ tapo yat | sa eva putraḥ sa pitā sa mātā | tapo ha yaksham prathamaṁ sambabhūva*). In the Mahābhārata, S'āntiparva, 10836, Prajāpati is said to have created living beings by *tapas*, after having entered on religious observances, or austerities (*vratāni*). *Tapas* is also mentioned as the source from which creatures were produced, A.V. xiii. 1, 10. Compare Bhāgavata Purāna, ii. 9, 6, 7, 19, 23, and iii. 10, 4 ff. *Tapas* is connected with an oblation of boiled milk in a passage of the A.V. iv. 11, 6: *yena devāḥ svar āruruhur hitvā śarīram amṛitasya nābhim | tena geshma sukṛitasya lokaṁ gharmasya vratena tapasā yaśasyavaḥ* | "May we, renowned, attain to the world of righteousness by that ceremony of offering boiled milk, by *tapas*, whereby the

to desire (Kāma) which immediately took possession of the One, and is described as the first germ of mind, and the earliest link[543] between nonentity and entity. The poet then goes on to speak of impregnating powers, and mighty forces, of receptive capacities, and active energies; but confesses himself unable to declare how the universe was produced. The gods themselves having come into existence at a later stage of creation, were not in a position to reveal to their worshippers the earlier part of the process of which they had not been witnesses. The

gods ascended to heaven, the centre of immortality, having left behind their body." But xi. 5, 5, connects *tapas* with heat: "The Brahmachārin, born before Brahma, dwelling (or clothed) in heat, arose through *tapas*" (*pūrvo jāto Brahmaṇo brahmachārī gharmaṁ vasānas tapasodatishṭhat*. In A.V. vii. 61, *tapas* is connected with Agni. In A.V. xvii. 1, 24, *tapas* means the heat of the sun. *Tapas* is mentioned along with *karman* in A.V. xi. 8, 2, and is said to have been produced from it (ibid. v. 6).

[543] The commentator on the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 5 (p. 928 of Calcutta edition, in Bibl. Ind.) says: *kāmasya sarva-vyavahāra-hetutvaṁ Vājasaneyinaḥ samāmananti atho khalv āhuḥ "kāmamayaḥ evāyam purushaḥ" iti* | *Vyāso 'pi smarati "kāma-bandhanam evedaṁ nānyad astīha bandhanam" iti* | *asmad-anubhave 'pi tathā dṛiśyate* | *sarvo hi purushaḥ prathamaṁ kinchit kāmayitvā tadartham prayatamānaḥ sukhaṁ duḥkhaṁ vā labheta* | "The Vājasaneyins record that desire is the cause of all action, and say: 'this Purusha is himself actuated by desire' (Bṛihadār. Up. p. 854). And Vyāsa too declares in his smṛiti, 'That which binds this world is desire; it has no other bond.' The same thing, too, is seen within our own observation; for it is only after a man has first desired something that he will strive after it, and so experience pleasure or pain." In numerous passages of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads (as in those quoted in the last note), we are told that the first step in the creation was that Prajāpati or Brahma "desired" (*akāmayata*). In his remarks on the passage of the Taittirīya Upanishad, quoted in the last note, S'ankara considers it necessary to explain that the supreme Soul is not subject to the dominion of desire, as if, like men, he had any wish unfulfilled, or were subject to the influence of any desirable objects external to himself, or were dependent on other things as instruments of attaining any such external objects; but on the contrary, is independent of all other things, and himself, with a view to the interests of living beings, originated his desires which possess the characteristics of truth and knowledge (or true knowledge), and from being a part of himself, are perfectly pure (*kāmayitṛitvād asmad-ādi-vad anāptakāmaṁ chet* | *na* | *svātantryāt* | *yathā 'nyān paravaśīkṛitya kāmādi-doshāḥ pravarttayanti na tathā Brahmaṇaḥ pravarttakāḥ kāmāḥ* | *kathaṁ tarhi satya-jnāna-lakshaṇāḥ svātmabhūtatvād viśuddhāḥ* | *na tair Brahma pravarttyate* | *teshāṁ tu tat-pravarttakam Brahma prāṇi-karmapekshayā* | *tasmāt svātantryaṁ kāmeshu Brahmaṇaḥ* | *ato na anāptakāmam Brahma sādhanāntarānapekshatvāch cha* | *kincha yathā 'nyeshām anātmabhūtāḥ dharmādi-nimittāpekshāḥ kāmāḥ svātma-vyatirikta-kārya-karaṇa-sādhanāntarāpekshāchha* [*-āś cha ?*] *na tathā Brahmaṇo nimittādy-apekshatvam*). I shall below treat further of Kāma, as a deity, and of his correspondence with the Greek Ἔρως, as one of the first principles of creation.

very gods being at fault, no one on earth is able to say what was the origin of the world, and whether it had any creator or not. Even its ruler in the highest heaven may not be in possession of the great secret.

Such a confession of ignorance on the part of a Vedic rishi could not, however, be taken in its obvious and literal sense by those who held the Veda to have been derived from an omniscient and infallible source. And in consequence the commentator on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is obliged to explain it away in the following fashion:—

Atra kechid āgamam upekshya sva-sva-buddhi-balād anyathā 'nyathā utprekshante | tathā hi paramāṇavo mūlakāraṇam iti Kāṇāda-Gautamādayo manyante | svatantram achetanam pradhānaṁ jagato mūlakāraṇam iti Kapila-prabhṛitayaḥ | śūnyādito jagad-utpattir iti Mādhyamikāḥ | jagato kāraṇam eva nāsti svabhāvataḥ eva avatishṭhate iti Lokāyatikāḥ | te sarve 'pi bhrāntāḥ eva | "ko addha veda" jagat-kāraṇaṁ ko nāma purushaḥ sākshād avagachhati | anavagatya cha "kaḥ iha pravochat" svayam adṛishṭvā ko nāma jagat-kāraṇam īdṛig iti vaktuṁ śaknoti | ko 'yam atra vaktavyāṁśaḥ iti chet | uchyate | iyaṁ vividhā sṛishṭiḥ "kutaḥ ājātā" ta(ka?)smād upādāna-kāraṇāt sarvataḥ utpannā punarapi kuto nimittād utpannā iti tad idam upādānaṁ nimittaṁ cha vaktavyaṁ tach cha vaktum aśakyam | kuto 'śaktir iti chet | uchyate | kiṁ devāḥ etad brūyuḥ kuto 'nyaḥ kaśchid manushyaḥ | na tāvad devāḥ vaktuṁ śaktāḥ te hy asya jagato vividhasṛishṭer "arvāg" eva vidyante na tu sṛishṭeḥ pūrvaṁ te santi | yadā devānām api īdṛiśī gatis tadānīṁ "yataḥ" jagad "ābabhūva" tat kāraṇaṁ vaktum anyaḥ "ko" vā "veda" | devāś cha manushyāś cha sṛishṭeḥ prāg anavasthānād na tāvat pratyaksheṇa paśyanti tadānīṁ svayam eva abhāvād nāpy anumātuṁ śaktās tad-yogyayor hetudṛishṭāntayor abhāvāt | tasmād atigambhīram idam paramārtha-tattvaṁ vaidika-samadhigamyam ity abhiprāyaḥ | . . . . iyaṁ dṛiśyamānā bhūta-bhautika-rūpā vividhā sṛishṭir yataḥ upādānakāraṇād "ābabhūva" sarvataḥ utpannā tad upādānakāraṇaṁ yadi vā kinchit svarūpaṁ dhṛitvā 'vatishṭhate yadi vā tasya svarūpam eva nāsti tam imaṁ nirṇayaṁ yaḥ Parameśvaro 'sya jagato "'dhyakshaḥ" svāmī "so anga veda" sa eva veda yadi vā so 'pi na veda | īśitrīśitavyādi-laukika-vyavahāra-dṛishṭyā "so anga veda" ity uktam | yatra tv asya sarvam ātmā eva abhūt kena kam paśyed ityādi-sarva-vyavahārātīta-paramārtha-dṛishṭyā "yadi vā na veda" ity uktam | ato manushyādishu tad-vedana-śankā 'pi dūrāpetā |

"There are certain persons who contemn revelation, and propound different theories of creation by their own reason. Thus the followers of Kaṉāda and Gautama, etc., consider atoms to be the ultimate cause of the world. Kapila and others say that an independent and unconscious Pradhāna is the cause. The Mādhyamikas declare that the world rose out of a void, etc. The Lokāyatikas say that the universe has no cause at all, but exists naturally. All these speculators are in error. Our hymn asks what mortal knows by actual observation the cause of the world? and not having himself had ocular proof, how can any one say it was so and so? The points to be declared are the material and instrumental causes of the universe, and these cannot be told. The reason of this impossibility is next set forth. Can the gods give the required information? Or, if not, how can any man? The gods cannot tell, for they did not precede, but are subsequent to, the creation. Since the gods are in this predicament, who else can know? The purport is, that as neither gods nor men existed before the creation, and cannot therefore have witnessed it, and as they are at the same time unable to conclude anything regarding it, from the absence of any adequate reason or illustrative instance, this great mystery can only be understood by those versed in the Vedas....The last verse of the hymn declares that the ruler of the universe knows, or that even he does not know, from what material cause this visible world arose, and whether that material cause exists in any definite form or not. That is to say, the declaration that 'he knows' is made from the stand-point of that popular conception which distinguishes betweeen the ruler of the universe and the creatures over whom he rules; while the proposition that 'he does not know' is asserted on the ground of that highest principle which, transcending all popular conceptions, affirms the identity of all things with the supreme Soul, which cannot see any other existence as distinct from itself. [The sense of this last clause is, that the supreme Soul can know nothing of any object being created external to itself, since no such object exists]. "*A fortiori*, the supposition that such beings as men could possess this knowledge is excluded."

It would, however, be absurd to imagine that the simple author of the hymn entertained any such transcendental notions as these. He makes no pretensions to infallibility, but honestly acknowledges the

perplexity which he felt in speculating on the great problem of the origin of the universe.[543]

As a further illustration, both of the more ancient and the later ideas of the Indians regarding the creation of the world, and the manner in which the supreme Spirit, previously quiescent, was moved to activity, I add another passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 9, 1, with some of the commentator's remarks. The text of the Brāhmaṇa runs thus:[544] "This [universe] was not originally anything. There was neither heaven, nor earth, nor atmosphere. That being nonexistent (*asat*), resolved, 'Let me be.' That became fervent (or practised rigorous abstraction, *atapyata*). From that fervour (or abstraction) smoke was produced. That became again fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. That became again fervent. From that fervour light was produced." And so on,—flame, rays, blazes, etc., being generated by a repetition of the same process. (It may perhaps be considered that the manner in which the word *tapas* is used in this passage is favourable to the idea that in R.V. x. 129, 3, it signifies heat rather than rigorous abstraction.)

Ibid. ii. 2, 9, 10: *Asato 'dhi mano 'sṛijyata | manaḥ Prajāpatim asṛijata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata |* "From the nonexistent mind (*manas*) was created. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring."

The commentator's explanation of the first part of this passage is in substance as follows: "Before the creation no portion existed of the world which we now see. Let such a state of nonexistence be supposed. It conceived the thought, 'Let me attain the condition of existence.' Accordingly, this state of things is distinctly asserted in the Upanishad (the Taittirīya, see above, p. 359): 'This was originally nonexistent. From it existence was produced.' Here, by the word 'nonexistent,' a state of void (or absolute nullity), like that expressed in the phrase 'a hare's horns,' is not intended; but simply a state in which name and form were not manifested. Hence the Vājasaneyins repeat the text: 'This was then undeveloped; let it be developed through name and form.' Earth, the waters, etc., are

[543] Similar perplexity is elsewhere expressed on other subjects by the authors of the hymns. See the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 279 f.

[544] The words of the original will be found in the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 27 f.

'name.' Hardness and fluidity, etc., are 'form.'" The words "un-developed" and "developed" are then defined, and Manu, i. 5, is q in proof. The supposition that the passage before us can be int to denote a void is next contravened by adducing the text Chhāndogya Upanishad above quoted, where that theory is refer and contradicted. "In the Aitareya Upanishad (at the beginni is declared: 'Soul alone was in the beginning this [universe]. thing else was active.' Hence the negation in our text, 'This verse] was not originally anything,' refers to the world, consist name and form, framed by the Supreme Spirit, and is not to be stood absolutely. Designated by the word 'nonexistent' (asa cause devoid of name and form, but still (really) existing (sa principle [called] the Supreme Spirit, impelled by the works creatures absorbed in It, conceived a thought in the way of a tion, 'Let me be manifested as existent in the shape of nan form.' As a man in a deep sleep awakes that he may enjoy th of his works, so the thought of causing all living creatures to the fruit of their works arose in the Supreme Spirit. Posses such a thought, that principle [called] the Supreme Spirit, pr rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) as a means of creating name and Here *tapas* does not mean any such thing as the kṛichhra or ch yaṇa penances, or the like; but denotes consideration regardi particular objects which were to be created. Wherefore writer Atharva-veda school record the text: 'He who is omniscien understanding, whose *tapas* consists of knowledge.' From the fa this *tapas* has nothing of the character of any penance, it properly regarded as denoting the reflection of a being who, unembodied, is yet omnipotent," etc., etc. "From the suprem being such as has been described, in conformity with his vol certain smoke was produced," etc., etc.

(*Yad idaṁ sthāvara-jangama-rūpaṁ bhūlokādirūpaṁ cha jagad dṛiśyate tat sṛishṭeḥ pūrvaṁ naiva āsīt | tat tādṛiśam rūpam eva nāmānāṁ syāt | sad-rūpatām prāpnuyām ity et mano 'kuruta tathā cha upanishadi pūrvam asad-rūpam paśch rūpatotpattiś vispashṭam āmnāyate " asad vai idam agre āsīt sad ajāyata " iti | atra " asat-" śabdena na śaśa-vishāṇādi-sa śūnyatvaṁ vivakshitaṁ kiṁ tarhy anabhivyakta-nāma-rūpatvam |*

Vājasaneyinaḥ samāmananti "tad ha idaṁ tarhy avyākṛitam āsīt | tad nāma-rūpābhyām eva vyākriyeta" iti | bhūmir āpaḥ ityādikaṁ nāma kāṭhinya-dravādikaṁ rūpam | . . . . *Aitareyinas tu adhīyate "ātmā vai idam ekaḥ eva agre āsīd na anyat kinchana mishad" iti | tasmād "naiva kinchana āsīd" ity ayaṁ nishedhaḥ Paramātma-nirmita-nāma-rūpātmaka-jagad-vishayo na tu kṛitsna-vishayaḥ | nāma-rūpa-rahitatvena "asat"-śabda-vāchyaṁ sad eva avasthitam Paramātma-tattvaṁ svātmany antarhita-prāṇi-karmaprerritam sad nāma-rūpākāreṇa āvirbhaveyam iti paryālochana-rūpam mano 'kuruta | yathā gāḍha-nidrām prāptasya purushasya karma-phala-bhogāya prabodhaḥ utpadyate tathā sarvān prāṇinaḥ sva-sva-karma-phalam bhojayitum īdṛiśo vichāraḥ Paramātmanaḥ prādurabhūt | tathāvidha-vichāra-yuktaṁ tat Paramātma-tattva-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-sṛishṭi-sādhana-rūpaṁ tapo 'kuruta | na atra tapaḥ kṛichhra-chāndrāyaṇādi-rūpam | kintu srashṭavya-padārtha-viśesha-vishayam paryālochanam | ataḥ eva Ātharvaṇikāḥ āmananti "yaḥ sarvajnaḥ sarvavid yasya jnānamayaṁ tapaḥ" iti | kṛichhrādi-rūpatvābhāvād aśarīrasya api sarva-śakti-yuktasya paryālochanam upapannam |* . . *tādṛiśāt tasmāt Parameśvarāt sva-sankalpānusāreṇa kaśchid dhūmaḥ udapadyata* |)

(6) *Purusha.*

Another important, but in many places obscure, hymn of the Rig-veda, in which the unity of the Godhead is recognized, though in a pantheistic sense, is the 90th of the tenth book, the celebrated Purusha Sūkta,[445] which is as follows:

1. *Sahasraśīrshāḥ Purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt | sa bhūmiṁ viśvato vṛitvā aty atishṭhad daśāngulam* | 2. *Purushaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yach cha bhavyam | utāmṛitatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati* | 3. *Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁś cha Pūrushaḥ | pādo 'sya viśvā*

[445] Translations of this hymn (which is also given with slight variations in Vāj. S. 13, 1–16, and A.V. 19, 6, and 7, 5, 4) will be found in Mr. Colebrooke's Miscel. Ess. i. 167 (see also the note in p. 309 of the same volume), as also in the 1st vol. of this Work, 9 ff.; (into French) in the Preface to Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. cxxxi. ff. (where see the notes); and (into German) in Professor Weber's Ind. Stud. ix. 5 ff. I have now endeavoured to supply some further illustrations of the ideas in the hymn. I have passed over several obscurities on which I have been unable to throw any light. The first two verses are given in the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 14, 15, where the commentary may be consulted.

bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitam divi | 4. *Tripād ūrddhwaḥ ud ait Purushaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ* | *tato vishvañ vyakrāmat sāśanānaśane abhi* | 5. *Tasmād Virāḷ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ* | *sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ* | 6. *Yat Purusheṇa havishā devāḥ yajnam atanvata* | *vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīshmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ* | 7. *Taṁ yajnam barhishi praukshan Purusham jātam agrataḥ* | *tena devāḥ ayajanta sādhyāḥ ṛishayaś cha ye* | 8. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ sambhṛitam pṛishadājyam* | *paśūṁs tāṁś chakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyāś cha ye* | 9. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire* | *chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata* | 10. *Tasmād aśvāḥ ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādataḥ* | *gāvo ha jajnire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 11. *Yat Purusham vi adadhuḥ katidhā vi akalpayan* | *mukhaṁ kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādau uchyete* | 12. *Brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛitaḥ* | *ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata* | 13. *Chandramāḥ manaso jātaś chakshoḥ Sūryo ajāyata* | *mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata* | 14. *Nābhyāḥ āsīd antarikshaṁ śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavartata* | *padbhyām bhūmir diśaḥ śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan* | 15. *Saptāsyāsan paridhayas triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛitāḥ* | *devāḥ yad yajnaṁ tanvānāḥ abadhnan Purusham paśum* | 16. *Yajnena yajnam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan* | *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve śādhyāḥ santi devāḥ* |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads (a thousand arms, A.V.), a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he transcended [it] by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole[546] [universe], whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since through food he expands.[547] 3. Such is his greatness; and Purusha is superior to this. All existing things are a quarter[548] of him, and that which is immortal

[546] Compare S'atap. Br. iv. 2, 2, 1: *Sarvaṁ hy ayam ātmā*; "for this soul is everything."

[547] The sense of the last clause is obscure. It may also mean, according to the commentators on the Vāj. S. and the S'vetāśv. Upan. "(he is also the lord of) that which grows by food." According to the paraphrase in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (see below), it means, "seeing he has transcended mortal nutriment." The parallel passage of the A.V. (19, 6, 4) reads, "he is also the lord of immortality, since he became united with another (*yad anyenābhavat saha*).

[548] Compare A.V. x. 8, 7, and 13: "7. With the half he produced the whole world; but what became of that which was the [other] half of him? (*ardhena viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna yad asya ardhaṁ kva tad babhūva*). 13. Prajāpati moves within

in the sky is three quarters of him. 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him again was produced here below. He then became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5. From him Virāj was born, and from Virāj, Purusha.[549] As

the womb; though unseen, he is born in many forms. With the half he produced the whole world; but the [other] half of him, what sign is there of it?" Compare also A.V. x. 7, 8, 9, which, as well as portions of A.V. x. 8, will be found quoted and translated further on, in the subsection on Skambha.

[549] The commentator on the Vāj. San. (where, as I have said, this hymn is also found) explains this reciprocal generation of Virāj from Purusha, and again of Purusha from Virāj, by saying, in conformity with Vedantic principles, that Virāj in the form of the mundane egg sprang from Ādi-Purusha (primeval Purusha), who then entered into this egg, which he animates as its vital soul or divine principle (*tataḥ* | *tasmād ādipurushād Virāṭ brahmāṇḍa-deho 'jāyata* | .... *tam eva deham adhikaraṇam kṛitvā Purushas taddehābhimānī ekaḥ eva pumān ajāyata* | *sarva-vedānta-vedyaḥ Paramātmā sva-māyayā Virāḍ-deham brahmāṇḍa-rūpam sṛishṭvā tatrā jīvarūpeṇa praviśya brahmāṇḍābhimānī devatātmā jīvo 'bhavad ity arthaḥ*). According to Manu, i. 8–11 (see the 1st vol. of this Work, pp. 35 f.) the supreme Deity first created the waters, in which he placed an egg, from which again he himself was born as Brahmā, also called Nārāyaṇa. This male (Purusha), created by the eternal, imperceptible, first Cause, is, as verse 11 repeats, called Brahmā. Brahmā by his own thought split the egg (verse 12). After various other details regarding the creation, the writer goes on to say (verse 32) that Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, of which one became a male (Purusha), and the other a female, in whom he produced Virāj. This male (Purusha) Virāj again creates Manu himself (verse 33). We here see that the word male, or Purusha, is applied by Manu to three beings—viz., first, to Brahmā (verse 11); second, to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (verse 32); and thirdly, to Virāj, whom Brahmā, or his male half, produced from the female who was made out of the other half of his body (see also Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 105, note, in Dr. Hall's edition). Another explanation of the verse is, however, to be obtained by comparing the similar passage in R.V. x. 72, 4: "Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha" (quoted above, p. 48), together with the observation of Yāska (Nirukta, xi. 23, also quoted above in page 50), that this startling declaration may be explicable on the ground that these two deities had the same origin, or, in conformity with a characteristic of their divine nature, may have been produced from each other, and have derived their substance from each other. (See also Nirukta, vii. 4, quoted above, p. 350, where the author repeats the same idea regarding the nature of the gods). Compare also A.V. xiii. 4, 29 ff., where Indra is said to be produced from a great many different phenomena or elements, and they reciprocally from him (*sa vai ahno ajāyata tasmād ahar ajayata*). The S'atap. Br. (xiii. 6, 1, 2) understands Virāj in the passage before us to signify not any male power, but the metre of that name: "The Virāj has forty syllables. Hence he (Purusha) obtains the Virāj, according to the text, 'From him sprang Virāj, and from Virāj Purusha." This is that Virāj. From this Virāj, therefore, it is that he begets Purusha the sacrifice." Virāj occurs again in the R.V. ix. 96, 18, and x. 130, 5, as feminine and as the name of a metre. It is also found in x. 159, 3, and x. 166, 1, as well as in i. 188, 5, where it is an

soon as born he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before.[550] 6. When the gods offered up Purusha as a sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the [accompanying]

adjective. In the A.V. it is of frequent occurrence, and sometimes is an epithet, and sometimes denotes the metre of that name. Thus in ix. 2, 5 (compare Vāj. Sanh. 17, 3, and S'atap. Br. ix. 2, 1, 19), it is said, "That daughter of thine, o Kāma, is called the Cow, she whom sages denominate Vāch Virāj" (see below, the subsection on Kāma, and Ind. Stud. ix. 478; compare R.V. viii. 90, 16: *vachovidaṁ Vācham . . . devīṁ devebhyaḥ pary eyushīṁ gām* | "The goddess Vāch . . . . the cow, who has come from the gods"). Again in viii. 9, 1: *vatsau Virājaḥ salilād udaitām* | 2. *Vatsaḥ kāmadugho Virājaḥ* | . . . . 7. *Virājam āhur brahmaṇaḥ pitaraṁ tāṁ no vi dhehi yatidhā sakhibhyaḥ* | 8. *Yām prachyutām anu yajnāḥ prachyavante upatishṭhante upatishṭhamānām* | *yasyāḥ vrate prasave yaksham ejati sā Virāḍ ṛishayaḥ parame vyoman* | 9. *Aprāṇā eti prāṇena prāṇatīnāṁ Virāṭ Svarājam abhyeti paśchāt* | "The two calves of Virāj rose out of the water. 2. . . . The desire-bestowing calf of Virāj." It is shortly afterwards (verse 7) strangely said that Virāj, though spoken of in the feminine gender, is the "father of brahman," whether that mean the deity or devotion. "They say that Virāj is the father of devotion. Bring her to us thy friends in as many forms (as thou canst). 8. She whom, when she advances, sacrifices follow, and stand still when she stands; she, by whose will and energy the living being moves, is Virāj in the highest heaven. 9. Without breath, she moves by the breath of breathing females. Virāj follows after Svarāj," etc. The calf of Virāj is mentioned again in xiii. 1, 33. In viii. 10, 1, it is said of her: *Virāḍ vai idam agre āsīt tasyāḥ jātāyāḥ sarvam abibhed "iyam eva idam bhavishyati" iti* | 2. *Sā udakrāmat sā gārhapatye vyakrāmat* | *gṛihamedhī gṛihapatir bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda* | "Virāj was formerly all this [universe]. Everything was afraid of her when she was born, lest she herself should become this. 2. She ascended. She entered the Gārhapatya fire. He who knows this becomes master of a house," etc. And in ix. 10, 24, we read: *Virāḍ vāg virāṭ pṛithivī virāḍ antariksham virāṭ prajāpatiḥ* | *virāṇ mṛityuḥ sādhyānām adhirājo babhūva*, etc. "Virāj is Vāch, is the earth, and the air, is Prajāpati, is Death, the ruler of the Sādhyas," etc. S'atap. Br. xiii. 2, 5, 3: *Prajāpatir Virājam asṛijat sā 'smāt sṛishṭā parāchy ait* | *sā 'śvam medhyam prāviśat* | "Prajāpati created Virāj. She being produced from him went away and entered into the sacrificial horse." In reading these passages we should bear in mind the great power attributed by the Vedic writers to hymns and metres. See Weber's Ind. Stud. viii. 8–12; and vol. iii. of this Work, pp. 275 ff. On the virtues of the Virāj in particular, see Weber, as above, pp. 56 ff. In the following texts the word may be a masculine name or an epithet: A.V. xi. 5, 16. "The āchārya is a brahmachārin; the brahmachārin is Prajāpati. Prajāpati shines (*vi rājati*). He became the resplendent, powerful Indra." So also in iv. 11, 7; xiii. 3, 5; xi. 5, 7; and viii. 5, 10, where Virāj precedes or follows the words Prajāpati and Parameshṭhin. In xi. 4, 12, Virāj is identified with Prāṇa. In the Bṛihad Ār. Up. Virāj is called the wife of Purusha. (See p. 217 of Dr. Röer's translation. In R.V. x. 159, 3 (*atho me duhitā virāṭ*), and x. 166, 1 (*virājam gopatim gavām*), the word seems to be an epithet.

550 In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., the preceding verses of our hymn are paraphrased as follows: *sarvam Purusha evedam bhūtam bhavyam bhavach cha yat* | *tenedam āvṛitaṁ viśvaṁ vitastim adhitishṭhati* | 16. *Svadhishṭhyam pratapan Prāṇo*

oblation. 7. This victim, Purusha born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their offering, the gods, Sādhyas, and Rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He (Purusha) formed those aerial creatures, and the animals, both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the hymns called Ṛich and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. 10. From it were produced horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. 11. When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;[551] the Rājanya became his arms; the Vaiśya was his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Vāyu from his breath. 14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, in performing their sacrifice,

vahiś cha pratapaty asau | *evaṁ Virājam pratapaṁs tapaty antar vahiḥ pumān* | 17. *So'mṛitasyābhayasyeśo martyam annaṁ yad atyagāt* | *mahimaisho tato brahman Purushasya duratyayaḥ* | 18. *Pādeshu sarva-bhūtāni Puṁsaḥ sthitipado viduḥ* | *amṛitaṁ kshemam abhayaṁ trimūrdhno'dhāyi mūrdhasu* | 19. *Pādāś trayo vahiś chāsann aprajānāṁ ye āśramāḥ* | *antas trilokyās tv aparo gṛihamedho'vṛihad-vrataḥ* | 20. *Sṛitī vichakrame vishvaṅ sāśanānaśane ubhe* | *yad avidyā cha vidyā cha Purushas tūbhayāśrayaḥ* | 21. *Yasmād aṇḍaṁ Virāḍ jajne bhūtendriya-guṇātmakaḥ* | *tad-dravyam atyagād viśvaṁ gobhiḥ sūryaḥ ivātapan* | 15. "Purusha himself is all this which has been, shall be, and is. By him this universe is enveloped, and yet he occupies but a span. 16. That Prāṇa [explained by the commentator as the sun], while kindling his own sphere, kindles also that which is without it. So, too, Purusha, while kindling Virāj, kindles whatever is within and without him. 17. He is the lord of immortality and security, since he has transcended mortal nutriment. Hence, o Brahman, this greatness of Purusha is unsurpassable. 18. The wise know all things to exist in the feet [or quarters] of Purusha, who has the worlds for feet [or quarters]: immortality, blessedness, and security, abide in the heads of the three-headed. 19. Three quarters, viz., the abodes of ascetics, are beyond the three worlds; while the remaining quarter, the abode of householders who have not adopted a life of celibacy, is within them. 20. Purusha has traversed both the two separate paths, that of enjoyment and abstinence, that is, of ignorance and knowledge; for he is the receptacle of both. 21. From him was produced an egg, consisting of the elements and senses and three qualities. Purusha penetrated through its entire substance, as the sun warms with his rays." There is a good deal about Purusha in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad. See pp. 217, 220–228, 233, 250, 252, 267, of Dr. Roer's English translation.

[551] Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9, quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 10, note.

bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven pieces of wood laid for him round the fire, and thrice seven pieces of fuel employed. 16. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the Sacrifice. These were the first institutions. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Sādhyas, reside."[552]

There are two other hymns of the Rig-veda besides the Purusha Sūkta in which the Deity is represented as either the agent, the object, or the subject of sacrifice. In x. 81, 5, Viśvakarman is said to sacrifice himself, or to himself; and in verse 6, to offer up heaven and earth. And in x. 130 (where, in verse 2, Pumān may be equivalent to Purusha), it is said (verse 3) either that the gods sacrificed to the [supreme] god, or that they offered him up.[553]

In the Nirukta, x. 26,[554] a legend, having reference to R.V. x. 81, is quoted to the effect that Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, first of all offered up all worlds in a *sarvamedha*, and ended by sacrificing himself. And in the Satap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 1, the same thing is related of the self-existent Brahma himself, who, finding that he could not by austere fervour attain to the infinitude which he desired, re-

[552] This verse is = i. 164, 50, where see Sāyaṇa's interpretation and Mahīdhara's on Vāj. S. 31, 16; also Nir. 12, 41.

[553] The rendering in these passages depends on the exact sense assigned to the word *yaj*. See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 7–9. The Taitt. Sanh. Asht. vi. p. 41 of India Office MS., says: *Yajnena vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata* | "Prajāpati created living beings by sacrifice." In the Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 22, 1, it is said: "The gods slaughtered father Prajāpati as a victim. They then fasted, saying: 'In the morning we shall offer sacrifice.'" *Prajāpatiṁ vai devāḥ pitaram paśum bhūtam medhāya ālabhanta | tam ālabhya upāvasan | prātar yashṭāshmahe iti.*

[554] Vol. iv. of this work, p. 7; see also p. 309; and Mahābhārata S'āntip., verse 241: *viśvarūpo Mahādevaḥ sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | juhāva sarva-bhūtāni tathaivāmānam ātmanā* | "The omniform Mahādeva sacrificed all creatures in a great all-oblation, and then offered himself by himself." In the S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2, it is said that "Prajāpati gave himself to the gods, and became their sacrifice. For sacrifice is the food of the gods. He then created sacrifice as his own image (or counterpart). Hence they say that 'Prajāpati is sacrifice;' for he created it as his own image" (*tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir ātmānam pradadau | Yajno hi eshām āsa | Yajno hi devānām annam* | 3. *Sa devebhyaḥ ātmānam pradāya athaitam ātmanaḥ pratimām asṛijata yad yajnam | tasmād āhuḥ "Prajāpatir yajnaḥ" iti | ātmano hy etam pratimām asṛijata*). In the M. Bh. S'āntip. 9616, also, it is said that Prajāpati formed the sacrificial victims, and sacrifice itself, and with it worshipped the gods. The S'atap. Br. says, elsewhere, xiv. 3, 2, 1, "This which is sacrifice is the soul of all beings and of all gods" (*sarveshāṁ vai esha bhūtānāṁ sarveshāṁ devānām ātmā yad yajnaḥ*).

solved to offer up himself in created things, and created things in himself, and having done this, attained to pre-eminence, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (see the 4th vol. of this work, p. 25). It is evident that the author of this passage had not attained to that clear conception of the self-sufficiency and omnipotence of a self-existent Being which later Indian writers acquired.[555]

In the hymn before us the gods are distinctly said (in verses 6, 7, and 15) to have offered up Purusha himself as a victim. And in the Bhāgavata Purāna, ii. 6, 21-26,[556] which is a paraphrase of this passage, Brahmā is made to say that he derived the materials of sacrifice from Purusha's members, and immolated that being, the lord himself.

It is not very easy to seize the precise idea which is expressed in the latter part of this singular hymn, the Purusha Sūkta. It was evidently produced at a period when the ceremonial of sacrifice had become largly developed, when great virtue was supposed to reside in its proper celebration, and when a mystical meaning had come to be attached to the various materials and instruments of the ritual as well as to the different members of the victim. Penetrated with a sense of the sanctity and efficacy of the rite, and familiar with all its details, the priestly poet, to whom we owe the hymn, has thought it no profanity to represent the supreme Purusha himself as forming the victim, whose immolation by the agency of the gods gave birth, by its transcendent power, to the visible universe and all its inhabitants.[557]

The two following verses in the Vājasaneyi Sanhita refer to Purusha:

xxxi. 18 (= Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 8): *vedāham etam Purusham mahāntam āditya-varṇam tamasaḥ parastāt | tam eva viditvā 'ti mṛityum eti nānyaḥ panthāḥ vidyate ayanāya |* "I know this great Purusha, resplendent as the sun, above the darkness. It is by knowing him

555 The word *svayambhū* does not, however, always signify self-existence in the absolute sense. Thus Kaśyapa is in A.V. xix. 53, 10, called *svayambhū*, and is yet said to have sprung from *Kāla* (time). (See the subsection on Kāla, further on.)

556 See the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 9.

557 Dr. Haug, when treating of the importance attached to sacrifice by the Brahmans, remarks (Pref. to Ait. Ar. p. 73): "The creation of the world itself was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being." If the learned author here refers to the Purusha Sūkta it would have been more exact to say that the creation was regarded as the fruit of an immolation of the Supreme Being. But his remark may be justified by the other passages I have cited.

that a man overpasses death. There is no other road to go."[538] (The Purusha Sūkta occupies verses 1–16 of the same section in which this verse is found.)

xxxii. 2: *sarve nimeshāḥ jajnire vidyutaḥ Purushād adhi* | *nainam ūrdhvaṁ na tiryancham na madhye parijagrabhat* | "All winkings of the eye have sprung from Purusha, the resplendent. No one has embraced him either above, or below, or in the middle."[539]

The A.V. contains a long hymn (x. 2) on the subject of Purusha, which does not throw much light on the conception of his character, but contains a number of curious ideas. The Deity being conceived and described in this hymn as the Man, or Male (Purusha)—the great archetype and impersonation of that active energy of which men are the feeble representatives upon earth—the poet has been led to imagine the object of his adoration as invested with a visible form, and with members analogous to those of the human frame; and he then goes on to speculate on the agency by which the different portions of Purusha's body could have been constructed, and the source from which he could have derived the various attributes through which he formed the universe, and ordained the conditions under which its several departments exist. The minute questions regarding the members of Purusha with which the hymn opens may have been suggested to the author by an observation of the curious structure of the human body, and by the wonder which that observation had occasioned. Throughout the hymn Purusha is not represented as a self-existent, self-sufficient Being, but as dependent on other gods for his various powers and attributes. The details are too tedious, and in some places too obscure, to admit of my giving them in full, but I shall state the substance, and adduce the most important parts more or less in extenso. The hymn begins thus:—

[538] Compare A.V. vii. 53, 7: "Ascending from the darkness to the highest heaven we have reached the sun, a god among the gods, the uppermost light" (*ud vayaṁ tamasas pari rohanto nākam uttamam* | *devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam* | compare R.V. i. 50, 10, quoted above in p. 160).

[539] The following verse, given in the Nirukta, ii. 3, is from the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 9: "This entire universe is filled by that Purusha to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom no one is more minute or more vast, and who alone, fixed like a tree, abides in the sky" (*yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kinchid yasmād nāṇīyo na jyāyo 'sti kaśchit* | *vṛikshaḥ iva stabdho divi tishṭhaty ekas tenedam pūrṇam Purusheṇa sarvam*).

1. *Kena pārshṇī ābhṛite Purushasya kena māṁsaṁ sambhṛitaṁ kena gulphau | kenānguli peśanīḥ kena khāni .... | 2. Kasmān nu gulphāv adharāv akṛiṇvann ashṭhīvantāv uttarau Pūrushasya | .... 4. Kati devāḥ katame te āsan ye uro grīvāś chikyuḥ Pūrushasya | kati stanau vyadadhuḥ kaḥ kaphauḍau kati skandhān kati pṛishṭīr achinvan | 6. Kaḥ sapta khāni vi tatarda śīrshaṇi karṇāv imau nāsike chakshaṇī mukham | .... 9. Priyāpriyāṇi bahulā. svapnaṁ sambādha-tandryaḥ | ānandān ugro nandāṁś cha kasmād vahati Pūrushaḥ | ārtir avartir nirṛitiḥ kuto nu Purushe 'matiḥ | rādhiḥ samṛidhiḥ | .... 12. Ko asmin rūpam adadhāt ko mahmānaṁ cha nāma cha | gātuṁ ko asmin ko ketuṁ kaś charitrāṇi Pūrushe | 13. Ko asmin prāṇam avayat ko apānaṁ vyānam u | samānam asmin ko devo adhi śiśrāya Pūrushe | 14. Ko asmin yajnam adadhād eko devo adhi Pūrushe | ko asmin satyaṁ ko 'nṛitaṁ kuto mṛityuḥ kuto 'mṛitam | 15. Ko asmai vāsaḥ paryadhāt ko asyāyur akalpayat | balaṁ ko asmai prāyachhat ko asyākalpayaj javam | 16. Kenāpo anvatanuta kenāhar akarod ruche | ushasaṁ kena anvaindha kena sāyambhavaṁ dadhe | 17. Ko asmin reto nyadadhāt tantur ātāyatām iti | medhāṁ ko asminn adhyauhat .... | 18. Kena imām bhūmim aurṇot kena paryabhavad divam | kenābhi mahnā parvatān kena karmāṇi Pūrushaḥ | 24. Keneyam bhūmir vihitā kena dyaur uttarā hitā | kenedam ūrdhvaṁ tiryak cha antarikshaṁ vyacho hitam | 25. Brahmaṇā bhūmir vihitā Brahma dyaur uttarā hitā | Brahmedam ūrdhvaṁ tiryak cha antarikshaṁ vyacho hitam | .... 28. Ūrdhvo nu sṛishṭās tiryañ nu sṛishṭāḥ sarvāḥ diśaḥ Purushaḥ ā babhūva | puraṁ yo Brahmaṇo veda yasyāḥ Purushaḥ uchyate | 29. Yo vai tām Brahmaṇo veda amṛitenāvṛitām puram | tasmai Brahma cha brāhmāś cha chakshuḥ prāṇam prajāṁ daduḥ | 30. Na vai taṁ chakshur jahāti na prāṇo jarasaḥ purā | puraṁ yo Brahmaṇo veda yasyāḥ Purushaḥ uchyate | 31. Ashṭāchakrā navadvārā devānām pūr ayodhyā | tasyāṁ hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargaḥ jyotishāvṛitaḥ | 32. Tasmin hiraṇyaye kośe tryare tripratishṭhite | tasmin yad yaksham ātmanvat tad vai brahma-vido viduḥ | 33. Prabhrājamānāṁ hariṇīm yaśasā samparīvṛitām | puraṁ hiraṇyayīm Brahma āviveśāparājitām |*

"1. By whom were the heels of Purusha produced? By whom was his flesh brought together? By whom were his ancles, by whom were his fingers and his muscles, made? By whom the apertures of his body? . . . 2. From what did they construct his ancles below and

that a man overpasses death. There is no other road to go."[555] (The Purusha Sūkta occupies verses 1–16 of the same section in which this verse is found.)

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[556] The following verse, given in the Nirukta, ii. 3, is from the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 9: "This entire universe is filled by that Purusha to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom no one is more minute or more vast, and who alone, fixed like a tree, abides in the sky" (*yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kinchid yasmād nāṇīyo na jyāyo 'sti kaśchit | vṛikshaḥ iva stabdho divi tishṭhaty ekas tenedam pūrṇam Purushena sarvam*).

and breath, and progeny. 30. Neither sight nor breath abandons before [the term of natural] decay the man who knows the city of Brahma, from which Purusha is named. 31. Within that impregnable city of the gods (compare *puram devānām amṛitam hiraṇyam*, A.V. v. 28, 11; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 987 ff.), which has eight circles (compare A.V. xi. 4, 22) and nine gates, there exists a golden receptacle, celestial, invested with light. 32. Those acquainted with Brahma (divine science, or the Deity) know that living being which resides in this golden receptacle with three spokes, and triple supports.[361] 33. Brahma has entered into the impregnable golden city, resplendent, bright, invested with renown."

In the Satap. Br. xiii. 6, 1, 1 (see vol. iv. of this Work, p. 25), the word Nārāyaṇa is coupled with Purusha, and it is said that this being desired to surpass all beings, and become himself the entire universe, and that he accomplished his object by celebrating the Purushamedha sacrifice. Purusha Nārāyaṇa is again mentioned in the same Brāhmaṇa (xii. 3, 4, 1) as receiving instruction from Prajāpati: *Purushaṁ ha Nārāyaṇam Prajāpatir uvācha "yajasva yajasva" iti | sa ha uvācha "'yajasva yajasva' iti vāva tvam mām āttha | trir ayakshi | Vasavaḥ prātaḥ-savanena aguḥ Rudrāḥ mādhyandinena savanena Ādityās tritīya-savanena atha mama yajna-vāstv eva yajna-vāstāv eva aham āsa" iti | sa ha uvācha "yajasva eva | ahaṁ vai te tad vakshyāmi yathā te ukthāni maṇir iva sūtre otāni bhavishyanti sūtram iva vā maṇāv" iti* | "Prajāpati said to Purusha Nārāyaṇa, 'Sacrifice, sacrifice.' He replied, 'Thou sayest to me, Sacrifice, sacrifice. I have sacrificed thrice. By the morning oblation the Vasus came, by the mid-day oblation the Rudras came, and by the third oblation the Ādityas came to my place of sacrifice, where I was.' Prajāpati rejoined, 'Sacrifice; I will tell thee how thy hymns shall be strung like a gem on a thread, or as a thread in a gem.'"

[361] One line of A.V. x. 8, 43 (quoted in the next subsection), is identical with one line of this verse, though the other line is different. The whole runs thus: "The knowers of *brahma* know that living being which resides in the lotus with nine gates, invested with the three qualities" (*tribhir guṇebhir āvṛitam*). Roth, *s.v. guṇa*, translates the last three words by "triply enveloped," and refers in support of this sense to verses 29 and 32 of the hymn before us, and to Chhāndogya Upanishad, viii. 1, 1. It is possible, however, that there may be here a first reference to the three *guṇas* afterwards so celebrated in Indian philosophical speculation.

(7) *Skambha and Brahma.*

In the following hymn of the A.V. (x. 7) the Supreme Deity appears to be celebrated under the appellation of Skambha (or Support).[563] Though it is rather tedious, I shall translate it nearly in full, as these ancient guesses after truth no doubt contain the germ of some of the later speculations on the same topics. In the first part (verses 1–6, 10–12) Skambha is considered (like Purusha, with whom he seems to be identified, verse 15) as a vast embodied being, co-extensive with the universe, and comprehending, in his several members, not only the different parts of the material world, but a variety of abstract conceptions, such as austere fervour (*tapas*), faith, truth, and the divisions of time. He is distinct from, and superior to, Prajāpati, who founds the worlds upon him (verses 7, 8, 17). The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him (verses 13, 22, and 27), and arose out of nonentity, which forms his highest member, and, as well as entity, is embraced within him (verses 10, 25). The gods who form part of him, as branches of a tree (verse 38), do him homage, and bring him tribute (verse 39). He is identified with Indra (in verses 29 and 30); and perhaps also with the highest Brahma, who is mentioned in verses 32–34, 36, and in the first verse of the next hymn, x. 8, 1. In verse 36, however, this Brahma is represented as being born (or, perhaps, developed) from toil and *tapas*, whilst in x. 8, 1, the attributes of the Supreme Deity are assigned to him. In compositions of this age, however, we are not to expect very accurate or rigorous thinking, or perfect consistency:—

1. *Kasminn ange tapo asyādhi tishṭhati kasminn ange ṛitam asya adhy āhitam* | *kva vratam̃ kva śraddhā 'sya tishṭhati kasminn ange satyam asya pratishṭhitam* | 2. *Kasmād angād dīpyate agnir asya kasmād angāt pavate mātariśvā* | *kasmād aṇgād vi mimīte 'dhi chandramāḥ mahaḥ Skambhasya mimāno angam* | 3. *Kasminn ange tishṭhati bhūmir asya kasminn ange tishṭhati antariksham* | *kasminn ange tishṭhati āhitā dyauḥ kasminn ange tishṭhati uttaram̃ divaḥ* | 4. *Kva prepsan dīpyate ūrdhvo agniḥ kva prepsan pavate mātariśvā* | *yatra prepsantīr abhi yanti āvṛitaḥ*

[563] This word occurs in R.V. viii. 41, 10: *sa dhāma pūrvyam mame yaḥ skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat* | "He formed the first abode, he who with a prop (*skambha*) held apart the two worlds, like the unborn."

Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ | 5. *Kva ardhamāsāḥ kva yanti māsāḥ saṁvatsareṇa saha saṁvidānāḥ* | *yatra yanti ṛitavo yatra ārtavāḥ Skambham tam brūhi*—| 6. *Kva prepsantī yuvatī virūpe ahorātre dravataḥ saṁvidāne* | *yatra prepsantīr abhiyanti āpaḥ Skambham*—| 7. *Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat* | *Skambham*—| 8. *Yat paramam avamaṁ yach cha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛije viśvarūpam* | *kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva* | 9. *Kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyad bhavishyad anu āśaye 'sya* | *ekaṁ yad angam akṛiṇot sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra* | 10. *Yatra lokāṁś cha kośāṁś cha apo brahma janāḥ viduḥ* | *asach cha yatra sachchāntaḥ Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 11. *Yatra tapaḥ parākramya vrataṁ dhārayaty uttaram* | *ṛitaṁ cha yatra śraddhā cha āpo brahma samāhitā Skambham*—| 12. *Yasmin bhūmir antarikshaṁ dyaur yasminn adhyāhitā* | *yatrāgniś chandramāḥ sūryo vātas tishṭhanti ārpitā Skambham*—| 13. *Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ ange sarve samāhitāḥ* | *Skambham*—| 14. *Yatra ṛishayaḥ prathamajāḥ ṛichaḥ sāma yajur mahī* | *ekarshir yasminn ārpitaḥ Skambham*—| 15. *Yatrāmṛitaṁ cha mṛityuś cha Purushe 'dhi samāhite* | *samudro yasya nāḍyaḥ Purushe 'dhi samāhitā Skambham*—| 16. *Yasya chatasraḥ pradiśo nāḍyas tishṭhanti prathamāḥ* | *yajno yatra parākrāntaḥ Skambham*—| 17. *Ye Purushe Brahma vidus te viduḥ Parameshṭhinam* | *yo veda Parameshṭhinaṁ yaś cha veda Prajāpatim* | *jyeshṭhaṁ ye brāhmaṇaṁ vidus te Skambham anu saṁviduḥ* | 18. *Yasya śiro Vaiśvānaraś chakshur Angiraso 'bhavan* | *angāni yasya Yātavaḥ Skambham*—| 19. *Yasya brahma mukham āhur jihvām madhukaśām uta* | *virājam ūdho yasyāhuḥ Skambham*—| 20. *Yasmād ṛicho apātakshan yajur yasmād apākashan* | *sāmāni yasya lomāni atharvāngiraso mukham* | *Skambham*—| 21. *Asachchhākhām pratishṭhantīm paramam iva janāḥ viduḥ* | *uto san manyante 'vare ye te śākhām upāsate* | 22. *Yatrādityāś cha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha samāhitāḥ* | *bhūtaṁ cha yatra bhavyaṁ cha sarve lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ* | *Skambham*—| 23. *Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ nidhiṁ rakshanti sarvadā* | *nidhiṁ tam adya ko veda yaṁ devāḥ abhirakshatha* | 24. *Yatra devāḥ brahmavido Brahma jyeshṭham upāsate* | *yo vai tān vidyāt pratyakshaṁ sa brahmā veditā syāt* | 25. *Bṛihanto nāma te devāḥ ye 'sataḥ parijajnire* | *ekaṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | 26. *Yatra Skambhaḥ prajanayan purāṇaṁ vyavartayat* | *ekaṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya purāṇam anu*

(7) *Skambha and Brahma.*

In the following hymn of the A.V. (x. 7) the Supreme Deity appears to be celebrated under the appellation of Skambha (or Support).[33] Though it is rather tedious, I shall translate it nearly in full, as these ancient guesses after truth no doubt contain the germ of some of the later speculations on the same topics. In the first part (verses 1–6, 10–12) Skambha is considered (like Purusha, with whom he seems to be identified, verse 15) as a vast embodied being, co-extensive with the universe, and comprehending, in his several members, not only the different parts of the material world, but a variety of abstract conceptions, such as austere fervour (*tapas*), faith, truth, and the divisions of time. He is distinct from, and superior to, Prajāpati, who founds the worlds upon him (verses 7, 8, 17). The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him (verses 13, 22, and 27), and arose out of nonentity, which forms his highest member, and, as well as entity, is embraced within him (verses 10, 25). The gods who form part of him, as branches of a tree (verse 38), do him homage, and bring him tribute (verse 39). He is identified with Indra (in verses 29 and 30); and perhaps also with the highest Brahma, who is mentioned in verses 32–34, 36, and in the first verse of the next hymn, x. 8, 1. In verse 36, however, this Brahma is represented as being born (or, perhaps, developed) from toil and *tapas*, whilst in x. 8, 1, the attributes of the Supreme Deity are assigned to him. In compositions of this age, however, we are not to expect very accurate or rigorous thinking, or perfect consistency:—

1. *Kasminn ange tapo asyādhi tishṭhati kasminn ange ṛitam asya adhy āhitam | kva vrataṁ kva śraddhā 'sya tishṭhati kasminn ange satyam asya pratishṭhitam* | 2. *Kasmād angād dīpyate agnir asya kasmād angāt pavate mātariśvā | kasmād angād vi mimīte 'dhi chandramāḥ mahaḥ Skambhasya mimāno angam* | 3. *Kasminn ange tishṭhati bhūmir asya kasminn ange tishṭhati antariksham | kasminn ange tishṭhati āhitā dyauḥ kasminn ange tishṭhati uttaraṁ divaḥ* | 4. *Kva prepsan dīpyate ūrdhvo agniḥ kva prepsan pavate mātariśvā | yatra prepsantīr abhi yanti āvṛitaḥ*

[33] This word occurs in R.V. viii. 41, 10: *sa dhāma pūrvyam mame yaḥ skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat* | "He formed the first abode, he who with a prop (*skambha*) held apart the two worlds, like the unborn."

they enter. 5. Whither tending, do the half-months and the months, in concert with the year, proceed? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the seasons and other divisions of the year advance. 6. Whither tending, do the two young females of diverse aspects, the day and the night, hasten in unison? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the waters tend and go? 7. Who is that Skambha on whom Prajāpati has supported and established all the worlds? 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? And how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? How far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? 10. Tell who is that Skambha in whom men recognize the worlds and receptacles, the waters and divine thought [as existing], and within whom are nonentity and entity; (11) in whom austere fervour (*tapas*), energizing, maintains its highest action (*vrata*), in whom the ceremonial, faith, the waters, and divine science are comprehended; (12) in whom earth, atmosphere, sky, fire, moon, sun, and wind are placed; (13) in whose body all the thirty-three gods are contained;[563] (14) in whom the earliest Rishis, the Rik, the Sāman, the Yajush, the earth, and the one Rishi reside; (15) that Purusha, in whom immortality and death are comprehended; who has the ocean within him as his veins; (16) that Skambha, of whom the four regions are the primeval arteries, and in whom sacrifice displays its energy. 17. They who know the divine essence (*brahma*) in Purusha, know Parameshṭhin.[564] He who knows Parameshṭhin, and he who knows Prajāpati — they who know the highest divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*)[565] know in consequence Skambha. 18. Tell who is that Skambha of whom Vaiśvānara (Agni) is the head, the Angirases the eye, and the Yātus (demons) are the limbs; (19) of whom they say divine knowledge (*brahma*) is the mouth, the Madhukaśā[566] the tongue, and the Virāj the udder; (20) from whom they

[563] See Dr. Haug's Essay on the sacred language of the Parsees, p. 233.

[564] Son of Prajāpati according to S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 6, 14, 16; gives sacrifice to Prajāpati, Taitt. S. i. 6, 9, 2. See Comm. there, p. 914.

[565] See verses 20, 33, and 37 of A.V. x. 8, to be quoted below.

[566] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for an explanation of this word, and an indication of some passages in which it is mentioned. In R.V. i. 22, 3, and i. 157, 4,

saṁviduḥ | 27. *Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ ange gātrā vi bhej*
tān vai trayastriṁśad devān eke brahmavido viduḥ | 28. *Hir*
garbham paramam anatyudyaṁ janāḥ viduḥ | *Skambhas tad agre*
siñchad hiraṇyaṁ loke antarā | 29. *Skambhe lokāḥ Skambhe*
Skambhe 'dhy ṛitam āhitam | *Skambha tvā veda pratyaksham*
sarvaṁ samāhitam | 30. *Indre lokāḥ Indre tapaḥ Indre 'dhy*
āhitam | *Indram* (*Indra ?*) *tvā veda pratyakshaṁ Skambhe s*
pratishṭhitam | 31. *Nāmnā nāma johavīti purā sūryāt purosh*
yad ajaḥ prathamaṁ sambabhūva sa ha tat svarājyam iyāya y
nānyat param asti bhūtam | 32. *Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antar*
utodaram | *divaṁ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Bra*
namaḥ | 33. *Yasya Sūryaś chakshuś chandramāś cha punar n*
Agniṁ yaś chakre āsyaṁ tasmai—| 34. *Yasya vātaḥ prāṇā*
chakshur Angiraso 'bhavan | *diśo yaś chakre prajnānīs tasmai jye*
Brahmaṇe namaḥ | 35. *Skambho dadhāra dyāvā-pṛithivī ubhe ime*
bho dadhāra urv antariksham | *Skambho dadhārā pradiśaḥ shaḍ*
Skambhaḥ idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam ā viveśa | 36. *Yaḥ śramāt tapa*
lokān sarvān samānaśe | *Somaṁ yaś chakre kevalaṁ tasmai jyes*
Brahmaṇe namaḥ | 37. *Kathaṁ vāto nelayati kathaṁ na ramate m*
kim āpaḥ satyam prepsantīr nelayanti kadāchana | 38. *Mahad y*
bhuvanasya madhye tapasi krāntaṁ salilasya pṛishṭhe | *tasmin ś*
ye u ke cha devāḥ vṛikshasya skandhaḥ paritaḥ iva śākhāḥ | 39.
hastābhyām pādābhyām vāchā śrotreṇa chakshushā | *yasmai dev*
baliṁ prayachhanti vimite 'mitam | *Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katam*
eva sa | 40. *Apa tasya hataṁ tamo vyāvṛittaḥ sa pāpmanā* |
tasmin jyotīṁshi yāni trīṇi Prajāpatau | 41. *Yo vetasaṁ hira*
tishṭhantaṁ salile veda | *sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* |

"1. In what member of his does austere fervour stan
ceremonial contained? In what parts do religi
which is the faith abide? In what member is truth establish
servance and ... member does Agni blaze? From which does Mā
From what (the wind) blow? From which does the moon pursue her
mighty body of Skambha? 3. In what memb
traversing the ... reside? In which the atmosphere? In which is
the earth ... in which the space above the sky? 4. Whither t
placed, and ... upward fire blaze? Whither tending, does the wind
does the ... that Skambha to whom the paths tend, and int
Tell who is

possessors of sacred knowledge know those thirty-three gods. 28. Men know Hiraṇyagarbha[569] to be supreme and ineffable. Skambha in the beginning shed forth that gold (*hiraṇya*, out of which Hiraṇyagarbha arose) in the midst of the world. 29. In Skambha are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. Skambha, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Indra. 30. In Indra are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. Indra, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Skambha. 31. (The worshipper) repeatedly invokes the [god who bears the one] name by the name [of the other god] before the sun, before the dawn.[570] When the Unborn first sprang into being, he attained to that independent dominion, than that which nothing higher has ever been. 32. Reverence be to that greatest Brahma, of whom the earth is the basis, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head, (33) of whom the sun and the ever-renewed moon are the eye; who made Agni his mouth, (34) of whom the wind formed two of the vital airs, and the Angirases the eye, who made the regions his organs of sense.[571] 35. Skambha established both these [worlds], earth and sky, the wide atmosphere, and the six vast regions; Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who, born from toil and austere fervour (*tapas*), penetrated all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone.[572] 37. How is it that the wind does not rest? How is not the soul quiescent? Why do not the waters, seeking after truth, ever repose? 38. The great being [is] absorbed in austere fervour in the midst of the world, on the surface of the waters. To him all the gods are joined, as the branches around the trunk of a tree. 39. Say who is that Skambha to whom the gods, with hands, feet, voice, ear, eye, present continually an unlimited tribute.[573] 40. By him darkness is dispelled; he is free from evil; in him are all the three luminaries which reside in Prajāpati. 41. He

[569] See above, p. 355.

[570] The meaning of this, as suggested by Professor Aufrecht, is, that by invoking Indra, the worshipper really worships Skambha.

[571] Compare Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v. p. 1616, *s.v. prajnāna.*

[572] Such is the sense according to Roth, s.v. *kevala.*

[573] Compare A.V. x. 8, 15 .... "the great being in the midst of the world: to him the rulers of realms bring tribute" (*mahad yaksham bhuvanasya madhye tasmai baliṁ rāshṭrabhṛito bharanti*).

hewed off the Rik verses, and cut off the Yajus; of whom the Sāma verses are the hairs, and the Atharvāngirases (*i.e.* the Atharva-veda) the mouth.[567] 21. Men regard the branch of nonentity,[568] which is prominent, as if it were paramount; and inferior men, as many as worship thy branch, regard it as an entity. 22. Tell who is that Skambha in whom the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus are contained, on whom the past, the future, and all worlds are supported; (23) whose treasure the thirty-three gods continually guard. Who now knows the treasure which ye guard, o gods? 24. Where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (*brahma*), worship the highest divine essence (*brahma*);—the priest (*brahmā*) who knows these [gods] face to face will be a sage. 25. Mighty indeed are those gods who have sprung from nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha (compare v. 10, above). 26. Where Skambha generating, brought the Ancient (*purāṇa*) into existence, they consider that that Ancient is one member of Skambha, (27) in whose members the thirty-three gods found their several bodies. Some

the Aśvins are said to have a honied whip, *kaśā madhumatī*, with which they are besought to sprinkle the worshippers, or their sacrifice. The Maruts are also said, in R.V. i. 37, 3, and i. 168, 4, to have whips, though they are not said to be honied. In the Nighaṇṭu, however, the sense of speech is ascribed to *Kaśā*; and a mystical signification is also assigned to the word *madhu*, honey, which Dadhyanch is said, R.V. i. 116, 12, and i. 117, 22, to have made known to the Aśvins. This is explained by Sāyaṇa on these two passages as meaning that he gave them a Brāhmaṇa revealing the Madhuvidyā; and Mahīdhara, on Vāj. S. 7, 11, understands the *kaśā madhumatī* as referring to this mystic lore. This Madhukaśā is celebrated at considerable length in A.V. ix. 1, where it is said that she "sprang from the sky, the earth, the air, the sea, fire, and wind," and that "all creatures, worshipping her who dwells in immortality, rejoice in their hearts" (*divas prithivyāḥ antarikshāt samudrād agner vātād madhukaśā vi jajne | tāṁ chāyitvā amritaṁ vasānāṁ hridbhiḥ prajāḥ prati nandanti sarvāḥ*). In verses 3, 10, she is said to be the "brilliant grand-daughter of the Maruts" (*Marutām ugrā naptiḥ*), and in verse 4, to be the "mother of the Ādityas, the daughter of the Vasus, the life of creatures, and the centre of immortality" (*mātā 'dityānāṁ duhitā Vasūnām prāṇaḥ prajānām amritasya nābhiḥ*).

[567] Compare A.V. ix. 6, 1: "He who clearly knows Brahma, of whom the materials of sacrifice are the joints, the Rik-verses are the backbone, the Sāma-verses the hairs, the Yajus is said to be the heart, and the oblation the covering" (*yo vid... yād Brahma parūṁshi yasya sambhārāḥ richo yasya anūkyam | sāmāni yasya ...āni yajur hṛidayam uchyate paristaraṇam id haviḥ*).

[568] The sense of this verse is obscure, and it does not seem to be very closely connected either with what precedes or with what follows. I have adopted part... the rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

three Vedas are merely portions of the preæval Veda, whence they were derived, or, to adhere to the metaphor, branches of that tree-fulcrum (compare verse 38); and, moreover, that while *skambha* is *the* reality, these branch vedas are not *the* reality, though those who do not understand the Skambha, may take them for such (verse 21). 'Some people think that the *existing* branch (*i.e.* the existing Vedas—compare verse 20), which is not *the* reality (*asat*), is, as it were (*iva*), the highest (*paramam*) Veda; on the other hand, those (people) inferior (to the former), who believe that it is *the* reality (*sat*), worship thy branch (*i.e.* those later Vedas).' Here the word *iva*, in my opinion, implies that the *janāḥ* of the first half verse have still a doubt, and, therefore, do not identify both the preæval and the existing Vedas; whereas, those people introduced with *uto* (*uta-u*) are more ignorant in assuming for certain such an identity, and therefore proceed to a practical worship of those Vedas."

I quote in addition some verses from the hymn next in order, A.V. x. 8:—

Yo bhūtaṁ cha bhavyaṁ cha sarvaṁ yaś chādhitishṭhati | svar yasya cha kevalaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ | 2. *Skambheneme vishṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tishṭhataḥ | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇad nimishach cha yat* .... | 11. *Yad ejati patati yach cha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇad nimishach cha yad bhuvat | tad dadhāra prithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty ekam eva* | 12. *Anantaṁ vitatam purutrā anantam antavach cha ā samante | te nākapālaś charati vichinvan vidvān bhūtam uta bhavyam asya* | 13. *Prajāpatiś charati garbhe antar adriśyamāno bahudhā vi jāyate | ardhena viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna yad asya ardhaṁ katamaḥ sa ketuḥ* .... | 16. *Yataḥ Sūryaḥ udeti astaṁ yatra cha gachhati | tad eva manye 'haṁ jyeshṭhaṁ tad u nātyeti kinchana* .... | 20. *Yo vai te vidyād araṇī yābhyāṁ nirmathyate vasu | sa vidvān jyeshṭham manyeta sa vidyād brāhmaṇam mahat* .... | 34. *Yatra devāścha manushyāścha arāḥ nābhāv iva śritāḥ | apāṁ tvā pushpam prichhāmi yatra tan māyayā hitam* .... 37. *Yo vidyāt sūtraṁ vitataṁ yasminn otāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | sūtraṁ sūtrasya yo vidyāt sa vidyād brāhmaṇam mahat* | 38. *Vedāhaṁ sūtraṁ vitataṁ yasminn otāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | sūtraṁ sūtrasyāhaṁ veda atho yad brāhmaṇaṁ mahat* .... | 43. *Puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāraṁ tribhir guṇebhir āvritam | tasmin yad yaksham ātmanvat tad vai brahmavido viduḥ* | 44. *Akāmo dhīro amritaḥ*

svayambhūḥ rasena tṛipto na kutaśchanonaḥ | *tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṁ dhīram ajaraṁ yuvānam* |

"1. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who presides over the past, the future, the universe, and whose alone is the sky. 2. These two [worlds], the sky and the earth, exist, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks . . . . 11. That which moves, flies, stands, which has existed breathing, not breathing, and winking; that omniform (entity) has established the earth; that, combined, is one only. 12. The infinite extended on many sides, the infinite and the finite all around,—these two the ruler of the sky proceeds discriminating, knowing the past and the future of this (universe). 13. (=Vāj. San. 31, 19) Prajāpati moves within the womb. Though unseen, he is born in *many forms*. With the half [of himself] he produced the whole world. *What* trace is there of the [other] half of him? . . . . 16. I regard *as the greatest* That whence the sun rises, and That where he sets; That is not surpassed by anything . . . . 20. He who knows the two pieces of fire-wood from which wealth is rubbed out, he, so knowing, will understand that which is the greatest; he will know the great divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*) . . . . 34. I ask thee regarding that flower *of the* waters, in which gods and men are fixed as spokes in the nave *of a* wheel,—where that was placed by [divine] skill (*māyā*) . . . . 37. He who knows that extended thread on which these creatures are strung, who knows the thread of the thread,—he knows that great divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*). 38. I know that extended thread on which these creatures are strung. I know the thread of the thread, and hence, too, that which is the great divine mystery . . . . 43. The possessors of divine science (*brahma*) know that being within the lotus with nine gates, which is enveloped by the three qualities (*guṇas*).[375] 44. Knowing that soul (*ātman*) calm, undecaying, young, free from desire, immortal, self-existent, satisfied with the essence, deficient in nothing, a man is not afraid of death."

Some verses in the two preceding hymns speak of the highest, or greatest, Brahma, in whatever sense that term is to be under*stood*. I am unable to state whether Brahma in the sense of the supreme

[375] See note in p. 377.

Deity occurs elsewhere in the Atharva-veda, unless it be in the following passage (xi. 8, 30 ff.): *yāḥ āpo yās cha devatāḥ yā Virāḍ Brahmaṇā saha | śarīram Brahma prāviśat śarīre 'dhi Prajāpatiḥ* | 31. *Sūryaś chakshur vātaḥ prāṇam purushasya vi bhejire | athāsyetaram ātmānaṁ devāḥ prāyachhann Agnaye* | 32. *Tasmād vai vidvān purusham idam Brahmeti manyate | sarvāḥ hi asmin devatāḥ gāvo goshṭhe ivāsate* | "The waters, the gods, Virāj (*feminine*) with Brahma [entered into man]. Brahma entered his body; Prajāpati [presides] over his body. 31. Sūrya occupied the eye, and Vāta the breath of the man. Then the gods gave his other soul to Agni. 32. Wherefore one who knows the man thinks, 'this is Brahma;' for all the gods are in him, as cows in a cowhouse."

In the Vāj. San. xxiii. 47, we find the following words: *kiṁ svit Sūrya-samaṁ jyotiḥ kiṁ samudra-samaṁ saraḥ* | .... 48. *Brahma Sūrya-samaṁ jyotir dyauḥ samudra-samaṁ saraḥ* | "What light is equal to the sun? What lake is equal to the sea?" To which the following verse gives the answer: "Brahma (neuter) is a light equal to the sun. The sky is a lake equal to the sea." The commentator explains Brahma in this passage as standing either for the three Vedas or the supreme Brahma.

In Satap. Br. x. 6, 5, 9, it is stated in a genealogy of teachers that "Tura Kāvasheya sprang from Prajāpati, and Prajāpati from Brahma, who is self-existent" (*Turaḥ Kāvasheyaḥ Prajāpateḥ Prajāpatir Brahmaṇaḥ | Brahma svayambhu*). In another passage, already quoted, from the same work (xiii. 7, 1, 1) Brahma (in the neuter), the self-existent, is described as performing *tapas*, and as sacrificing himself. Ibid. x. 4,1,9, a verse is quoted from some hymn which begins, "I celebrate the one great imperishable Brahma who was and is to be" ("*Bhūtam bhavishyat prastaumi mahad Brahmaikam aksharam*").

Again, in the same work, xi. 3, 3, 1, the same being is represented as giving over other creatures, except the Brahmachārin, or religious student, to death (*Brahma vai mṛityave prajāḥ prāyachhat | tasmai brahmachāriṇam eva na prāyachhat*). And in xi. 2, 3, 1 ff., there is another text, which is interesting not merely as introducing Brahma, but as containing what is probably one of the oldest extant expositions of the conception of *nāma* and *rūpa* (name and form) as comprehending the whole of the phenomenal universe. These two words, as is well

known, became at a later period technical terms of the Vedānta philosophy. The passage runs as follows:—

Brahma vai idam agre āsīt | tad devān asṛijata |tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad asminn eva loke Agniṁ Vāyum antarikshe divy eva Sūryam | 2. Atha ye ataḥ ūrdhvāḥ lokāś tad yāḥ ataḥ ūrdhvāḥ devatās teshu tāḥ devatāḥ vyārohayat saḥ | yathā ha eva ime āvirlokāḥ imāś cha devatāḥ evam u ha eva te āvirlokās tāścha devatāḥ yeshu tāḥ devatāḥ vyārohayat | 3. Atha Brahma eva parārdham agachhat | tat parārdhaṁ gatvā aikshata "kathaṁ nv imān lokān pratyaveyām" iti | tad dvābhyām eva pratyavaid rūpeṇa chaiva nāmnā cha saḥ | yasya kasya cha nāma asti tan nāma | yasya u api nāma nāsti yad veda rūpeṇa "idam rūpam" iti tad rūpam | etāvad vai idaṁ yāvad rūpaṁ chaiva nāma cha | 4. Te ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī abhve | sa yo ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī abhve veda mahad ha eva abhvam bhavati | 5. Te ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe | sa yo ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe veda mahad ha eva yaksham bhavati | tayor anyataraj jyāyo rūpam eva | yad hy api nāma rūpam eva tat | sa yo hy etayor jyāyo veda jyāyān ha tasmād bhavati yasmāj jyāyān bubhūshati | martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmaṇā āpur atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ | sa yam manasaḥ āghārayati | mano vai rūpam | manasā hi veda "idaṁ rūpam" iti | tena rūpam āpnoti | atha yaṁ vāchaḥ āghārayati | vāg vai nāma | vāchā hi nāma gṛihṇāti | tena u nāma āpnoti | etāvad vai idaṁ sarvaṁ yāvad rūpaṁ chaiva nāma cha | tat sarvam āpnoti | sarvaṁ vai akshayyam | etena u ha asya akshayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty akshayyo lokaḥ |

"1. In the beginning Brahma was this [universe]. He created gods. Having created gods, he placed them in these worlds, viz., in this world Agni, in the atmosphere Vāyu, and in the sky Sūrya; (2) and in the worlds which were yet higher he placed the gods who are still higher. Such as are these visible worlds and these gods,—even such were those (higher) visible worlds in which he placed those (higher) gods, and such were those gods themselves. 3. Then Brahma proceeded to the higher sphere (parārddha—explained by the commentator to mean the Satyaloka, the most excellent, and the limit, of all the worlds). Having gone to that higher sphere, he considered 'How now can I pervade all these worlds?' He then pervaded them with two things—with form and with name. Whatever has a name, that is name. And then that which has no name—that which he knows by its form, that 'such is

its form '—that is form. This [uni
extensive with) form and name. 4
tudes (*abhve*) of Brahma. He who
of Brahma becomes himself a great
great manifestations of Brahma. H
festations of Brahma becomes himse
two one is the greater. viz., form ; i
He who knows the greater of these
whom he wishes to become great
mortal, but when they were perv
mortal. By that which he sends
for by mind he knows, 'This is for
And by that which he sends out fr
voice he seizes name)—by that, I
is so much as is (*i.e.* is co-extensiv
obtains. Now that all is undeca
merit, and an undecaying world."

Compare with this the passages
which will be found at pp. 75 ff.
(Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii. part
2, 8, p. 164 of English version.

Brahma is also mentioned in
ii. 8, 8, 9 :—

Brahma devān ajanayat | *Br*
kshattraṁ nirmitam | *Brahma*
lokāḥ | 10. *Antar viśvam idaṁ*
ṭham | *tena ko 'rhati sparddh*
Brahmann Indra-prajāpatī | *1*
samāhitā |

"Brahma generated the gods
From Brahma[576] the Kshattriy
the Brāhman.[577] Within him a
this entire universe. It is Bra

[576] Here there is an allusion to th
function of the Brahman caste.

[577] "For," says the commentator
is manifested."

can vie with him? In Brahma the thirty-three gods,—in Brahma, Indra and Prajāpati,—in Brahma all beings are contained, as in a ship."

Again, it is said (iii. 12, 3, 1, quoted above, p. 361, note): "Let us worship with oblations the first-born god, by whom the entire universe which exists is surrounded,—the self-existent Brahma, who is the supreme austere fervour (*tapas*). It is he who is son, he who is father, he who is mother. Tapas came into existence the first object." Brahma is also mentioned in iii. 12, 9, 7 (where, however, he is described as coming into existence): *viśvasṛijaḥ prathamāḥ satram āsata* | *sahasrasamam prasute nayantaḥ* | *tato ha jajne bhuvanasya gopāḥ* | *hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma* | *yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhaḥ* . . . . | *na avedavid manute tam bṛihatam* | "The earliest creators of the universe were engaged in a sacrifice for a thousand years . . . . Thence sprang the protector of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with flame . . . . No one ignorant of the Veda comprehends that great being." Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6 (quoted above, p. 355), in which Brahma is said to be the forest and the tree out of which the worlds were constructed, and as the basis on which the creator took his stand when upholding the universe.

(8) *Prajāpati.*

As I have observed above (p. 353), the word prajāpati, "lord of creatures," was originally employed as an epithet of Savitṛi and Soma, as it also was of Hiraṇyagarbha (R.V. x. 121, 10). It afterwards, however, came to denote a separate deity, who appears in three places of the Rig-veda, x. 85, 43 (*ā naḥ prajāṁ janayatu Prajāpatiḥ*); x. 169, 4; x. 184, 1 (*ā sinchatu Prajāpatiḥ*), as the bestower of progeny and cattle. This god is also mentioned in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, in a verse (xxxi. 19) which comes in after one in which the great Purusha is celebrated (see above, p. 373). The verse is as follows: *Prajāpatiś charati garbhe antar ajāyamāno bahudhā vijāyate* | *tasya yonim paripaśyanti dhīrās tasmin ha tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* | "Prajāpati moves within the womb. Though he does not become born, he is yet born in many shapes. The wise behold his womb. In him all the worlds stand." [678] Another verse of the V. S. in which he

[678] The first half of this verse, as we have seen, is also found in the A.V. x. 8, 13,

is referred to is this (xxxii. 5): "*Yasmāj jātaṁ ṉa purā kinchanaiva yaḥ ābabhūva bhuvanāni viśvā | Prajāpatiḥ prajayā saṁrarāṉas trīṉi jyotīṁshi sachate sa shoḍaśī* | "He before whom nothing was born, who pervades all worlds, Prajāpati, rejoicing with his offspring, is joined with the three luminaries, as the sixteenth."

Prajāpati is frequently alluded to in the Atharva-veda. Several of these passages have been already cited above, as x. 7, 7, 17, 40, 41; x. 8, 13. Some of the others which I have observed are the following: In xi. 3, 52, he is said to have formed thirty-three worlds out of the oblation of boiled rice (*etasmād vai odanāt trayastriṁśataṁ lokān niramimīta Prajāpatiḥ*). In xi. 4, 12, he is identified with *Prāṉa*, or breath (*prāṉam āhuḥ Prajāpatim*). In xi. 5, 7, he is said, along with Parameshṭhin, to have been generated by the Brahmachārin, or religious student. In xi. 7, 3, he is declared to exist in the *Uchhishṭa*, or remnant of the sacrifice. And in xix. 53, 8, 10, he is said to have been produced by *Kāla*, or Time. Most of these passages will be quoted at length further on. It will be seen that in this Veda he is not generally regarded as the supreme or primal deity.

On the subject of Prajāpati, I have elsewhere (in vols. iii. 4; iv. 19–24, and 47–51) brought together a considerable number of passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, of which I shall here only repeat the substance, adding any further references which I may have noticed as occurring elsewhere. Prajāpati is sometimes identified with the universe, and described (in the same way as Brahma, or entity, or non-entity are in other places) as having alone existed in the beginning, as the source out of which the creation was evolved, Satap. Br. ii. 2, 4, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6;[579] xi. 5, 8, 1. (See vol. i. p. 24; vol. iii. p. 4; vol. iv. p. 24.) The same is the case in some other texts adduced by Professor Weber in his Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., where, however, Vāch is associated with Prajāpati "as his companion in concert with whom, and through

with the different reading of *adṛiśyamānaḥ*, "not being seen," for *ajāyamānaḥ*, "not being born." The second line runs thus in the A.V.: "With the half he produced the whole world. But what trace is there of his [other] half?"

[579] S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 6: *Prajāpatir vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | so 'kāmayata "annaṁ sṛijeya prajāyeya" iti sa prāṉebhyaḥ eva adhi paśūn niramimīta manasaḥ purushaṁ chakshusho 'śvam prāṉād gāṁ śrotrād aviṁ vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prāṉebhyo 'dhi niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "prāṉāḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prāṉānām prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ purushaṁ niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ pra-*

whom, he completes his work of creation." 580 Thus it is said in the Kāṭhaka, xii. 5 (and xxvii. 1): *Prajāpatir vai idam āsīt | tasya Vāg dvitīyā āsīt | tām mithunaṁ samabhavat | sā garbham adhatta | sā asmād apākrāmat | sā imāḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sā Prajāpatim eva punaḥ prāviśat* | "Prajāpati was this universe. Vāch was a second to him. He associated sexually with her; she became pregnant; she departed from him; she produced these creatures; she again entered into Prajāpati." Again, in the Panchaviṁśa Br. xx. 14, 2, we are told: "*Prajāpatir vai idam ekaḥ āsīt | tasya vāg eva svam āsīd vāg dvitīyā | sa aikshata 'imām eva Vāchaṁ visṛijai | iyaṁ vai idam sarvam vibhavantī eshyati'" iti | sa vāchaṁ vyasṛijata | sā idaṁ sarvaṁ vibhavantī ait | sā ūrdhvā udātanod yathā apāṁ dhārā santatā evam* | "Prajāpati alone was this universe. He had Vāch too as his own, as a second to him. He considered 'Let me send forth this Vāch. She will traverse and pervade all this.' He sent her forth: she traversed and pervaded all this: she extended aloft, diffused like a stream of water." In other texts of the Śatap. Br., however, Prajāpati is not represented as the source of creation, but only as one of the subsequent and subordinate agents, created by the gods, vi. 1, 1, 5 (vol. iv. of this work, p. 19 f.); or as springing out of an egg generated by the primeval waters, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (vol. iv. 21 f.). He is elsewhere said to have offered sacrifice in order to produce the creation, ii. 4, 4, 1 (vol. iv. 24), and to have been himself half mortal and half immortal, x. 1, 3, 2; x. 1, 4, 1 (vol. iv. p. 47), mortal in his body, but immortal in his breath, and to have performed *tapas* for a thousand years, to get rid of sin or suffering, *pāpman*, x. 4, 4, 1 (vol. iv. 51).

thamaḥ paśūnāṁ vīryavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | tad yad manasaḥ purushaṁ niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti purushyasya hy eva ete sarve bhavanti | "Prajāpati alone was at first this [universe]. He desired, "May I create food, and become reproduced.' He fashioned animals from his breaths, a man from his soul, a horse from his eye, a cow from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Inasmuch as he created these (animals) from his breaths, they say that 'the breaths are the animals.' The soul (*manas*) is the first of the breaths; and since he fashioned man from his soul, they say that 'man is the first and strongest of animals.' The soul is all the breaths, for they are all supported in it. Since then he fashioned man from his soul, they say, 'man is all the animals,' for they are all his."

580 I observe that Professor Weber speaks here of the waters (āpaḥ), the non-existent (*asat*), and Brahman as each denoting primeval matter (Urmaterie

Prajāpati may thus be said to have two characters, which, however, are not not kept distinct in the Brāhmaṇa. On the one hand, he is the result of one of the efforts of the Indian intellect to conceive and express the idea of deity in the abstract, as the great first cause of all things; while, on the other hand, he is sometimes described as only a secondary and subordinate divinity, and even treated as only one of the thirty-three deities (as in Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5. See above, p. 11; and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Prajāpati). In the Brāhmaṇa itself (xiv. 1, 2, 18) we have the following text, which expresses two different aspects under which the god was regarded, though, perhaps, these are not identical with the two points of view which I have stated:—*Prajāpatir vai esho yajno bhavati* | *ubhayam̃ vai etat Prajāpatir niruktaś cha aniruktaścha parimitaś cha aparimitaś cha* | *tad yad yajushā karoti yad eva asya niruktam parimitam̃ rūpam̃ tad asya tena sam̃skaroti* | *atha yat tūshṇīm̃ yad eva asya aniruktam aparimitam̃ rūpam tad asya tena sam̃skaroti* | "Prajāpati is this sacrifice. Prajāpati is both of these two things, declared and undeclared, limited and unlimited. Whatever he (the priest) does with the Yajus text, with that he consecrates that form of Prajāpati which is declared and limited. And what he (the priest) does silently, with that he consecrates the form of Prajāpati, which is undeclared and unlimited." Compare the Maitrī Upanishad, vi. 3 (p. 83 of Professor Cowell's ed.): *dve vāva Brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtam̃ cha amūrtam̃ cha* | *yan mūrtam̃ tad asatyam* | *yad amūrtam̃ tat satyam* | "There are two forms of Brahma, the embodied and the unembodied. The former is unreal, the latter real."

(9) *Prāṇa.*

A great variety of other deities, of the most heterogeneous character, are celebrated in the Atharva-veda as the possessors of divine power. Though scarcely to be regarded as instances of an abstract conception of the deity, the representations of these gods may be adduced here as illustrations of the later stages of the luxuriant and multiform Vedic mythology and speculation. One of these deities is Prāṇa, life or breath, to whom a hymn (xi. 4) is dedicated, of which the following is a specimen. In some verses he seems to be identified with Parjanya (see above, pp. 140 f.):—

1. *Prāṇāya namo yasya sarvam idaṁ vaśe | yo bhūtaḥ sarvasyeśvaro yasmin sarvam pratishṭhitam* | 2. *Namas te Prāṇa krandāya namas te stanayitnave | namas te Prāṇa vidyute namas te Prāṇa varshate* | 3. *Yat Prāṇaḥ stanayitnunā abhikrandati oshadhīḥ* (compare A.V. viii. 7, 21) | *pravīyante garbhān dadhate atho bahvīr vi jāyante* | 4. *Yat Prāṇaḥ ṛitāv āgate abhikrandati oshadhīḥ | sarvaṁ tadā pramodate yat kincha bhūmyām adhi* | 5. *Yadā Prāṇo abhyavarshād varsheṇa pṛithivīm mahīm | paśavas tat pra modante "maho vai no bhavishyati"* | 6. *Abhivṛishṭāḥ oshadhayaḥ Prāṇena samavādiran | "āyur vai naḥ prātītaraḥ sarvāḥ naḥ surabhīr akaḥ"* | 7. *Namas te astu āyate namo 'stu parāyate | namas te Prāṇa tishṭhate āsīnāyota te namaḥ* | 9. *Yā te Prāṇa priyā tanūr yā te Prāṇa preyasī | atho yad bheshajaṁ tava tasya no dhehi jīvase* | 10. *Prāṇaḥ prajāḥ anu vaste pitā putram iva priyam | Prāṇo ha sarvasyeśvaro yach cha prāṇati yach cha naḥ* | 11. *Prāṇo mṛityuḥ Prāṇas takmā Prāṇaṁ devāḥ upāsate | Prāṇo ha satyavādinam uttame loke ā dadhat* | 12. *Prāṇo Virāṭ Prāṇo Deshṭrī Prāṇaṁ sarve upāsate | Prāṇo ha sūryaś chandramāḥ Prāṇam āhuḥ Prajāpatim* | . . . . 15. *Prāṇam āhur Mātariśvānaṁ Vāto ha Prāṇaḥ uchyate | Prāṇe ha bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha Prāṇe sarvam pratishṭhitam* | 16. *Ātharvaṇīr āngirasīr daivīr manushyajāḥ uta | oshadhayaḥ prajāyante yadā tvam Prāṇa jinvasi* | . . . . 18. *Yas te Prāṇa idaṁ veda yasmiṁś chāsi pratishṭhitaḥ | sarve tasmai baliṁ harān amushmin loke uttame* | 19. *Yathā Prāṇa balihṛitas tubhyaṁ sarvāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | eva tasmai baliṁ harān yas tvā śṛiṇavat suśravaḥ* |

. "Reverence to Prāṇa, to whom this universe is subject, who has become the lord of all, on whom all is supported. 2. Reverence, Prāṇa, to thy shout, to thy thunder, to thy lightning, and to thyself when thou rainest. 3. When Prāṇa calls aloud to the plants with thunder, they are impregnated, they conceive, they produce abundantly. 4. When the season has arrived, and Prāṇa calls aloud to the plants, then everything rejoices, which is upon the earth (compare R.V. v. 83, 10, above, p. 140). 5. When Prāṇa has watered the great earth with rain, then the beasts rejoice, and [think] that they shall have strength. 6. When watered by Prāṇa, the plants burst forth [saying], 'Thou hast prolonged our life, thou hast made us all fragrant.' 7. Reverence to thee, Prāṇa, coming, and to thee going, and to thee standing, and to thee sitting . . . . 9. Communicate to us thy dear form, thy dearest,

with thy healing power, that we may live
creatures, as a father his dear son. Prāṇa
what breathes and what does not breathe.
is fever. The gods worship Prāṇa. Prāṇa
the highest world. 12. Prāṇa is Virāj, Prāṇa
Prāṇa. Prāṇa is sun and moon. They call
They call Mātariśvan Prāṇa; the Wind is
the future, everything is supported upon Prāṇa.
Atharvan, of Angiras, of the gods, and of men,
Prāṇa, quickenest .... 18. Whoever, o Prāṇa,
regarding thee, and on what thou art supported
tribute in that highest world. 19. As, o Prāṇa,
offer thee tribute, so shall they offer tribute in that hi…
him who hears thee with willing ears.' "

(10) *Rohita.*

Rohita, probably a form of the Fire and of the Su…
also distinguished, in the hymn I am about to quote,
gods), is another deity who is highly celebrated in th…
where one hymn (xiii. 1) and parts of others are app…
honour. The following are some of the verses in whi…
described, xiii. 1, 6:—

6. *Rohito dyāvā-pṛithivī jajāna tatra tantum Param…
tatra śiśriye Ajaḥ Ekapādo adṛiṁhad dyāvā-pṛithivī bale…
dyāvā-pṛithivī adṛiṁhat tena svaḥ stabhitaṁ tena nākaḥ | t…
vimitā rājamsi tena devāḥ amṛitatvam avindan* | 13. *Ro…
janitā mukhaṁ cha Rohitāya vāchā śrotreṇa manasā juho…
devāḥ yanti sumanasyamānāḥ* | .... 14. *Rohito yajnaṁ…
Viśvakarmaṇe tasmāt tejāṁsi upa mā imāny āguḥ* | .... 25.
vṛishabhas tigmaśringaḥ pari Agnim pari Sūryam babhūva | …
*bhnāti pṛithivīṁ divaṁ cha tasmād devāḥ adhi sṛishṭīḥ srijan…
Rohito divam āruhad mahataḥ pari arṇavāt* | *sarvāḥ ruroha
ruhaḥ* | 37. *Rohite dyāvā-pṛithivī adhi śrite vasujiti gojiti* | .
Sa yajnaḥ prathamo bhūto bhavyo ajāyata | *tasmād ha jajne idaṁ…
yat kincha idaṁ virochate Rohitena ṛishiṇā "bhṛitam* |

"Rohita produced heaven and earth there Parameshṭhin

the cord. There Aja Ekapāda was sustained. He established heaven and earth by his force. 7. Rohita established heaven and earth; by him the sky was supported, by him the heaven. By him the atmosphere, by him the regions were meted out. Through him the gods obtained immortality. 13. Rohita is the generator, and the mouth of sacrifice. To Rohita I offer my oblation with voice, ear, and mind. To Rohita the gods resort with gladness .... 14. Rohita offered a sacrifice to Viśvakarman. From it these fires have reached me. .... 25. The gods frame creations out of that Rohita who is a sharp-horned bull, who surpasses Agni and Sūrya, who props up the earth and the sky. 26. Rohita ascended the sky from the great ocean; he ascended all ascents.[561] 37. In Rohita, who is the conqueror of wealth and cows .... the heaven and earth are sustained .... *55.* He first became the sacrifice, both past and future. From him *sprang* all this whatever there is which shines, developed by Rohita, *the rishi*."

In the second hymn of the same book, in which the sun is celebrated, Rohita is also named in the following verses:—

39. *Rohitaḥ kālo abhavad Rohito 'gre Prajāpatiḥ* | *Rohito yajñānām mukhaṁ Rohitaḥ svar ābharat* | 40. *Rohito loko abhavad Rohito 'tyatapad divam* | *Rohito raśmibhir bhūmiṁ samudram anu saṁ charat* | 41. *Sarvāḥ diśaḥ samacharad Rohito 'dhipatir divaḥ* | *divaṁ samudram ād bhūmiṁ sarvaṁ bhūtaṁ vi rakshati* |

"39. Rohita became Time; Rohita formerly became Prajāpati. Rohita is the mouth of sacrifices. Rohita produced the sky. 40. Rohita became the world; Rohita shone beyond the sky; Rohita traversed the earth and ocean with his rays. 41. Rohita traversed all the regions. Rohita is the ruler of the sky. He preserves heaven, ocean, and earth—whatever exists."

And yet the gods are said to have generated Rohita (A.V. xiii. 3, 23: *yad Rohitam ajanayanta devāḥ*).

(11) *Uchhishṭa.*

In the hymn which follows divine power is ascribed to the *remains* of the sacrifice (Uchhishṭa):

A.V. xi. 7, 1: *Uchhishṭe nāma rūpaṁ cha uchhishṭe lokaḥ āhitaḥ* |

[561] Here, as well as in verses 8 and 9, there is a play on the connection of Rohita with the root, *ruh*, to "ascend," or "grow."

uchhishṭe Indraś cha Agniś cha viśvam antaḥ samāhitam | 2.
dyāvā-prithivī viśvam bhūtam samāhitam | āpaḥ samudraḥ
chandramāḥ vātaḥ āhitāḥ | 3. *Sann Uchhishṭe asaṁś chobhau*
vājaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | . . . . 4. . . . *Brahma viśvasṛijo daśa | nā*
sarvataś chakram Uchhishṭe devatāḥ śritāḥ | . . . . 14. *Nava*
samudrāḥ Uchhishṭe 'dhi śritāḥ divaḥ | ā suryo bhāti Uchhishṭe
api tan mayi | 15. *Upahavyam Vishūvantam ye cha yajnāḥ guhā*
bibhartti bhartā viśvasya Uchhishṭo janituḥ pitā | 16. *Pitā*
Uchhishṭo asoḥ pautraḥ pitāmahaḥ | sa kshiyati viśvasya īśā
bhūmyām atighnyaḥ | 17. *Ṛitam satyam tapo rāshṭram śra*
cha karma cha | bhutām bhavishyad Uchhishṭe vīryam la
bale | . . . 20. *Ardhamāsāś cha māsāścha ārtavāḥ ṛit*
Uchhishṭe ghoshaṇīr āpaḥ stanayitnuḥ śrutir mahī | śar
aśmānaḥ oshadhayo vīrudhas tṛiṇā | 21. *Abhrāṇi vi*
Uchhishṭe saṁśritā śritā | . . . . 23. *Yach cha prāṇati pr*
paśyati chakshushā | Uchhishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ
Ṛichaḥ sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇam yajushā saha | Uc
Prāṇāpānau chakshuḥ śrotram akshitiś cha kshitiś cha yā
26. *Ānandāḥ modāḥ pramudo abhīmoda-mudaś cha ye*
27. *Devāḥ pitaro manushyāḥ gandharvāpsarasaś cha ye* |

"In the Uchhishṭa (remains of the sacrifice) are form,[582] the world, Indra and Agni, the universe, (2) he all that exists, the waters, the sea, the moon, and th the Uchhishṭa are both the existent and the non-exist *cha*, masculine), death, food (or strength), Prajāpati .. the ten creators of all things,[583] the gods, are fixed on a Uchhishṭa as [the spokes] of a wheel to the nave." So, Sāman, Yajus, the hymns, the different sorts of sacrifices, the ceremonial, etc., are comprehended in it (verses 5– Nine earths, oceans, skies, are contained in the Uchhishṭa. shines in the Uchhishṭa, and in me the Uchhishṭa are day a 15. The Uchhishṭa (*masculine*), the sustainer of the univ father of the generator, upholds the Upahavya, the Vishū

[582] See verse 12 of the hymn to Purusha, A.V. x. 2, above.

[583] Are these the ten Maharshis mentioned by Manu, i. 34 f.? In A.V. mention is made of the seven Rishis, the makers of all things (*bhūta-kritaḥ*) also A.V. xii. 1, 39; and the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 37 and 41, notes.

the sacrifices which are secretly presented. 16. The Uchhishṭa, the father of the generator, the grandson of spirit (*asu*), the primeval parent, the lord of the universe, the bull, dwells triumphant (?) on the earth. 17. Ceremonial, truth, rigorous abstraction, dominion, effort, righteousness and works, past, future, strength, prosperity, force, reside in the Uchhishṭa, which is force (compare x. 7, 1, above). 20. In the Uchhishṭa are embraced the resounding waters, thunder, the great śruti, pebbles, sand, stones, plants, grass, (21) clouds, lightnings, rain. 23. From the Uchhishṭa sprang whatever breathes and sees, with all the celestial gods, (24) the Ṛich and Sāman verses, metres, Purāṇas, and Yajus, two of the vital airs (*prāṇa* and *apāna*), the eye, the ear, imperishableness, perishableness, (26) pleasures, enjoyments, (27) the Fathers, men, Gandharvas, and Apsarases." (Compare A.V. xi. 3, 21.)

(12) *Sacrificial Implements, etc., etc.*

Similar divine powers are ascribed to different sacrificial ladles in A.V. xviii. 4, 5 : "The *Juhū* has established the sky, the Upabhṛit the atmosphere, and the Dhruvā the stable earth" (*Juhūr dadhāra dyām upabhṛid antariksham dhruvā dadhāra pṛithivīm pratishṭhām*). In R.V. vi. 51, 8, it is said of namas, "adoration," that it has supported the earth and the sky, and rules the gods" (*namo dadhāra pṛithivīm uta dyām* | *namo devebhyo namaḥ īśe eshām*). See also A.V. iv. 35, 3–6, where the odana oblation is said to support heaven and earth, etc.; A.V. xix. 32, 9, where a similar power is ascribed to the sacrificial grass; and A.V. x. 10, 4, 26, 30, 34, where wonderful attributes are predicated of the Vaśā (cow).

(13) *Anumati.*

In a hymn to Anumati (according to Professor Roth the goddess of good will, as well as of procreation), A.V. vii. 20, she is thus identified with all things (verse 6): "Anumati was all this [universe], whatever stands or walks, and everything that moves. May we, o goddess, enjoy thy benevolence; for thou, Anumati, dost favour us" (*anumatiḥ sarvam idam babhūva yat tishṭhati charati yad u cha viśvam ejati* | *tasyās te devi sumatau syāma Anumate anu hi maṁsase naḥ*).

(14) *The Ox, or Kettle.*

In A.V. iv. 11, 1, a divine power is ascribed to the "Ox," however, Professor Aufrecht thinks can only be regarded as a phorical ox, as it has an udder (verse 4), and gives milk; supposes a kettle with four legs, the *Gharma*, to be intended. A vessel was used for boiling milk and other materials for sacr purposes, the allusions in this hymn to milk become intelligible; possibly the four-legged kettle may, by its form, have suggested figure of an ox.

1. *Anaḍvān dadhāra pṛithivīm uta dyām anaḍvān dadhāra uru iksham | anaḍvān dadhāra pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvīr anaḍvān viśvam nam ā viveśa* | 2. *Anaḍvān Indro sa paśubhyo vi chashṭe trayān śa mimīte adhvanaḥ | bhūtam bhavishyad bhuvanā duhānaḥ sarvā de charati vratāni* | 3. *Indro jāto manushyeshu antar gharmas charati śośuchānaḥ* | . . . . 5. *Yasya neśe yajnapatir na yajno n dātā īśe na pratigrahītā | yo viśvajid viśvabhṛid viśvakarmā ghar brūta katamaś chatushpāt* |

"The ox has established the earth and the sky; the ox ha blished the broad atmosphere; the ox has established the si regions; the ox has pervaded the entire universe. 2. The ox is He watches over the beasts. As S'akra (or mighty) he measu threefold paths. Milking out the worlds, whatever has been c be, he performs all the functions of the gods. 3. Being born as among men, the kindled and glowing kettle works . . . . 5. That neither the lord of the sacrifice nor the sacrifice rules, which neith giver nor the receiver rules, which is all-conquering, all-suppo and all-working,—declare to us the kettle, what quadruped it is."

(15) *The Brahmachārin.*

The hymn to be next quoted ascribes very astonishing powers t Brahmachārin, or religious student. Some parts of it are obscure the translation I give, though imperfect, will convey some idea o contents:—

A.V. xi. 5, 1: *Brahmachārī ishnaṁś charati rodasī ubhe tasmin sammanaso bhavanti | sa dadhāra pṛithivīṁ divaṁ cha sa ācha tapasā pipartti* | 2. *Brahmachāriṇam pitaro devajanāḥ pṛithag*

anusamyanti sarve | gandharvāḥ enam anvāyan trayastriṁśat triśatāḥ shaṭsahasrāḥ | sarvān sa devān tapasā piparti | 3. Āchāryaḥ upanayamāno brahmachāriṇaṁ kriṇute garbhe antaḥ | taṁ rātris tisraḥ udare bibharti taṁ jātaṁ drashṭum abhisaṁyanti devāḥ | 4. Iyaṁ samil prithivī dyaur dvitīyā utāntarikshaṁ samidhā priṇāti | brahmachārī samidhā mekhalayā śramena lokāṁs tapasā piparti | 5. Pūrvo jāto Brahmaṇo brahmachārī gharmaṁ vasānas tapasodatishṭhat | tasmāj jātam brāhmaṇam Brahma jyeshṭhaṁ devāś cha sarve amritena sākam | 6. Brahmachārī eti samidhā samiddhaḥ kārshṇaṁ vasāno dīkshito dirghaśmaśruḥ | sa sadyaḥ eti pūrvasmād uttaraṁ samudraṁ lokān sangribhya muhur ācharikrat | 7. Brahmachārī janayan brahma apo lokam Prajāpatim Parameshṭhinaṁ Virājam | garbho bhūtvā amritasya yonāv Indro ha bhūtvā asurāṁs tatarda | 8. Āchāryas tataksha nabhasī ubhe ime urvī gambhīre prithivīṁ divam cha | te rakshati tapasā brahmachārī tasmin devāḥ sammanaso bhavanti | 9. Imām bhūmim prithivīm brahmachārī bhikshām ā jabhāra prathamo divaṁ cha | te kritvā samidhāv upāste tayor ārpitā bhuvanāni viśvā | 10. Arvāg anyaḥ paro anyo divasprishṭhād guhā nidhī nihitau brāhmaṇasya | tau rakshati tapasā brahmachārī tat kevalaṁ kriṇute brahma vidvān | 16. Āchāryo brahmachārī brahmachārī Prajāpatiḥ | Prajāpatir vi rājati virāḍ Indro 'bhavad vaśī | 17. Brahmacharyeṇa tapasā rājā rāshṭraṁ vi rakshati | āchāryo brahmacharyeṇa brahmachāriṇam ichhate | 18. Brahmacharyeṇa kanyā yuvānaṁ vindate patim | anaḍvān bramacharyeṇa aśvo ghāsaṁ jigīshati | 19. Brahmacharyeṇa tapasā devāḥ mrityum apāghnata | Indro ha brahmacharyeṇa devebhyaḥ svar ābharat | 20. Oshadhayo bhūtabhavyam ahorātre vanaspatiḥ | saṁvatsaraḥ saha ritubhis te jātāḥ brahmachāriṇaḥ | 21. Pārthivāḥ divyāḥ paśavaḥ āraṇyāḥ grāmyāś cha ye | apakshāḥ pakshiṇaś cha ye te jātāḥ brahmachārinaḥ | 22. Prithak sarve prājāpatyāḥ prāṇān ātmasu bibhrati | tān sarvān brahma rakshati brahmachāriṇi ābhritam . . . . 26. Tāni kalpayad brahmachārī salilasya prishṭhe tapo 'tishṭhat tapyamānaḥ samudre |

"The Brahmachārin works, quickening both worlds. The gods are joyful in him. He has established the earth and the sky. He satisfies his āchārya (religious teacher) by tapas. 2. The Fathers, the heavenly hosts, all the gods separately, follow after him, with the 6333 Gandharvas. He satisfies all the gods by tapas. 3. The āchārya, adopting him as a disciple, makes him a Brahmachārin even in the womb,

and supports him in the belly for three nights. When he is born the gods assemble to see him. 4. This piece of fuel is the earth (compare verse 9), the second is the sky, and he satisfies the air with fuel.[564] The brahmachârin satisfies the worlds with fuel, with a girdle, with exertion, with tapas. 5. Born before Brahma, the Brahmachârin arose through tapas, clothed with heat. From him was produced divine knowledge (brâhmaṇa), the highest Brahma,[565] and all the gods, together with immortality. 6. The Brahmachârin advances, lighted up by fuel, clothed in a black antelope's skin, consecrated, long-bearded. He moves straightway from the eastern to the northern ocean, compressing the worlds, and again expanding them. 7. The Brahmachârin, generating divine science, the waters, the world, Prajâpati, Parameshṭhin, Virâj, having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, having become Indra, crushed the Asuras. 8. The Âchârya has constructed both these spheres, broad and deep, the earth and the sky. The Brahmachârin preserves them by tapas. In him the gods are joyful. 9. It was the Brahmachârin who first produced this broad earth and the sky as an alms. Making them two pieces of fuel (compare verse 4), he worships. In them all creatures are contained. 10. The two receptacles of divine knowledge are secretly deposited, the one on this side, the other beyond the surface of the sky. The Brahmachârin guards them by tapas. Wise, he appropriates that divine knowledge as his exclusive portion . . . . 16. The Brahmachârin is the Âchârya, the Brahmachârin is Prajâpati; Prajâpati shines (*vi râjati*); the shining (Virâj) became Indra, the powerful. 17. Through self-restraint and tapas a king protects his dominions. Through self-restraint an Âchârya seeks after a Brahmachârin. 18. By self-restraint a damsel obtains a young man as her husband. By self-restraint an ox and a horse seek to gain fodder. 19. By self-restraint and tapas the gods destroyed death. By self-restraint Indra acquired heaven

[564] See Âśvalâyana's Gṛihya Sûtras, ed. Stenzler, pp. 12 ff., where the initiation of the Brahmachârin, or religious student, is described. Part of the ceremony is that he throws fuel (*samidh*) on the fire, which he invokes with texts. This ritual is probably alluded to in the hymn before us. The Brahmachârin is also mentioned in R.V. x. 109, 5, where he said to be one member of the gods (*sa devânâm bhavati ekam angam*).

[565] The words *brahma jyeshṭham*, employed in A.V. x. 7, 32 ff., and x. 8, 1, appear to designate a personal being (see above). The same may be the case here.

from [or for] the gods. 20. Plants, whatever has been, whatever shall be, day and night, trees, the year, with the seasons, have been produced from the Brahmachārin. 21. Terrestrial and celestial beings, beasts, both wild and tame, creatures without wings and winged, have been produced from the Brahmachārin. 22. All creatures which have sprung from Prajāpati have breath separately in themselves; all of these are preserved by divine knowledge (*brahma*), which is produced in the Brahmachārin. . . . 26. These things the Brahmachārin formed; on the surface of the water he stood performing tapas[566] in the sea."

The Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 11, 3, tells a story illustrative of the great virtue ascribed to brahmacharyya, or religious self-restraint:—

Bharadvājo ha tribhir āyurbhir brahmacharyam uvāsa | taṁ ha jīrṇiṁ sthaviraṁ śayānam Indraḥ upavrajya uvācha "Bharadvāja yat te chaturtham āyur dadyāṁ kim etena kuryāḥ" iti | "brahmacharyam eva enena chareyam" iti ha uvācha | taṁ ha girirūpān avijnātān iva darśayānchakāra | teshāṁ ha ekaikasmād mushṭim ādade | sa ha uvācha "Bharadvāja" ity āmantrya "vedāḥ vai ete | anantāḥ vai vedāḥ | etad vai etais tribhir āyurbhir anvavochathāḥ | atha te itarad ananūktam eva | ehi imaṁ viddhi | ayaṁ vai sarvavidyā" iti |

"Bharadvāja practised brahmacharyya during three lives. Indra, approaching him when he was lying decayed and old, said: 'Bharadvāja, if I give thee a fourth life, what wilt thou do with it?' He answered: 'I will use it only to practise brahmacharyya.' He showed him three objects, as it were unknown, in the shape of mountains. From each of these he took a handful. He said, addressing him: 'Bharadvāja, these are the Vedas; the Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast recited during these three lives. But other things have remained undeclared by thee. Now learn this (Agni Sāvitra). This is universal knowledge.'"

(16) *Kāma.*

We have already seen above, that in R.V. x. 129, 4, desire is said to have been the first movement that arose in the One after it had come into life through the power of fervour or abstraction. This Kāma, or desire, not of sexual enjoyment, but of good in general, is celebrated in the following curious hymn (A.V. ix. 2) as a great power.

[566] Compare A.V. x. 7, 38, quoted above.

superior to all the gods; and is supplicated for deliveran enemies. Desire, as the first step towards its own fulfilment, considered as here identified with successful desire, or with deity regarded as the inspirer and accomplisher of the wishes votaries:—[587]

1. *Sapatna-hanam ṛishabhaṁ ghṛitena Kāmaṁ śikshāmi ājyena | nīchaiḥ sapatnān mama pādaya tvam abhishṭuto mah yeṇa* | 2. *Yad me manaso na priyaṁ na chakshusho yan me ba nābhinandati | tad dushshvapnyam pratimunchāmi sapatne Kām ud aham bhideyam* | 3. *Dushshvapnyaṁ Kāma duritaṁ cha K*

[587] In A.V. iii. 29, 7, some light is thrown upon the process by came to be regarded as a deity. We there read: "Who hath give whom? Kāma has given it to Kāma (*i.e.* the inspirer, or fulfiller given it to desire). Kāma is the giver (*i.e.* the inspirer, or fulfi Kāma is the receiver. Kāma has entered into the ocean. Through thee, Kāma, this is thine" (*kaḥ idaṁ kasmai adāt kāmaḥ kāmāya a kāmaḥ pratigrahītā kāmaḥ samudram ā viveśa* | *kāmena tvā pratigri te*). This verse is, I find, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, Mis. Ess. forming part of the Indian marriage ritual. See also Taitt. Br. i allusion here made to Kāma entering the ocean recalls the fact that to be produced from or exist in the waters (R.V. x. 2, 7; x. 51, 3 i. 33, 1; iii. 21, 1). And in A.V. iii. 21, 4, Kāma is distinctly iden "The god (Agni), who is omnivorous, whom they call Kāma, wh giver and the receiver, who is wise, strong, pre-eminent, unconquer Agnis let this oblation be offered" (*yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam ā pratigṛihṇantam āhuḥ* | *yo dhīraḥ śakraḥ paribhūr adābhyas tebhyo astv etat*). See also S.V. ii. 1060 (= A.V. vi. 36, 3; Vāj. Sanh. *priyeshu ḍhāmasu kāmo bhūtasya bhavyasya* | *samrāḍ eko virājati* | the one monarch of things past and future, shines in his dear abodes." Sanh. ii. 2, 3, 1. *Agnaye Kāmāya* "To Agni Kāma, etc." See als cited by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. v. 225, f. In some parts of the us, (A.V. ix. 2) the same identification of Kāma with Agni appears Thus in v. 1, Kāma, and in v. 8, Kāma and other gods. are said to be with butter, an oblation especially appropriate to Agni. In vv. 4 an called upon to burn the dwellings of the worshipper's enemies, whom Kām been besought to destroy. Again, in v. 25, the auspicious bodies, or man (*tanvaḥ*) of Kāma are referred to just as those of Agni are in other hymns x. 16, 4: A.V. xviii. 4, 10; comp. Vāj. S. xvi. 2). On the other hand, Agni is specified separately from Kāma in v. 6; and in v. 24, Kama is repres superior to Agni, as well as to Vāta, Sūrya, and Chandramas (the moon). Indra and Agni are mentioned along with Kāma, though the verb with which gods are connected is in the dual. But although in these verses Agni and distinguished from each other, Kāma may be there looked upon as a superior the other deity.

[588] Compare Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. bhas.*

jastām asvagatām avartim | ugraḥ īśānaḥ prati muncha tasmin yo asmabhyam aṁhūraṇā chikitsāt | 4. Nudasva Kāma praṇudasva Kāma avartim yantu mama ye sapatnāḥ | teshāṁ nuttānām adhamā tamāṁsi Agne vāstūni nirdaha tvam | 5. Sā te Kāma duhitā dhenur uchyate yām āhur Vācham kavayo Virājam | tayā sapatnān pari vriṅdhi ye mama pari enān prāṇaḥ paśavo jīvanaṁ vriṇaktu | .... 7. Viśve devāḥ mama nātham bhavantu sarve devāḥ havam ā yantu me imam | 8. Idam ājyad ghritavaj jushāṇāḥ Kāma-jyeshṭhāḥ iha mādayadhvam | kriṇvanto mahyam asapatnam eva | 9. Indrāgnī Kāma sarathaṁ hi bhūtvā nīchaiḥ sapatnān mama pādayāthaḥ | teshām pannānām adhamā tamāṁsi Agne vāstūni anu nirdaha tvam | 10. Jahi tvaṁ Kāma mama ye sapatnāḥ andhā tamāṁsi ava pādayainān | nirindriyāḥ arasāḥ santu sarve mā te jīvishuḥ katamach chanāhaḥ | 11. Avadhīt Kāmo mama ye sapatnāḥ uruṁ lokam akarad mahyam edhatum | mahyaṁ namantām pradiśaś chatasro mahyaṁ shaḍ urvīr ghritam ā vahantu | 12. Te adharānchaḥ pra plavantāṁ chhinnā naur iva bandhanāt | na sāyaka-praṇuttānām punar asti nivartanam | .... 16. Yat te Kāma śarma trivarūtham udbhu brahma varma vitatam anativyādhyaṁ kritam | tena sapatnān—| 17. Yena devāḥ asurān prāṇudanta yenendro dasyūn adhamaṁ tamo ninàya | tena tvaṁ Kāma mama ye sapatnās tān asmāl lokāt pra ṇudasva dūram | 19. Kāmo jajne prathamo nainaṁ devāḥ āpuḥ pitaro na martyāḥ | tatas tvam asi jyāyān viśvahā mahāṁs tasmai te Kāma namaḥ it kriṇomi | 20. Yāvatī dyāvā-prithivī varimṇā yāvad āpaḥ sishyadur yāvad Agniḥ | tataḥ—| 21. Yāvatīr diśaḥ pradiśo vishūchīr yāvatīr āśāḥ abhichakshaṇāḥ divaḥ | tataḥ—| 22. Yāvatīr bhringāḥ jatvaḥ kurūravo yāvatīr vaghāḥ vrikshasarpyo babhūvuḥ | tataḥ—| 23. Jyāyān nimishato 'shi tishṭhato jyāyān samudrād asi Kāma Manyo—| 24. Na vai Vātaś chana Kāmam āpnoti nāgniḥ sūryo nota chandramāḥ | tataḥ—| 25. Yās te śivās tanvaḥ Kāma bhadrāḥ yābhiḥ satyam bhavati yad vriṇīshe | tābhis tvam asmān abhisaṁviśasva anyatra pāpīr apa veśaya dhiyaḥ |

"1. With oblations of butter I worship Kāma,[589] the mighty slayer of enemies. Do thou, when lauded, beat down my foes by thy great might. 2. The sleeplessness which is displeasing to my mind and eye,

[589] In the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 8, S'raddhā, or faith, is said to be the mother of Kāma (*śraddhāṁ kāmasya mātaram*). This, however, the commentator explains as signifying merely that she is the means of obtaining all desired rewards, since no action takes place unless men have faith (*sā iyam ichhā viśvāsa-vyatirekena kasyāpi vyavahārasya abhāvād "Kāmasya mātaram" kāmyamānaphalasya utpādikām*).

which harasses and does not delight me, that sleeplessness I let loose upon my enemy. Having praised Kāma, may I rend him. 3. Kāma, do thou, a fierce lord, let loose sleeplessness, misfortune, childlessness, homelessness, and want, upon him who designs us evil. 4. Send them away, Kāma, drive them away; may they fall into misery, those who are my enemies. When they have been hurled into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 5. That daughter of thine, Kāma, is named the Cow, which sages call Vāch Virāj. By her drive away my enemies. May breath, cattle, life, forsake them. .... 7. May all the gods be my defence; may all the gods attend upon this my invocation. 8. Ye [gods], of whom Kāma is the highest, accepting this oblation of butter, be joyful in this place, granting me deliverance from my enemies. 9. Indra, Agni, and Kāma, mounted on the same chariot, hurl ye down my foes; when they have fallen into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 10. Kāma, slay my enemies; cast them down into thick (literally, blind) darkness. Let them all become destitute of power and vigour, and not live a single day. 11. Kāma has slain my enemies, has made for me wide room and prosperity. May the four regions bow down to me, and the six worlds bring fatness. 12 (=A.V. iii. 6, 7). Let them (my enemies) float downwards like a boat severed from its moorings. There is no return for those who have been put to flight by our arrows .... 16. With that triple and effectual protection of thine, o Kāma, that spell (*brahma*), which has been extended [in front of us as] armour, and made impenetrable, do thou drive away, etc. (as in v. 5). 17. Do thou, Kāma, drive my enemies far from this world by that [same weapon, or amulet] wherewith the gods repelled the Asuras, and Indra hurled the Dasyus into the nethermost darkness.[500] (Verse 18 is nearly a repetition of verse 17.) 19. Kāma was born the

[500] In A.V. viii. 5, 3, mention is made of a jewel or amulet, "by which Indra slew Vṛittra, overcame the Asuras, and conquered heaven and earth, and the four regions" (*anenendro maṇinā vṛittram ahann anenāsurān parābhāvāyad manīshī*). And in A.V. viii. 8, 5 ff. we are told of another instrument of offence belonging to Indra, in addition to the thunderbolt, arrows, and hook, described in the R.V. (see above, p. 87 f.) viz., a net. 5. "The air was his net; and the great regions the rods for extending the net. Enclosing within it the host of the Dasyus, S'akra overwhelmed it. 7. Great is the net of thee who art great, O heroic Indra! .... Within it enclosing them, S'akra slew a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred millions of Dasyus, with his army."

first. Him neither gods, nor Fathers, nor men, have equalled. Thou art superior to these, and for ever great. To thee, Kāma, I offer reverence. 20. Wide as are the heaven and earth in extent; far as the waters have swept; far as Agni [has blazed];—thou art yet superior to these (as in verse 19). 21. Great as are the regions and the several intermediate regions, the celestial tracts, and the vistas of the sky,—thou art yet superior, etc. 22. As many bees, bats, reptiles, vaghās (?), and tree-serpents as there are, thou art yet superior, etc. 23. Thou art superior to all that winks, or stands,—superior to the sea, O Kāma, Manyu. Thou art superior, etc. 24. Even Vāta (the Wind) does not vie with Kāma, nor does Agni, nor Sūrya, nor Chandramas (the Moon). Thou art superior, etc. 25. With those auspicious and gracious forms of thine, o Kāma, through which that which thou choosest becomes real,—with them do thou enter into us, and send malevolent thoughts away somewhere else."

A.V. xix. 52, is another hymn addressed to the same deity.

It is well known that Greek mythology connected Eros, the god of love, with the creation of the universe, somewhat in the same way as Kāma is associated with it in R.V. x. 129, 4 (see above, p. 357). Thus Plato says in the Symposium (sec. 6):

Γονῆς γὰρ Ἔρωτος ὄυτ' 'εισὶν ὄυτε λέγονται 'υπ' ὀυδενὸς ὄυτε ἰδιώτου ὀυτε ποιητοῦ, ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος πρῶτον μὲν χάος φησὶ γενέσθαι,

" ἀυτὰρ ἔπειτα
γᾶι' ἐυρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς ἀιει,
'ηδ' Ἔρος."

Φησὶ μετὰ τὸ χάος δύο τούτω γενέσθαι, γῆν τε καὶ Ἔρωτα. Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν γένεσιν λέγει, " πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο παντων." Ἡσίοδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλεως ὁμολογεῖ. ὄυτω πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τôις πρεσβύτατοις ἐιναι.

"Eros neither had any parents, nor is he said by any unlearned man or by any poet to have had any. But Hesiod declares that chaos first arose, and 'then the broad-bosomed earth, ever the firm abode of all things, and Eros.' He says that, after chaos, these two things were produced, the earth and Eros. Parmenides, too, speaks thus of the creation, 'He devised Eros the first of all the gods.' And Acusilaus also agreed with Hesiod. From so many quarters is Eros admitted to

be one of the oldest deities." (See the article Eros in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, and the authorities there referred to.)

In another hymn of the A.V. (iii. 25), Kāma, like the Eros of the Greeks, and Cupid of the Latins, is described as the god of sexual love. The commencement of it is as follows:

Uttudas tvā uttudatu mā dhṛithāḥ śayane sve | *ishuḥ Kāmasya yā bhīmā tayā vidhyāmi tvā hṛidi* | 2. *Ādhīparṇām Kāma-śalyām ishuṁ sankalpa-kulmalām* | *tāṁ susannatāṁ kṛitvā Kāmo vidhyatu tvā hṛidi* | 3. *Yā plīhānaṁ śoshayati Kāmasyeshuḥ susannatā* | . . . . *tayā vidhyāmi tvā hṛidi* |

"1. May the disquieter disquiet thee. Do not rest upon thy bed. With the terrible arrow of Kāma I pierce thee in the heart. 2. May Kāma, having well directed the arrow which is winged with pain, barbed with longing, and has desire for its shaft, pierce thee in the heart. 3. With the well-aimed arrow of Kāma, which dries up the spleen, ... I pierce thee in the heart." [591]

(17) *Kāla, or Time.*

In the next two remarkable hymns we find an altogether new doctrine, as Time is there described as the source and ruler of all things:—

A.V. xix. 53: [592] 1. *Kālo aśvo vahati saptaraśmiḥ sahasrāksho ajaro bhūriretāḥ* | *tam ā rohanti kavayo vipaśchitas tasya chakrā bhuvanāni viśvā* | 2. *Sapta chakrā vahati Kālaḥ esha saptāsya nābhir amṛitaṁ nu akshaḥ* | *sa imā viśvā bhuvanāni arvāṅ Kālaḥ sa īyate prathamo nu devaḥ* | 3. *Pūrṇaḥ kumbho adhi Kāle āhitas taṁ vai paśyamo bahudhā nu santam* | *sa imā viśvā bhuvanāni pratyaṅ Kālaṁ tam āhuḥ parame vyoman* | 4. *Sa eva sam bhuvanāni ābharat sa eva sam bhuvanāni paryait* | *pitā sann abhavat putraḥ eshāṁ tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejaḥ* | 5. *Kālo 'mum divam ajanayat Kālaḥ imāḥ pṛithivīr uta* | *Kālena bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha ishitaṁ ha vi tishṭhate* | 6. *Kālo bhūmim asṛijata Kāle tapati sūryaḥ* | *Kāle ha viśvā bhūtāni Kāle chakshur vi paśyati* | 7. *Kāle manaḥ Kāle prāṇaḥ Kāle nāma samāhitam* | *Kālena sarvāḥ*

[591] This hymn is translated by Professor Weber in his Indische Studien, v. 224 ff., from whose version I have derived assistance.

[592] A great deal is said about the potency of Kāla, or Time, in the S'ānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, vv. 8106, 8112, 8125 ff., 8139-8144, 8758, 9877 f., 10060,

nandanti āgatena prajāḥ imāḥ | 8. *Kāle tapaḥ Kāle jyeshṭhaṁ Kāle Brahma samāhitam* | *Kālo ha sarvasyeśvaro yaḥ pitā* "*sīt Prajāpateḥ* | 9. *Teneshitaṁ tena jātaṁ tad u tasmin pratishṭhitam* | *Kālo ha Brahma bhūtvā bibharti Parameshṭhinam* | 10. *Kālaḥ prajāḥ asṛijata Kālo agre Prajāpatim* | *Svayambhūḥ Kaśyapaḥ Kālāt tapaḥ Kālād ajāyata* |

"1. Time carries [us] forward, a steed, with seven rays, a thousand eyes, undecaying, full of fecundity. On him intelligent sages mount; his wheels are all the worlds. 2. This Time moves on seven wheels; he has seven naves; immortality is his axle. He is at present all these worlds. Time hastens onward, the first god. 3. A full jar is contained in Time. We behold him existing in many forms. He is all these worlds in the future. They call him Time in the highest heaven. 4. It is he who drew forth the worlds, and encompassed them. Being the father, he became their son. There is no other power superior to him. 5. Time generated the sky and these earths. Set in motion by Time, the past and the future subsist. 6. Time created the earth; by Time the sun burns; through Time all beings [exist]; through Time the eye sees. 7. Mind, breath, name, are embraced in Time. All these creatures rejoice when Time arrives. 8. In Time rigorous abstraction, in Time the highest, in Time divine knowledge, is comprehended. Time is lord of all things, he who was the father of Prajāpati. 9. That [universe] has been set in motion by him, produced by him, and is supported on him. Time, becoming divine energy, supports Parameshṭhin. 10. Time produced creatures; Time in the beginning [formed] Prajāpati. The self-born[583] Kaśyapa sprang from Time, and from Time [sprang] rigorous abstraction (tapas)."

A.V. xix. 54, 1. *Kālād āpaḥ samabhavan Kālād brahma tapo diśaḥ* | *Kālenodeti Sūryo Kāle ni viśate punaḥ* | 2. *Kālena vātaḥ pavate Kālena*

[583] The word which I have rendered "self-born" is *svayambhū*. This term must in certain cases be rendered by "self-existent," as in Manu i. 6–11, where it is applied to the undeveloped primeval Deity, the creator of Brahmā. In other places, however, Brahmā himself, the derived creator, is called *svayambhū*, as in M. Bh. S'antip. v. 7569, though he had previously (in v. 7530) been declared to have been born in a lotus sprung from the navel of Sankarshaṇa, the first-born offspring (v. 7527) of Vishṇu. The same epithet is applied to Brahmā in the Bhāg. Pur. iii. 8, 15. But in fact, *Svayambhū* is well known to be one of the synonyms of Brahmā, though that god is nowhere represented as an underived, self-existent being. This word must therefore be regarded as not necessarily meaning anything more than one who comes into existence in an extraordinary and supernatural manner.

Pṛithivī mahī | *Dyaur mahī Kāle āhitā* | 3. *Kāle ha bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha mantro ajanayat purā* | *Kālād ṛichaḥ samabhavan yajuḥ Kālād ajāyata* | 4. *Kāle yajnaṁ samairayan devebhyo bhāgam akshitam* | *Kāle gandharvāpsarasaḥ Kāle lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ* | 5. *Kāle 'yam angirāḥ divo atharvā chādhi tishṭhataḥ* | *imaṁ cha lokam paramaṁ cha lokam puṇyāṁś cha lokān vidhṛitīś cha puṇyāḥ* | 6. *Sarvān lokān abhijitya brahmaṇā Kālaḥ sa īyate paramo nu devaḥ* |

"1. From Time the waters were produced, together with divine knowledge, tapas, and the regions. Through Time the sun rises and again sets. 2. Through Time the wind blows; through time the earth is vast. The great sky is embraced in Time. 3. Through Time the hymn formerly produced both the past and the future. From Time sprang the Rik verses. The Yajus was produced from Time. 4. Through Time they created the sacrifice, an imperishable portion for the gods. On Time the Gandharvas and Apsarases, on Time the worlds are supported. 5, 6. Through Time this Angiras and Atharvan rule over the sky. Having through divine knowledge conquered both this world, and the highest world, and the holy worlds, and the holy ordinances, yea all worlds, Time moves onward as the supreme god."

Rohita is identified with Kāla, A.V. xiii. 2, 39.

The conception of Kāla in these hymns is one which, if taken in its unmodified shape, would have been esteemed heretical in later times.[594] Thus, among the several forms of speculation which are mentioned at the commencement of the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, for the purpose, no doubt, of being condemned as erroneous, is one which regards Kāla, or Time, as the origin of all things. The line in which these different systems are mentioned is as follows: *kālaḥ svabhāvo niyatir yadṛichhā bhūtāni yoniḥ purushaḥ*. It is the verse referred to in the following note of Professor Wilson, in vol. i. p. 19 of his Vishṇu Purāṇa (Dr. Hall's ed.): "The commentator on the Moksha Dharma (a part of the Śānti-parva of the M. Bh.) cites a passage from the Vedas, which he under-

[594] The M. Bh., however, Anuśāsana-parva, verses 51–56, makes Mṛityu, or death, declare that all nature, all creatures, the world itself, all actions, cessations and changes, derive their essential character from Time, while the gods themselves, including Vishṇu, are, time after time, created and destroyed by the same power (*sarve kālena sṛijyante hriyante cha punaḥ punaḥ*).

stands to allude to the different theories of the cause of creation (then follows the line just quoted); time, inherent nature, consequence of acts, self-will, elementary atoms, matter and spirit, asserted severally by the astrologers, the Buddhists, the Mîmânsakas, the logicians, the Sânkhyas, and the Vedântins."[305]

The Maitrî Upanishad also celebrates Kâla, vi. 14 f., declaring that the sun is its source (*sûryo yoniḥ kâlasya*). We find there the following verse: *kâlât sravanti bhûtâni kâlâd vṛiddhim prayânti cha | kâle châstaṁ niyachhanti kâlo mûrtir amûrtimân* | "By Time creatures waste, by Time they increase; in Time they set: Time is a formless form." The writer proceeds: *Dve vâva Brahmaṇo rûpe Kâlaś cha Akâlaś cha | atha yaḥ prag Âdityât so 'kâlo 'kâlaḥ | atha yaḥ Âdityâdyaḥ sa Kâlaḥ sakâlaḥ* | "There are two forms of Brahma, Time and No-time. That which is before the sun is No-time, devoid of parts; and that which is subsequent to the sun is Time, with parts."

Manu (i. 24) declares Kâla (Time) to have been one of the things created by Brahmâ. But though not admitted as itself the origin of all things, Kâla is, nevertheless, recognized by the author of the Vishṇu Puraṇa as one of the forms of the Supreme Being. See pp. 18, 19, and 25, of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's Vishṇu Puraṇa, and the note in p. 19, already referred to, where Professor Wilson says, "Time is not usually enumerated in the Puraṇas as an element of the 'first cause;' but the Padma Purâṇa and the Bhâgavata agree with the Vishṇu in including it. It appears to have been regarded, at an earlier date, as an independent cause." See the Bhag. Pur. iii. 5, 34–37; iii. 8, 11 ff.; iii. 10, 10–13; iii. 11, 1 ff.; iii. 12, 1 ff. We thus find the authors of the Purâṇas interweaving with their own cosmogonies all the older elements of speculation which they discovered in the Vedas; and, by blending heretical materials with others which were more orthodox, contriving to neutralize the heterodoxy of the former.

(18) *General remarks on the preceding passages.*

A few general observations are suggested by a consideration of the principal passages which have been quoted in this section.

[305] "Κρόνος was also," adds Prof. Wilson, "one of the first generated agents in creation, according to the Orphic theogony."

I. The conceptions of the godhead expressed in these texts are of a wavering and undetermined character. It is clear that the authors had not attained to a distinct and logical comprehension of the characteristics which they ascribed to the objects of their adoration. On the one hand, the attributes of infinity, omnipotence, omnipresence, are ascribed to different beings, or to the same being under the various names of Purusha, Skambha, Brahma, Hiraṉyagarbha, etc. (R.V. x. 90, 1 ff.; x. 121, 1 ff. A.V. x. 7, 10, 13, 31–33; x. 8, 1). And yet in other places these same qualities are represented as subject to limitations, and these divine beings themselves are said to expand by food, to be produced from other beings (as Purusha from Virāj), to be sacrificed, to be produced from tapas, or to perform tapas (R.V. x. 90, 2, 4, 7. A.V. x. 2, 12 ff., 26; x. 7, 31, 36, 38).

II. In these passages divine power is variously conceived, sometimes as the property of one supreme person, as Purusha, Skambha, etc.; while in other places it is attached (1) to some abstraction, as Kāma (Desire), Kāla (Time), or (2) to some personification of energies residing in living beings, as Prāṇa (Life or Breath), or (3) of the materials (Uchhishṭa) or the implements (juhū, upabhṛit, etc.) of sacrifice, or is ascribed (4) to the vehicles of adoration, to hymns and metres, such as the Virāj, which is said (A.V. viii. 10 1) to have been identical with the world, or (5) to the guardian of sacred science, and future minister of religious rites, the Brahmachārin. It need occasion no surprise that the young priest should be regarded as invested with such transcendent attributes, when even the sacrifices which he was being trained to celebrate, the hymns and metres in which he invoked the gods, and the very sacrificial vessels he handled were conceived to possess a supernatural potency.

We find here a singular variety in the elements of thought and feeling which have concurred to give birth to this crude congeries of ideas, in which the real centre of divine power is obscured, while a multitude of inferior objects are magnified into unreal proportions, and invested with a fictitious sanctity. But these extraordinary representations reveal to us in the Indians of the Vedic age a conception of the universe which was at once (*a*) mystical or sacramental, (*b*) polytheistic, and (*c*) pantheistic; (*a*) everything connected with religious rites being imagined to have in it a spiritual as well as a physical potency; (*b*) all

parts of nature being separately regarded as invested with divine power; and yet (*c*) as constituent parts of one great whole.

(19) *Whether polytheism or monotheism was the earliest form of the Aryan religion: opinions of Messrs. Pictet, Pfleiderer, Scherer, Réville, and Roth on this subject.*

I shall add some remarks on the relation of the Vedic polytheism to the earlier religion, which we may suppose to have prevailed among the primitive Aryans.

M. Adolphe Pictet, in his work "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," vol. ii., has lately discussed the question whether that religion was from the first a polytheism, embracing the principal powers of nature, as comparative philology shows it to have been about the time of the separation of the different branches of the race, or whether it had been originally monotheistic.

He thinks that as a polytheism, such as we find existing at the dawn of Aryan history, could only have been developed gradually, it must have been preceded by a more simple system (p. 651). This inference he supports by the remark that the names of most of the gods in the Aryan mythology correspond with those of the great objects of nature, designated by some of their most characteristic attributes. But as these natural objects have derived their appellations from their physical qualities alone, they could not originally, at the time when they received their names, have been regarded as divinities. If nature-worship had prevailed among the Aryans from the commencement, some trace of this fact must have been preserved in their language, which, however, manifests nothing but the most complete realism as regards the epithets applied to natural phenomena. As it thus appears that the great objects of nature could not have been regarded as divine at the time when the language was formed, the Aryans could not originally have been polytheistic. It is not, however, to be imagined that a race so highly gifted should, even at this early period, have been destitute of all religious sentiments and beliefs. But if not polytheists, they must have been monotheists. This conclusion M. Pictet corroborates by referring to the most ancient names of the deity, such as *Deva*, etc., which he regards as in their origin unconnected

with natural objects or phenomena. This primitive monotheism of the Aryans he supposes to have arisen from the necessity which they instinctively felt to refer the production of the world to one first Cause, which they would naturally place, not on earth, their own familiar abode, but in the mysterious and inaccessible heavens. This supreme being would thus be called *Deva*, or the celestial; and as the heaven which he inhabited was one, so would He himself also be conceived of as an Unity. This primitive monotheism, however, could not have been very clearly defined, but must have remained a vague, obscure, and rudimentary conception. It would not otherwise be easy to understand how it should have degenerated into polytheism. But as the idea of God remained veiled in this mysterious obscurity, it became necessary for the worshippers to seek for some divinities intermediate between Him and themselves, through whom they might approach Him; and to explain the multiplicity of phenomena (which they were not as yet sufficiently enlightened to derive from the uniform action of one central will), by regarding them as regulated by a plurality of divine agents. At first, however, the polytheism would be simple, and the subordinate deities composing the pantheon would be considered as the ministers of the one supreme deity. Such may have been the state of things when the different branches of the Aryans separated. The polytheistic idea, however, when once it had begun to work, would tend constantly to multiply the number of divinities, as we see it has already done in the Vedic age. So great, however, is the power exercised over the human mind by the principle of unity, that the idea of one Supreme Being, though obscured, is never lost, but is always breaking forth like a light from the clouds in which it is enveloped. The traces of monotheism which are found in the Rig-veda may, perhaps, M. Pictet thinks, be reminiscences of the more ancient religion described above, though the pantheistic ideas observable, whether in the myths or in the speculations of the same hymn-collection, are the results of a new tendency peculiar to the Indian intellect. While, however, the Indians thus eventually fell into pantheism, the Iranians had, at an earlier period, embraced a reformed system, not dualistic, as is commonly supposed, but monotheistic; and the religious separation which then took place between the two tribes may have had its origin in a reaction of one section of the nation

against the growing polytheism, and a recurrence to the principles of the old monotheism, of which the remembrance had not been altogether lost (pp. 708 ff.).

I scarcely think that M. Pictet's theory regarding the character of the primitive religion of the Aryans is borne out by the arguments which he adduces in its support.

1. It may be quite true that the complicated polytheism which we find in the hymns of the Rig-veda, or even the narrower system which we may suppose to have existed at the separation of the Indian and Iranian tribes, could only have been the slowly-developed product of many centuries; but this does not prove that a simpler form of nature-worship, embracing a plurality of gods, might not have existed among the ancestors of these tribes from the beginning of their history. I can see no reason for the conclusion that monotheism must necessarily have been the starting-point of the system.

2. Again, the fact that the great objects of external nature, the sky, the earth, the sun, were designated in the oldest Aryan language by names descriptive merely of their physical characteristics, supposing it to be admitted, would not suffice to establish M. Pictet's inference that no divine character was attributed to those objects at the time when they were named. Though we suppose that the sky (*dyu* or *div*) derived its appellation from its luminous appearance, the earth (*pṛithivī* or *mahī*) from its breadth or vastness, and the sun (*sūrya* or *savitṛi*) from its brightness (Pictet, ii. 667) and fecundating power, it does not follow that, though familiarly called by these names, they were not at the same time regarded as living powers, invested with divine attributes. How strong soever may have been the religious feelings of the primitive Aryans, however lively their sense of the supernatural, and however forcibly we may therefore imagine them to have been impelled to deify the grand natural objects by which they were surrounded and over-awed, it is obvious that the physical impressions made by those objects on their senses would be yet more powerful (in proportion as they were more frequent and more obtrusive); and that consequently the sky, earth, sun, etc., even though regarded as deities, would naturally be called by names denoting their external characteristics, rather than by other appellations descriptive of the divine attributes they were supposed to possess.

If an etymological argument of this sort were to be considered as settling the question, we might in like manner insist that, because the word Varuṇa means (or is supposed to mean) the enveloper, it must therefore in the beginning have designated the sky alone (as the corresponding word οὐρανός afterwards did in Greek), and could not have been the name of a divinity. But this conclusion, however it may appear to be confirmed by Greek usage, receives no support from the most ancient Indian literature, in which the word is never employed for sky.

In such inquiries, moreover, it is unsafe to build too much on etymologies, many of which are in themselves extremely uncertain.

I will quote some remarks bearing upon this subject from Dr. Otto Pfleiderer's book, "Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte," ii. 45 ff. (Leipzig, 1869), received while this work was passing through the press: "We thus see that in this original form of piety" (the conception of heaven and earth as the principal divinities), "there already exist general powers, to which the devout spirit is directed, powers which, in consequence of their relative infinitude, were well calculated to present and render comprehensible, to the childlike spirit, the idea of absolute infinity. It is on this account that purely moral emotions were possible in this original form of religion, and connected with that divine worship, although we are not, therefore, in any way led to assume that men had any thought of a divine being distinguished from heaven and earth, in the form, for instance, of a creative god, enthroned in the heavens. From the fact that, in our own case, the idea of a God can be only awakened and symbolized by, but never identified with, the visible infinity of heaven and earth, we can draw no conclusion as to the original period of humanity: for to the childlike contemplation of the earliest races, the heaven and earth were not, what they are for us, for the educated understanding, a system of finite causes standing in a relation of orderly reciprocal action to each other; but living beings, endowed with soul, acting, after the manner of men, with knowledge and will, to whom consequently men could quite properly pray with the firm belief that they would be heard, and their wishes granted. Such a primeval childlike naïf prayer we find in the Vedas: 'Father Heaven, gracious mother Earth, brother Fire, ye shining ones, have compassion on us' (see above, p. 22, note 32).

The Athenians prayed at a still later time: 'Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down upon the cultivated lands and fields of the Athenians,' on which Max Müller strikingly remarks that this prayer is clearly addressed to the (sensible atmospheric) sky, though the mere addition of 'dear' in 'O dear Zeus,' is sufficient to change the sky into a personal being. The same is the case with a primeval Chinese prayer: 'O blue Heaven, look down upon the proud, and have compassion on the wretched.' The contents of this prayer presuppose a spiritual being, which, however, is by the adjunct 'blue' easily identified with the visible vault of heaven. Max Müller (Science of Language, ii. 413 ff.) here raises the question whether the identity of the word for heaven and for god is to be explained (1) by supposing that the word at first merely expressed the conception of the sensible object heaven, and that the appellative noun so fixed was transferred to the idea, which arose afterwards, of God, as a being enthroned in the highest heaven, as one of the possible names of this as yet nameless being; or (2) by supposing that the conception of heaven and that of God existed separately from the first in the human consciousness, and were only in consequence of their resemblance (the tertium comparationis: clearness, elevation, infinity) both expressed by the same word with the signification of shining. In both these modes of explanation the relation between god and heaven appears to be considered in a fashion too external, and too much resulting from reflection. We must therefore rather conceive it thus: Called into being by the sensuous impression of the shining, lofty, boundless heaven, the sense of the Divine Being was stirred into activity in the human spirit, and whilst the imagination, which moulded speech, expressed that sensuous impression by the word heaven, it at the same time and in the same indivisible act expressed the devout movement of the spirit by the same word, as the name of the (highest) god. The distinction which we now make between these two things, and which is the main cause of the difficulty we experience in understanding mythology, had not begun to be made by the imagination of the earliest men, who, when they pronounced the word 'heaven,' applied it in thought to a living, animated, and active being, and when they uttered the word 'God,' applied it to the visible, clear, blue heaven."

On the subject before us I will also quote some remarks by two

recent French writers. The first of these is M. Edmond Scherer, an acute theologian and accomplished critic, who, in a review of M. Pictet's work, thus expresses himself:—

"M. Pictet distinguishes in the religion of the Aryans two elements, contrary in appearance, (1) a monotheism pure and elevated, which conceives the Deity as a being distinct from the world; (2) a polytheism resulting from the personification of natural objects, and which, by attributing life to these objects, creates an entire mythology. This apparent contradiction M. Pictet explains by a development. He thinks the human mind must have proceeded from the simple to the complex, from unity to diversity; that polytheism has arisen from the need of seeking other beings intermediate between the Supreme Being and man, and that it has thus been able to establish itself without destroying altogether the first or monotheistic idea. We are thus brought back to the problem with which M. Renan has dealt in his studies on the Semitic races, although with this difference, that M. Renan opposed the Semitic, as the genius of monotheism, to the Arya, as the genius of polytheism. Perhaps in both cases the difficulty arises from regarding as absolute an opposition which is merely relative. There never has been, and doubtless there never will be, either a pure polytheism or a pure monotheism. Thus religions can only be defined or characterised by the predominance of the one of the two elements over the other; and their history consists less in successive phases, in their passing from one form to the other, than in the coexistence and the struggle of two principles answering to two requirements of the human soul which are equally imperious."—(Mélanges d'Histoire Religieuse, pp. 35 f.)

On the same subject another distinguished theologian of the critical school, M. Albert Réville, writes as follows in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (Feb., 1864, p. 721 f.):—

"If we had before us positive facts attesting that the march of the human mind has been such (as M. Pictet describes), we should only have to surrender, and admit, contrary to all probability *à priori*, that man, while still sunk in the most profound ignorance, was better able to grasp religious truths than he was at the epoch when he began to reflect and to know. But have these facts any existence? So long as none can be alleged which have a demonstrative force, ought we not to

hold to the hypothesis, confirmed by so many analogies, of a gradual elevation of religion (as of all the other spheres in which the human mind moves), from the simplest elements to the most sublime conceptions?" Again: "It is evident, and fully admitted by M. Pictet, that our ancestors were polytheists before their separation; but at that period this polytheism was not of yesterday. It had already had a history; and it is a matter of course that, in the historical development of a polytheistic religion, there must have been, as it were, guesses, germs, presentiments of monotheism. From the moment when a plurality of divine beings is recognised, a community of divine nature between them all is also admitted. In this way arise such epithets as 'luminous,' 'adorable,' 'living,' 'mighty,' which in course of time become substantives, like our word 'Dieu' itself. The sky, personified, and become an object of adoration, speedily usurps the characteristics of a supreme Deity, elevated above all others, and master of an irresistible weapon, the thunderbolt. Thus in most mythologies the sky is what it is in that of the Greeks, the Jupiter, the sovereign father of gods and men. In short, it is clear that the human mind, in proportion as it observes and reflects, rises more and more towards monotheism, in obedience to that imperious law, hidden in the depths of its being, which leads it to the logical pursuit of unity. But this movement is very slow, greatly retarded by the force of tradition and habit, and we ought not to place at the beginning that which can only be found at the very end of the process."

I shall conclude with an extract from Professor R. Roth's Essay on the "Highest gods of the Aryan races," (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.), in which that able writer, while holding that the religion of those tribes in its earlier stages contained a more spiritual element, which was eventually preserved in a modified form by the Zoroastrian creed, recognizes, as also embraced in that elder religion, a system of nature-worship which afterwards became the most prominent element in the Indian mythology. We must, therefore, regard Roth also as opposed to M. Piçtet's theory of a primitive monotheism. The greater part of this passage has been already given in a former section, pp. 117 f.; but it is advisable that the larger portion of it should be repeated here, with the addition of the introductory paragraph, from the bearing of the whole upon the present discussion.

"But that which still further enhances the interest of this inquiry, and is of especial importance in reference to the primitive period, is the peculiar character attaching to the conception of the Âdityas. The names of these deities (with a certain reservation in regard to that of Varuṇa) embrace no ideas drawn from physical nature, but express certain relations of moral and social life. Mitra, 'the friend,' Aryaman, Bhaga, Anśa, the gods who 'favour,' 'bless,' 'sympathize,' and Daksha, 'the intelligent,' are pure spirits, in whom the noblest relations of human intercourse are mirrored, and so appear (*i.e.* the relations appear) as emanations of the divine life, and as objects of immediate divine protection. But if the earliest Aryan antiquity thus beheld in its highest gods, not the most prominent manifestations of physical nature, but the conditions of moral life and society, and consequently esteemed these moral blessings more highly than anything connected with the wants and enjoyments of sense, we must ascribe to that age a high spiritual capacity, whatever may have been its deficiency in the constituents of external civilization.

"These considerations throw some light on the principles and character of the two Aryan religions which have sprung from one and the same source. The religion of Ormuzd holds fast, while it shapes, after its own peculiar fashion, the supersensuous element called into existence by the higher order of gods belonging to the common ancient creed, and eventually rejects almost entirely the deities representing the powers of nature, which, as well as those of the former class, it had inherited from the earliest period. The Vedic creed, on the other hand, is preparing to concede the highest rank to the latter class (the representatives of the powers of nature), to transfer to them an ever increasing honour and dignity, to draw down the divine life into nature, and bring it ever closer to man. The proof of this is especially to be found in the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Aryan religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend attributes to another deity the function which forms the essence of the later myth regarding Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears from the Indian mythology in the course of the Vedic age, and Indra succeeds him. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to push aside even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed,

from the position which is shown, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts strive to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa." .... "Thus the course of the movement is, that an ancient supreme deity, originally common to the Aryans (*i.e.* the ancestors of the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown back into the darkness, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian, and a national god, is introduced. With Varuṇa disappears at the same time the old character of the people, while with Indra a new character, foreign to the primitive Indo-Germanic nature, is in an equal measure brought in. Viewed in its internal essence, this modification in the religious conceptions of the Aryans consists in an ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the supersensuous, mysterious side of their creed, till at length the gods who were originally the highest and the most spiritual have become unmeaning representatives of nature, and Varuṇa is nothing more than the ruler of the sea, while the Âdityas are the mere regents of the sun's course.

"When the higher and more spiritual elements in the Indian creed had thus become so greatly reduced, it was inevitable that a reaction should ensue," etc.

Although, towards the close of the preceding passage, Professor Roth speaks of an "ancient supreme deity" (*ein alter .... oberster Gott*) as "originally common to the Aryans," it is evident from the entire context that he does not regard this deity as their only object of adoration, since he recognizes the existence of a plurality of gods. In the previous part of his dissertation, too, Roth speaks (p. 70) of the close relation in the Vedic era between Varuṇa and another god, Mitra,—a relation which he holds to have subsisted from an earlier period. And at p. 74, he refers to the activity and dignity of Varuṇa being shared by the other Âdityas, though no separate provinces can be assigned to them, while he is the first of the number, and represents in himself the powers of the whole class. If this description apply to the ancient Aryan religion, it cannot be properly said to have been monotheistic, though one deity may have been more prominent than the rest.

SECTION XXII.

MISCELLANEOUS HYMNS FROM THE RIG- AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.[596]

The hymns of the Rig-veda are, as is well known, almost entirely of a religious character, designed, or at least, adapted, for recitation at the worship of the various popular deities, or at some of the ceremonials connected with various important events in the domestic or public life of the ancient Indians. Among these, however, are interspersed a few of a different description, which, from the wide celebrity they had acquired, were carefully preserved by the descendants of their authors, or by other interested persons, and have been incorporated in the great collection of sacred songs. Some of these productions, like the colloquy of Yama and Yamī (translated above in pp. 282 ff.), the very obscure conversation between the hero Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaśī (R.V. x. 95),[597] and the Vrishākapi hymn (R.V. x. 86), derived their importance from the interlocutors being personages regarded as divine, or ranked among the ancestors of the human race. Others, like the 72nd, the 90th, and the 129th hymns of the 10th Book (also quoted above in pp. 48 f., 367 ff., and 356 f.) were venerated from the nature of the topics which they handled, or the depth or gravity of the speculations which they contain. Others, again, such as the hymns referred to by Professor Roth, in his dissertation "on the historical matter contained in the Rig-veda,"[598] would possess an

[596] I have again to acknowledge the valuable aid which I have received from Professor Aufrecht in rendering some of the more difficult parts of the hymns translated in this section.

[597] Professor Max Müller's Essay on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856, reprinted in his "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii., contains a translation of this myth, as narrated in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa, however, only quotes and illustrates the easiest verses of the hymn (R.V. x. 95), making no reference to its most obscure and difficult portions. Some of the verses not cited in the Brāhmaṇa are explained by Professor Müller. See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 153 ff. and 230.

[598] Sur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 87.

interest for the descendants of the contending priestly races to whose rivalries they made allusion, and might even be valued for the purposes of imprecation to which they could be applied.[590] And those compositions which celebrate the liberality of different princes to their domestic priests would naturally be handed down with care by the successors of those favoured individuals.

In the following Section I shall adduce some other hymns, both from the Rig- and the Atharva-vedas, which are only in part of a religious character, and possess a greater general interest than the bulk of those with which they are associated, from the references which they make to human character, dispositions, feelings, passions, and circumstances; from the light which they throw on the progress of sacerdotal pretensions, or from some other feature of their contents. In some of these hymns it will be seen that a considerable amount of shrewdness and worldly wisdom is expressed in a sententious form.

(1) *Hymn to Araṇyāṇī*, R.V. x. 146.

The first hymn which I shall adduce, addressed to the goddess of forest solitude, is distinguished by the poetical feeling which pervades it, and the natural manner in which the emotions arising from the situation there described are depicted, though some of the allusions which it contains are difficult to explain or comprehend. It is repeated in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 5, 5, 6 f., and interpreted by the Commentator on that work. (See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 132).

1. *Araṇyāni Araṇyāni asau yā preva naśyasi* | *kathā grāmaṁ na gachhasi na tvā bhīr iva vindati* | 2. *Vṛishāravāya vadate yad upāvati chichchikaḥ* | *āghāṭibhir iva dhāvayann Araṇyānir mahīyate* | 3. *Uta gāvaḥ ivādanti uta veśmeva dṛiśyate* | *uto Araṇyāniḥ sāyaṁ śakaṭīr iva sarjati* | 4. *Gām angaisha ā hvayati dārv angaisho apāvadhīt* | *vasann Araṇyānyāṁ sāyam akrukshad iti manyate* | 5. *Na vai Araṇyānir hanti anyaś chen nābhigachhati* | *svādoḥ phalasya jagdhvāya yathākāmaṁ nipadyate* | 6. *Anjanagandhāṁ surabhim bahvannām akṛishīvalām* | *prāhaṁ mṛigāṇām mātaram Araṇyānim asaṁsisham* |

[590] See the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 327 and 143.

1. "Araṇyānī, Araṇyānī, thou who seemest to lose thyself there, why dost thou not ask [the way to] the village? Does not terror seize thee (at thy solitude)? 2. When the chichchika (a bird) answers to the roar of bulls when it is uttered, flying about as if with cymbals, then Araṇyānī rejoices. 3. And the cows seem to eat, and the house appears to be seen, and at evening Araṇyānī seems to discharge the carts. 4. One man calls to his cow, another fells a tree; a man dwelling in the forest (in Araṇyānī) fancies that she [or some one] has screamed. 5. Araṇyānī is not [herself] murderous, if no one else (a tiger, etc.) assails; but, after eating of sweet fruit, a man rests there at his pleasure. 6. I laud Araṇyānī, the mother of wild beasts, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, who yields abundance of food, though she has no hinds to till her."

The following is a free metrical version of the first, fifth, and sixth verses of this hymn:—

1. Thou seemest, goddess, here to stray
   Forlorn among these trackless woods,
   These dark and dreary solitudes.
Why dost thou not inquire the way
That leads to cheerful human haunts?
Is there nought here thy courage daunts?

5. Herself this goddess does not slay,
   Although she nurtures murderous beasts:
   On luscious fruits the traveller feasts,
Supplied by her, and goes his way.

6. Rich-scented, fragrant, full of flowers,
   Her realm with various food is filled;
   For though by hinds she is not tilled,
She drinks in sap from heavenly showers.

The next hymn which I shall quote refers to the great variety by which the aims and pursuits of different men are characterized. It is distinguished by a vein of naïf observation, not unmingled with satire; and is curious as disclosing to us the occupations pursued by the

poet's father and mother, though it makes no reference to the class to which they belonged.

(2) *Rig-veda*, IX. 112.

1. *Nānānāṁ vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām | takshā rishṭaṁ rutam bhishag brahmā sunvantam ichhati Indrāya Indo parisrava* | 2. *Jaratībhir oshadhībhir parṇebhiḥ śakunānām | kārmāro aśmabhir dyubhir hiraṇyavantam ichhati*—| 3. *Kārur ahaṁ tato bhishag upalaprakshiṇī nanā | nānādhiyo vasūyavo anu gāḥ iva tasthima*—| 4. *Aśvo voḷhā sukhaṁ rathaṁ hasanām upamantriṇaḥ | śepo romanvantau bhedau vār in maṇḍūkaḥ ichhati*—|

"1. We different men have all our various imaginations and designs. The carpenter seeks something that is broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one who will offer libations. O Indu (Soma), flow forth for Indra.[600] 2. With dried-up sticks, with birds' feathers, with metals, and fire [?] the artizan continually seeks after a man with plenty of gold. O Indu, etc., etc. 3. (=Nirukta, vi. 6) I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother is a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking to get gain, we run after [our respective objects] as after cattle.[601] O Indu, etc. 4. The draught horse desires an easy-going carriage; merry companions a laugh; the female sex the male; and frogs a pond. O Indu," etc.

I add a free metrical rendering of these verses:—

Men's tastes and trades are multifarious,
And so their ends and aims are various.
The smith seeks something cracked to mend;
The leech would fain have sick to tend.
The priest desires a devotee,
From whom he may extract his fee.

[600] This last clause, which is repeated at the end of each of the verses, and transforms the hymn into an address to Soma, is perhaps a later addition to an older song; as it seems to have no connection with the other parts of the verses to which it is attached.

[601] The three preceding verses are translated by Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 74.

Each craftsman makes and vends his ware,
And hopes the rich man's gold to share.
My sire's a leech; and I a bard;
Corn grinds my mother, toiling hard.
All craving wealth, we each pursue,
By different means, the end in view,
Like people running after cows,
Which too far off have strayed to browse.
The draught-horse seeks an easy yoke,
The merry dearly like a joke,
Of lovers youthful belles are fond,
And thirsty frogs desire a pond.

(3) *Rig-veda*, x. 34.

The next hymn, which may possibly be the production of one who lays before us the sad results of his own bitter experience, describes with great vividness, graphic power, and truth of observation, the seductions and miseries of gambling, which we see were as acutely felt by their victims in those early ages as they are in these later times.

1 (=Nirukta, ix. 8). *Prāvepāḥ mā bṛihato mādayanti pravātejāḥ iriṇe varvṛitānāḥ* | *somasya iva Maujavatasya bhaksho vibhīdako jāgṛivir mahyam achhān* | 2. *Na mā mimetha na jihīḷe eshā śivā sakhibhyaḥ uta mahyam āsīt* | *akshasya aham ekaparasya hetor anuvratām apa jāyām arodham* | 3. *Dveshṭi śvaśrūr apa jāyā ruṇaddhi na nāthito vindate marḍitāram* | *aśvasya iva jarato vasnyasya nāhaṁ vindāmi kitavasya bhogam* | 4. *Anye jāyām pari mṛiśanti asya yasya agṛidhad vedane vājī akshaḥ* | *pitā mātā bhrātaraḥ enam āhur na jānīmo nayata baddham etam* | 5. *Yad ādīdhye na davishāṇi ebhiḥ parāyadbhyo ava hīye sakhibhyaḥ* | *nyuptāś cha babhravo vācham akrata emi id eshāṁ nishkṛitaṁ jāriṇī iva* | 6. *Sabhām eti kitavaḥ pṛichhamāno jeshyāmi iti tanvā śūśujānaḥ* | *akshāso asya vi tiranti kāmam pratidīvne dadhataḥ ā kṛitāni* | 7. *Akshāsaḥ id ankuśino nitodino nikṛitvānas tapanās tāpayishṇavaḥ* | *kumāradeshṇāḥ jayataḥ punarhaṇo madhvā sampṛiktāḥ kitavasya barhaṇā* | 8. *Tripanchāśaḥ krīḷati vrātaḥ eshām devaḥ iva savitā satyadharmā* | *ugrasya chid manyave na namante rājā chid ebhyo namaḥ it kṛiṇoti* | 9. *Nīchā vartante upari sphuranti ahastāso hastavantaṁ*

sahante | *divyāḥ angārāḥ iriṇe nyuptāḥ śītāḥ santo hṛidayaṁ nir dahanti* | 10. *Jāyā tapyate kitavasya hīnā mātā putrasya charataḥ kva svit* | *ṛiṇāvā bibhyad dhanam ichhamāno anyeshām astam upa naktam eti* | 11. *Striyaṁ dṛishṭvāya kitavaṁ tatāpa anyeshāṁ jāyāṁ sukṛitaṁ cha yonim* | *pūrvāhṇe aśvān yuyuje hi babhrūn so agner ante vṛishalaḥ papāda* | 12. *Yo vaḥ senānīr mahato gaṇasya rājā vrātasya prathamo babhūva* | *tasmai kṛiṇomi na dhanā ruṇadhmi daśāham prāchīs tad ṛitaṁ vadāmi* | 13. *Akshair mā dīvyaḥ kṛishim it kṛishasva vitte ramasva bahu manyamānaḥ* | *tatra gāvaḥ kitava tava jāyā tad me vi chashṭe Savitā 'yam aryaḥ* | 14. *Mitraṁ kṛiṇudhvaṁ khalu mṛiḷata no mā no ghoreṇa charatābhi dhṛishṇu* | *ni vo nu manyur viśatām arātir anyo babhrūṇām prasitau nu astu* |

"1. The tumbling, air-born [products] of the great Vibhīdaka tree (*i.e.* the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice-board. The exciting dice seem to me like a draught of the soma-plant growing on mount Mūjavat. 2. She (the gamester's own wife) never quarrelled with or despised me. She was kind to me, and to my friends. But I, for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse. 3. My mother-in-law detests me; my wife rejects me. In his need [the gamester] finds no comforter. I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack horse. 4. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. His father, mother, brothers, cry out, 'We know nothing of him; take him away bound.' 5. When I resolve not to be tormented by them, because I am abandoned by my friends who withdraw from me,—yet as soon as the brown dice, when they are thrown, make a rattling sound, I hasten to their rendezvous, like a woman to her paramour.[602] 6. The gamester comes to the assembly, glowing in body, and asking himself, 'shall I win?' The dice inflame his desire, by making over his winnings to his opponent. 7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment, the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner; they appear to the gambler covered with honey. 8. Their troop of fifty-three disports itself [disposing men's destinies] like the god Savitṛi, whose ordinances never fail. They bow not before

[602] These words are quoted in Nirukta, xii. 7.

the wrath even of the fiercest. The king himself makes obeisance to them. 9. They roll downward; they bound upward. Having no hands, they overcome him who has. These celestial coals, when thrown on the diceboard, scorch the heart, though cold themselves. 10. The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed, and so too is the mother of a son who goes she knows not whither. In debt and seeking after money, the gambler approaches with trepidation the houses of other people at night. 11. It vexes the gamester to see his own wife, and then to observe the wives and happy homes of others. In the morning he yokes the brown horses (the dice); by the time when the fire goes out he has sunk into a degraded wretch. 12. He who is the general of your band, the first king of your troop,—to him I stretch forth [my] ten [fingers] toward the east [in reverence]:[603] I do not reject wealth, but I declare that which is right (when I say): 13. Never play with dice: practice husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient. 'There, o gamester, are thy cows; [this is] thy wife;'—so the adorable Savitṛi addresses me. 14. Be friendly [o dice]; be auspicious to us; do not bewitch us powerfully with your enchantment. Let your wrath and hostility abate. Let others be subject to the fetters of the brown ones (the dice)."

The following is an attempt freely to reproduce, in verse, the spirit of this composition:—

These dice that roll upon the board,
To me intense delight afford.
Sweet Soma-juice has not more power
To lure me in an evil hour.
To strife and wrangling disinclined,
My gentle wife was always kind:
But I, absorbed in maddening play,
Have chased this tender spouse away.
She now, in turn, my person spurns;
Her mother's wrath against me burns:
Distressed and vexed, in vain I plead,
For none will help me in my need.

[603] Compare A.V. v. 28, 11, and Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 64.

As wretched as a worn-out hack's,
The gamester's life all joyance lacks.
His means by play away are worn,
While gallants court his wife forlorn.
His father, mother, brothers shout,
"The madman bind, and drag him out."
At times, the scorn of every friend,
I try my foolish ways to mend,
Resolve no more my means to waste
On this infatuated taste:
But all in vain:—when, coming near,
The rattle of the dice I hear,
I rush, attracted by their charms,
Like lady to her lover's arms.
As to his game the gambler hies,
Once more his hopes of winning rise;
And loss but more his ardour fires;
To try his luck he never tires.
The dice their victims hook and tear,
Disturbing, torturing, false though fair.
The transient gains they yield to-day
Are all to morrow swept away.
These sportive dice, a potent band,
The destinies of men command.
They laugh to scorn the fierce man's frown;
Before them doughty kings bow down.
They downward roll, they upward bound,
And, handless, men with hands confound.
They scorch the heart like brands, these dice,
Although themselves as cold as ice.
The gambler's hapless wife is sad;
His mother mourns her wayward lad.
In want, at night he seeks relief
By graceless shifts, a trembling thief.
He groans to see his wretched wife,
And then the happy wives and life
Of others, free from care and strife.

His bad career, with morning light
Begun, in ruin ends by night.
To him, the chief who leads your bands,
Ye Dice, I lift my suppliant hands;
"I hail thy gifts when thou art kind,
But crave thy leave to speak my mind.
Forgive me, king of all the dice,
If thus I give my friend advice:
'Abandon play, and till the soil,
For this shall better pay thy toil.
Well-pleased with what thou hast, forbear
To crave of wealth an ampler share.'"
"Thy wife, thy kine,—in these rejoice,"
Thus cries a god with warning voice.
Be gracious, Dice, we now implore;
Bewitch us with your spells no more.
From us withdraw, to us be kind,
And others with your fetters bind.

That the passion for gambling prevailed very extensively at the time when the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas were composed is clear from various other allusions to the practice which we find there. Thus in R.V. vii. 86, 6, dice are mentioned along with wine, anger, thoughtlessness, etc., as causes of sin (see above, p. 66). The following verses from the Atharva-veda prove the same point:—

A.V. vii. 50, 1. *Yathā vṛiksham aśanir viśvāhā hanti aprati | evāham adya kitavān akshair badhyāsam aprati* | 2. *Turāṇām aturāṇām viśām avarjushīṇām | samaitu viśvato bhago antarhastam kṛitam mama* |

"1. As the lightning every day strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I to-day irresistibly smite the gamesters with the dice. 2. May the wealth of the rich and of the poor unresistingly be collected from every side into my hand as winnings."

vii. 109, 1. *Idam ugrāya babhrave namo yo aksheshu tanūvaśī | ghṛitena kalim śikshāmi sa no mṛiḍāti īdṛiśe* | 2. *Ghṛitam Apsarābhyo vaha tvam Agne pāṁsūn akshebhyaḥ sikatāḥ apaś cha | yathābhāgam havyadātim jushāṇāḥ madanti devāḥ ubhayāni havyā* | 3. *Apsarasaḥ sadhamādam madanti havirdhānam antarā sūryam cha | tāḥ me hastau saṁsṛijantu ghṛitena sapatnam me kitavam randhayantu* | 4. *Ādinavam*

pratidīvne ghṛitena asmān abhi kshara | vṛiksham ivāśanyā jahi yo asmān pratidīvyati |

"1. This reverence be paid to the brown [die], who is ruler among the dice. With butter I worship the Kali; may he thus be auspicious to us. 2. Bring, o Agni, butter to the Apsarases, but dust, sand, and water to the dice. Seeking oblations according to their several shares, the gods delight in both offerings. 3. The Apsarases hold a festival between the oblation and the sun. May they anoint my hands with butter, and overwhelm the gamester who is my opponent. 4. Dispense bad luck to our adversary, but moisten us with butter. Strike, as lightning does a tree, the man who plays against us."

vi. 118, 1. *Yad hastābhyām chakṛima kilbishāṇi akshāṇām gaṇam upalipsamānāḥ | Ugrampaśye Ugrajitau tad adyāpsarasāv anu dattām ṛiṇam naḥ |*

"1. Whatever sins we have committed with our hands, seeking to obtain the host of dice,—remit to us to-day that debt, ye Apsarases Ugrampaśyā and Ugrajit."

iv. 38, 1. *Udbhindatīm sanjayantīm apsarām sādhudevinīm | glahe kṛitāni kṛiṇvānām apsarām tām iha huve | 2. Vichinvatīm ākirantīm apsarām sādhudevinīm | glahe kṛitāni gṛihṇānām apsarām—| 3. Yā āyaiḥ parinṛityati ādadānā kṛitam glahāt | sā naḥ kṛitāni sishatī prahām āpnotu māyayā | sā naḥ payasvatī aitu mā no jaishur idam dhanam | 4. Yāḥ akshehu pramodante śucham krodham cha bibhrati | ānandinīm pramodinīm apsarām tām iha huve |*

"1. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who cuts up and conquers, and gets gains in the game of dice. 2. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who collects and scatters, and receives gains in the game of dice. 3. May she who dances about with the dice, when she wins by gaming, grant gain to us, and obtain success through her skill. May she come to us with abundance of food. Let them not conquer this money of ours. 4. I invoke hither the joyful and exulting Apsaras — those [goddesses] who delight in dice, and who cherish grief and anger."

It will be seen from these verses that the Apsarases are intimately connected with gambling. In A.V. ii. 2, 4, they are said to be "fond of dice," and soul-bewitching" (*akshakāmāḥ manomuhaḥ*).

The next two hymns which I proceed to quote are in praise of

generosity. The first of them celebrates liberality to the destitute in general; the second eulogizes the same virtue when exhibited in giving presents to priests.

(4) *Rig-veda*, x. 117.

1. *Na vai u devāḥ kshudham id vadhaṁ dadur utāśitam upa gachhanti mṛityavaḥ | uto rayiḥ pṛiṇato nopa dasyati utāpṛiṇan marḍitāraṁ na vindate* | 2. *Yaḥ ādhrāya chakamānāya pitvo annavān san raphitāya upajagmushe | sthiram manaḥ kṛiṇute sevate purā uto chit sa marḍitāraṁ na vindate* | 3. *Sa id bhojo yo gṛihave dadāti annakāmāya charate kṛiśāya | aram asmai bhavati yāmahūtā utāparīshu kṛiṇute sakhāyam* | 4. *Na sa sakhā yo na dadāti sakhye sachābhuve sachamānāya pitvaḥ | apa asmāt preyād na tad oko asti pṛiṇantam anyam araṇaṁ chid ichhet* | 5. *Pṛiṇīyād in nādhamānāya tavyān drāghīyāṁsam anu paśyeta panthām | o hi vartante rathyā iva chakrā anyam anyam upa tisṭhhanta rāyaḥ* | 6. *Mogham annaṁ vindate aprachetāḥ satyam bravīmi vadhaḥ it sa tasya | na aryamaṇam pushyati no sakhāyaṁ kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī* | 7. *Kṛishann it phālaḥ āśitaṁ kṛiṇoti yann adhvānam apa vṛinkte charitraiḥ | vadan brahmā avadato vanīyan pṛiṇann āpir apṛiṇantam abhi syāt* | 8. *Ekapād bhūyo dvipado vichakrame dvipāt tripādam abhi eti paśchāt | chatushpād eti dvipadām abhisvare sampaśyan panktīr upatishṭhamānaḥ* | 9. *Samau chid hastau na samaṁ vivishṭaḥ sammatarā chid na samaṁ duhāte | yamayoś chid na samā vīryāṇi jnātī chit santau na samam pṛiṇītaḥ* |

"1. The gods have not ordained hunger to be our destruction. Even those who are full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*lit.* deaths). The prosperity of the liberal man never decays; while the illiberal finds no comforter. 2. He who, himself well provided with sustenance, hardens his heart against the poor man who approaches him, starving, and who has long courted him, desirous of food, such a man meets with none to cheer him. 3. He is the bountiful man who gives to the lean beggar who comes to him craving food. Success attends that man in the sacrifice, and he secures for himself a friend in the future. 4. He is no friend who bestows nothing on his friend who waits upon him, seeking for sustenance. Let every one depart from such a man; his house is no home,—and look out for some one else who is liberal, even though he be a stranger. 5. Let the

powerful man be generous to the suppliant; let him look down the long path [of futurity]. For, oh, riches revolve like the wheels of a chariot: they come, now to one, now to another.[604] 6. In vain the fool obtains food: I tell the truth; it becomes his destruction (comp. v. 1). He nourishes neither his friend nor his companion. He who keeps his food to himself has his sin to himself. 7. The ploughshare furrowing the ground brings men plenty. A man moving onward with his feet accomplishes his journey. A priest who speaks is more acceptable than one who is silent. A kinsman who is beneficent excels one who is stingy. 8. A one-footed being advances faster than a two-footed. The two-footed comes after the three-footed. The four-footed follows in the rear of the two-footed, and moves on observing his steps. 9. The two hands, though alike, do not perform an equal amount of work. Two cows with the same mother do not yield the same quantity of milk. Two men, though twins, have not the same strength. And two others, though kinsmen, are not equally liberal."

The following is a free metrical rendering of some of these verses:—

The gods have not ordained that we
  Should die of want; the lean and weak
  Are not death's only prey; the sleek
Themselves must soon his victims be.

The man endowed with ample pelf
  Who steels his heart, in selfish mood,
  Against the poor who sue for food
Shall no consoler find himself.

[604] It is curious to find in so ancient a composition this now trite comparison of the changes of fortune to the revolutions of a wheel. The same idea occurs in the Mahābhārata, iii. 15489: "After happiness, suffering, and after suffering, happiness, visit a man in succession, as the spokes of a wheel [revolve round] the nave" (*sukhasyānantaraṁ duḥkhaṁ duḥkhasyānantaraṁ sukham | paryāyeṇopasarpante naraṁ nemim arāḥ iva*). Compare S'atap. Br. x. 2, 6, 19: *pānāt pipāsā śriyai pāpmā* (poverty from prosperity) *jyotishas tamo 'mṛitād mṛityur ni ha vai asmād etāni sarvāṇi varttante.* | "To drinking succeeds thirst, to prosperity wretchedness, to light darkness, and to immortality death: so that all these things constantly revolve in a circle." According to Herodotus, i. 207, Crœsus said to Cyrus: "If thou knowest that even thou art human, and rulest over mortals, learn first this lesson, that in the affairs of men there is a wheel which, by its revolution, renders it impossible for the same persons always to enjoy prosperity."

No friend is he who coldly spurns
Away his needy friend forlorn:
He, thus repulsed, in wrath and scorn
To some more liberal stranger turns.

Relieve the poor while yet ye may;
Down future time's long vista look,
And try to read that darkling book;
Your riches soon may flit away.

Ye cannot trust their fickle grace;
As chariot wheels, in ceaseless round,
Now upward turn, now touch the ground,
So riches ever change their place.

The man whose friend receives no share
In all his good, himself destroys:
Who thus alone his food enjoys
His sin alone shall also bear.

(5). *Rig-veda*, x. 107.

1. *Āvir abhūd mahi māghonam eshām viśvam jīvam tamaso nir amochi* | *mahi jyotiḥ pitṛibhir dattam āgād uruḥ panthāḥ dakshiṇāyāḥ adarśi* | 2. *Uchchā divi dakshiṇāvanto asthur ye aśvadāḥ saha te sūryeṇa* | *hiraṇyadāḥ amṛitatvam bhajante vāsodāḥ Soma pratirante āyuḥ* | 3. *Daivī pūrttir dakshiṇā devayajyā na kavāribhyo na hi te pṛiṇanti* | *atha narāḥ prayata-dakshiṇāso avadya-bhiyā bahavaḥ pṛiṇanti* | . . . . 5. *Dakshiṇāvān prathamo hūtaḥ eti dakshiṇāvān grāmaṇīr agram eti* | *tam eva manye nṛipatiṁ janānāṁ yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇām āvivāya* | 6. *Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam u brahmāṇam āhur yajnanyaṁ sāmagām ukthaśasam* | *sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisro yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha* | 7. *Dakshiṇā 'śvaṁ dakshiṇā gāṁ dadāti dakshiṇā chandram uta yad hiraṇyam* | *dakshiṇā 'nnaṁ vanute yo naḥ ātmā dakshiṇāṁ varma kṛiṇute vijānan* | 8. *Na bhojāḥ mamrur na nyartham īyur na rishyanti na vyathante ha bhojāḥ* | *idaṁ yad viśvam bhuvanaṁ svaścha etat sarvaṁ dakshiṇā ebhyo dadāti* | 9. *Bhojāḥ jigyuḥ surabhiṁ yonim agre bhojāḥ jigyur vadhvaṁ yā suvāsāḥ* | *bhojāḥ jigyur antaḥpeyaṁ surāyāḥ bhojāḥ jigyur ye ahūtāḥ prayanti* | 10. *Bhojāya aśvaṁ sam mṛijanti āśum bhojāya āste kanyā*

śumbhamānā | bhojasya idam pushkaraṉīva veśma parishkṛitaṁ devamānā iva chitram | 11. *Bhojam aśvāḥ sushṭhuvāho vahanti suvṛid ratho vartate dakshiṉāyāḥ | bhojaṁ devāso avata bhareshu bhojaḥ śatrūn samanīkeshu jetā |*

"1. The great liberality of these men has been manifested. The whole living [world] has been liberated from darkness. The great light given by the Fathers[605] has arrived. The broad path of Largess has been beheld. 2. The givers of gifts abide aloft in the sky; the bestowers of horses live with the Sun; the givers of gold attain immortality; the bestowers of raiment prolong their lives. 3. A gift is a satisfaction of the gods, an offering to the deities, and [proceeds] not from the illiberal; they bestow nothing; and many men who bestow largesses are bountiful merely through fear of reproach . . . . . 5. The giver of gifts, invited, advances first: he walks in the front as leader.[606] I regard as the king of men him who first presented a gift. 6. They call him a rishi, a priest, a reverend chanter of hymns and reciter of verses,—he knows the three forms of the resplendent (Agni),—the man who was the first to crown [his religious service] with a gift. 7. Largess bestows a cow, a horse, and gleaming gold. Largess bestows food, which is our life. The wise man makes largess-giving his breastplate. 8. Bountiful men neither die nor fall into calamity; they suffer neither wrong nor pain. Their liberality confers on them this whole world as well as heaven. 9. The bountiful conquer for themselves first, a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine; they conquer those who walk before them, uninvited. 10. A fleet horse is trained for the generous man; he obtains a brilliant damsel for his portion; this house of his resembles a lotus-pond, beautiful, embellished like the palaces of the gods. 11. The liberal man is borne along by rapid horses. The car of largess rolls forward on easy wheels. Preserve, ye gods, the bountiful man in battle. He overcomes his enemies in the fight."

[605] Compare R.V. x. 68, 11. "The Fathers have adorned the sky with stars . . . . and placed darkness in the night, and light in the day" (see above, p. 287).

[606] Compare R.V. iv. 50, 8 f. where the prosperity and honour which attend a prince who retains and cherishes a domestic priest are described. See Professor Wilson's translation, and note on *v.* 9, in p. 214; and Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brāhmans, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, i. 77 ff. See also the hymn from the A.V. iii. 19, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 283.

Verses 8 ff. may be thus freely rendered :—

The liberal does not mourn or die;
  No pain or care his life annoys;
  This world is his with all its joys,
And future bliss beyond the sky.

He owns a princely palace bright,
  And dwells in godlike pomp and pride;
  A richly decked and winning bride
  Sits fair and blooming by his side,
And fills his heart with love's delight.

With plenteous stores of corn and wine
  Supplied, a merry life he leads;
  Swift o'er the plain his chariot speeds,
  Whirled on by prancing, snorting, steeds;
He smites his foes by aid divine.

The hymn which I cite next has been already translated by Professor Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 494 f., where he thus remarks on it: "The 103rd hymn of the 7th Mandala, which is called a panegyric of the frogs, is clearly a satire on the priests; and it is curious to observe that the same animal should have been chosen by the Vedic satirist to represent the priests, which, by the earliest satirist of Greece, was selected as the representative of the Homeric heroes."

(6) *Rig-veda*, VII. 103.

1. *Saṁvatsaram śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ* | *vācham Parjanya-jinvitām pra maṇḍūkāḥ avādishuḥ* | 2. *Divyāḥ āpo abhi yad enam āyan dṛitiṁ na śushkaṁ sarasī śayānam* | *gavām aha na māyur vatsinīnām maṇḍūkānāṁ vagnur atra sam eti* | 3. *Yad īm enān uśato abhy avarshīt tṛishyāvataḥ prāvṛishi āgatāyām* | *akhkhalīkṛitya pitaraṁ na putro anyo anyam upa vadantam eti* | 4. *Anyo anyam anu gṛibhṇāti enor apāṁ visarge yad amandishātām* | *maṇḍūko yad abhivṛishṭaḥ kanishkan pṛiśniḥ sampṛinkte haritena vācham* | 5. *Yad eshām anyo anyasya vāchaṁ śāktasyeva vadati śikshamāṇaḥ* | *sarvaṁ tad eshām samṛidheva parva yad suvācho vadathana adhi apsu* | 6. *Gomāyur eko ajamāyur ekaḥ pṛiśnir eko haritaḥ ekaḥ eshām* | *samānaṁ nāma bibhrito virūpāḥ purutra*

vācham pipilur vadantaḥ | 7. *Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some saro na pūrṇam abhito vadantaḥ* | *saṁvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari shṭha yan maṇḍūkāḥ prāvṛishīṇam babhūva* | 8. *Brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācham akrata brahma kṛiṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam* | *adhvaryavo gharmiṇaḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyāḥ na ke chit* | 9. *Devahitiṁ jugupur dvādaśasya ṛituṁ naro na pra minanti ete* | *saṁvatsare prāvṛishi āgatāyāṁ taptāḥ gharmāḥ aśnuvate visargam* | 10. *Gomāyur adād ajamāyur adāt pṛiśnir adād harito no vasūni* | *gavām maṇḍūkāḥ dadataḥ śatāni sahasrasāve pratiranta āyaḥ* |

"1. These vow-fulfilling Brāhmans, the frogs, after lying quiet for a year, have now uttered their voice, stimulated by Parjanya (the rain-god). 2. When the waters from the sky fell upon them, as they lay like a dry skin[607] in the (dried-up) pond, the voice of the frogs rises in concert, like the lowing of cows which have calves. 3. When, on the arrival of the autumn, rain fell upon them, when they were ardently desiring it and parched with thirst, the one croaking approaches, like a son his father, another who is calling out. 4. One of them seizes the other, when they are delighted with the discharge of the waters; when the speckled frog, soaked, and leaping upwards, joins his voice to that of the green one. 5. When the one repeats the sounds of the other, as a pupil the words of his teacher, your every limb seems in full vigour, as ye make a loud noise upon the waters. 6. One lows like a cow, another bleats like a goat; one of them is speckled, another green. Having a common name, they vary in appearance, and modulate their voices diversely as they croak. 7. Like Brāhmans at the Atirātra soma-rite, like (priests) talking round a full bowl, ye frogs surround the pond on this day of the year which is the day of autumn. 8. The soma-offering Brāhmans raise their voices, performing their annual devotions; these adhvaryus, sweating with their hot oblations [or their kettles] issue forth like persons who have been hidden. 9. They have observed the divine ordinances of the year; these creatures do not disregard the season; when autumn has arrived these heated kettles obtain their release. 10. The frog who lows, and the one who bleats, the speckled and the brown, have bestowed on us riches:

[607] Prof. Müller renders *dṛiti* by "fish." I prefer the more common signification of "skin."

giving us hundreds of cows, the frogs prolong our lives in the season of a thousand shoots."

I have attempted to give the substance of this hymn very freely in the following verses :—

As Brāhmans, who a vow fulfil,
The frogs had now a year been still.
Like dried and shrivelled skins they lay,
Faint, parched with heat for many a day,
Expecting, long in vain, the showers
Withheld by Air's malignant powers.
But autumn comes; Parjanya rains
In copious streams, and floods the plains.
Clouds veil the sun, the air is cool,
The ponds, long empty, now are full.
There float the frogs, their bodies soak;
Afar is heard their merry croak.
Well drenched, they jump aloft in glee,
And join in noisy colloquy.
They leap upon each others' backs,
And each to t' other cries co-ax.
As teachers first call out a word,
Then boys repeat what they have heard,
Just so the frogs croak out once more
What other frogs had croaked before.
Sounds diverse issue from their throats,
Some low like cows, some bleat like goats,
Though one in name, of various sheen,
For one is brown, another green.
As Brāhmans at a Soma-rite
Around the bowl in talk unite,
This day the frogs their pond surround,
And make the air with noise resound.
These priests, the frogs, their voices raise,
And sing their annual hymn of praise.
As priests who sweated o'er a pot
Soon quit the fire they find too hot,

The frogs, so long oppressed by heat,
Emerge in haste from their retreat.
From rules divine they never swerve,
But all the seasons' laws observe.
When autumn comes, their sufferings cease,
From scorching heat they find release.
The frogs that bleat, and those that low,
Brown, green, on men all wealth bestow.
The kine that on our pastures graze,
We owe to them, with length of days.

It is possibly an echo of this production that we find in a description of autumn in the Harivaṁśa, v. 8803, where the poet compares the noise made by a frog, after his rest of sixteen half months, along with his wives, to the recitation of the Rig-veda by a Brāhman surrounded by his pupils (*plavangamaḥ shoḍasa-pakshaśāyī*[608] *virauti goshṭhaḥ saha kāminībhiḥ | ṛicho dvijātiḥ priya-satya-dharmā yathā svaśishyaiḥ parivāryamāṇaḥ*). On this verse the late M. Langlois somewhat naïvely remarks as follows, in a note to his French translation of the Hariv. vol. ii. p. 132: Dans nos moeurs rien n' égalerait l' impertinence d'une comparaison dans laquelle une grenouille serait assimilée à un respectable ecclésiastique. Les Indiens, à ce qu' il paraît, ne voyaient dans telle espèce de rapprochement aucune teinte d' impiété."

The next hymn breathes a social spirit, and a disposition to profit by the improving influences of the company of cultivated men, combined, however, with a vainglorious desire to shine at their expence.

(7). *Atharva-veda*, VII. 12.

1. *Sabhā cha mā samitiś cha avatām Prajāpater duhitarau saṁvidāne | yenāsangachhai upa mā sa śikshāt chāru vadāni pitaraḥ sangateshu* | 2.

[608] There seems to be no doubt that this word refers to the frog's eight months quiescence since the close of the preceding rainy season. M. Langlois, who had before him the reading *shoḍaśa-paksha-śāryyī*, was naturally puzzled by it, and renders it, "La grenouille, dont les flancs sont comme sillonnés par les seize côtes," and he adds a note to the following effect: "Il me semble que, par cette épithète un peu obscure, l' intention de l' auteur est de dépeindre les seize côtes de la grenouille, devenues plus apparentes à la suite des chaleurs de l'été qui ont du l' affaiblir."

Vidma te sabhe nāma nariṣṭā nāma vai asi | ye te ke cha sabhāsadas te me santu savāchasaḥ | 3. *Eshām ahaṁ samāsīnānāṁ varcho vijnānam ādade | asyāḥ sarvasyāḥ saṁsado mām Indra bhaginaṁ kriṇu* | 4. *Yad vo manaḥ parāgataṁ yad baddham iha veha vā | tad vaḥ āvartayāmasi mayi vo ramatām manaḥ* |

"1. May Assembly and Meeting, the two daughters of Prajāpati, concurrently preserve me. May every one whom I meet resort to me; may I speak agreeably, o fathers, in the assemblies. 2. Assembly, we know thy name; thy name is conversation. Let all the members of the company converse with me. 3. I appropriate the glory and the knowledge of these men who are seated here. Indra, make me the most distinguished in all this assembly. 4. If your thoughts have turned elsewhere, or are enchained here or there, we cause them to return: let them delight in me."

The hymn of which I next give the first four verses contains a prayer, or incantation, for concord in a family.

(8). *Atharva-veda*, III. 30.

1. *Sahṛidayaṁ sāmmanasyam avidveshaṁ kriṇomi vaḥ | anyo anyam abhi haryata vatsaṁ jātam ivāghnyā* | 2. *Anuvrataḥ pituḥ putro mātrā bhavatu sammanāḥ | jāyā patye madhumatīm vāchaṁ vadatu śantivān* | 3. *Mā bhrātā bhrātaraṁ dvikshad mā svasāram uta svasā | samyanchaḥ savratāḥ bhūtvā vāchaṁ vadata bhadrayā* | 4. *Yena devāḥ na viyanti no cha vidvishate mithaḥ | tat kriṇmo brahma vo gṛihe sanjnānam purushebhyaḥ* |

"1. I impart to you concord, with unity of hearts and freedom from hatred: delight one in another, as a cow at the birth of a calf. 2. May the son be obedient to his father, and of one mind with his mother: may the wife, at peace with[809] her husband, speak to him honied words. 3. Let not brother hate brother, nor sister sister: concordant and united in will speak to one another with kind words. 4. We perform in your house an incantation, creating concord among its in-

[809] I am unable to give an explanation of the word *śantivān*, which, though masculine in form, seems to agree with *jāyā*.

mates, and one through which the gods will not desert you, nor mutual hatred exist." [610]

The four hymns of the Atharva-veda which follow contain incantations designed to save persons suffering under dangerous diseases, and on the point of death, from death; or rather perhaps to try to recall their spirits after their separation from the body. They supply various illustrations of the conceptions entertained by the Indians of the period when they were composed, regarding the vital principle, the relations of the different senses to the several elements, the deities by whom men's tenure of life was regulated, the power of incantations to arrest the approach of doom, and other kindred particulars. Some of the ideas which we shall meet here have already occurred in the section on Yama.

(9). *Atharva-veda*, v. 30.

1. *Āvatas te āvataḥ parāvatas te āvataḥ* | *ihaiva bhava mā nu gāḥ mā pūrvān anu gāḥ pitṛīn asum badhnāmi te driḍham* | 2. *Yat tvā 'bhicheruḥ purushaḥ svo yad araṇo janaḥ* | *unmochana-pramochane ubhe vāchā vadāmi te* | 3. *Yad dudrohitha śepishe striyai puṁse achittyā* | *unmo*—| 4. *Yad enaso mātṛikṛitāt śeshe pitṛikṛitāt cha yat* | *unmo*—| 5. *Yat te mātā yat te pitā jāmir bhrātā cha sarjataḥ* | *pratyak sevasva bheshajaṁ jaradashṭiṁ kriṇomi tvā* | 6. *Ihaidhi purusha sarveṇa manasā saha* | *dūtau Yamasya mā 'nugāḥ adhi jīvapurā ihi* | 7. *Anuhūtaḥ punar ehi vidvān udayanam pathaḥ* | *ārohaṇam ākramaṇaṁ jīvato jīvato 'yanam* | 8. *Mā bibher na marishyasi jaradashṭiṁ kriṇomi tvā* | *niravocham ahaṁ yakshmam angebhyo 'ngajvaraṁ tava* | 9. *Angabhedo angajvaro yaś cha te hṛidayāmayaḥ* | *yakshmaḥ śyenaḥ iva prāpaptad vāchā sāḍhaḥ parastarām* | 10. *Ṛishī Bodhapratībodhāv asvapno yaś cha jāgṛiviḥ* | *tau te prāṇasya goptārau divā naktaṁ cha jāgṛitām* | 11. *Ayam Agnir upasadyaḥ iha sūryaḥ udetu te* | *udehi mṛityor gambhīrāt kṛishṇāt chit tamasas pari* | 12. *Namo Yamāya namo astu mṛityave namaḥ pitṛibhyaḥ uta ye nayanti* | *utpāraṇasya yo veda tam agnim puro dadhe asmai arishṭatātaye* | 13.

[610] Three hymns of the Atharva-veda, viz. iii. 19; v. 18, and v. 19, together with two verses (the 8th and 9th) of v. 17, which formed part of this section, as it originally appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 33 ff., are omitted here, as they have subsequently been quoted in the first volume of this work, 2nd Edition, pp. 280-287.

Aitu prāṇaḥ aitu manaḥ aitu chakshur atho balam | *śarīram asya saṁ vidāṁ tat padbhyām prati tishṭhatu* | 14. *Prāṇenāgne chakshushā saṁ sṛijemaṁ samīraya tanvā sam balena* | *vettha amṛitasya mā nu gāt mā nu bhūmigṛiho 'bhuvat* | 15. *Mā te prāṇaḥ upadasat mo apāno 'pi dhāyi te* | *sūryas tvā 'dhipatir mṛityor udāyachhatu raśmibhiḥ* | 16. *Iyam antar vadati jihvā baddhā panishpadā* | *tvayā yakshmaṁ niravochaṁ śataṁ ropīś cha takmanaḥ* | 17. *Ayaṁ lokaḥ priyatamo devānām aparājitaḥ* | *yasmai tvam iha mṛityave dishṭaḥ purusha jajnishe* | *sa cha tvā 'nu hvayāmasi mā purā jaraso mṛithāḥ* |

"1. From thy vicinity, from thy vicinity, from a distance, from thy vicinity [I call] to thee: remain here; do not follow, do not follow, the early Fathers. I firmly hold back thy breath. 2. Whatever incantations any kinsman or stranger has uttered against thee, —with my voice I declare thy release and deliverance from them all. 3. Whatever hurt thou hast done, or curse thou hast spoken, in thy folly, against woman or man, with my voice, etc. 4. If thou liest there in consequence of any sin committed by thy mother, or thy father,[611] with my voice, etc. 5. Receive the medicine which thy father, mother, sister and brother offer to thee. I make thee long-lived. 6. Remain here, o man, with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama;[612] come to the abodes of the living. 7. Return when called, knowing the outlet of the path, the ascent, the advance, the road of every living man. 8. Fear not; thou shalt not die; I make thee long-lived. I have charmed out of thy members the consumption by which they are wasted. 9. The consumption

[611] Compare a curious passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmana iii. 7, 12, 3 f., already quoted in p. 66: "May Agni deliver me from any sin which my mother may have committed when I was in her womb, or which my father may have committed. May my parents have received no injury from me, when I, a son, in sucking, squeezed my mother and father in my delight." Compare also R.V. vii. 86, 5, quoted above in the same page, as well as the following texts: R.V. vi. 51, 7, *Mā vaḥ eno anyakṛitam bhujema mā tat karma yat chayadhve* | "May we not suffer [the penalty of] sin committed by others, or do that which you will punish, o Vasus!" vii. 52, 2, *Mā vo bhujema anyajātam eno mā tat karma vasavo yat chayadhve* | of nearly identical sense with the preceding text. x. 37, 12. *Yad no devāś chakṛima jihvayā guru manaso vā prayutī devaheḷanam* | *arāvā yo no abhi duchhunāyate tasmin tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* | "If we have committed against you any grievous offence, o gods, with our tongues, or through thoughtlessness, transfer (the guilt of) that sin to the enemy who regards us with malice."

[612] See the section on Yama, p. 294.

which racks and wastes thy limbs, and sickens thy heart, has flown away to a distance like a hawk, overcome by my word. 10. The two sages, Alert and Watchful, the sleepless and the vigilant, these the guardians of thy life, are awake both day and night. 11. May this adorable Agni rise here to thee as a sun. Rise up from deep death,[613] yea, even from black darkness.[614] 12. Reverence to Yama, reverence to Death, reverence to the Fathers, and to those who guide us. I place in front of this [sick] man, for his security, Agni, who knows how to carry him across. 13. Let his breath, let his soul, let his sight come, and then his strength; let his body acquire sensation, and stand firm upon its feet. 14. Provide him, Agni, with breath, and with sight; restore him, furnished with a body, and with strength.[615] Thou hast the knowledge of immortality; let him not depart, or become a dweller in a house of clay. 15. Let not thy inhaled breath cease; let not thy exhaled breath vanish. Let the sun, the lord, raise thee up from death by his rays. 16. This tongue speaks within, bound, convulsive. By thee I have charmed away the consumption, and the hundred torments of the fever. 17. This world is the dearest, unconquered by the gods. To whatever death thou wast destined when thou wast born, o man,—we call after thee, do not die before thou art worn out by old age."

(10) *Atharva-veda*, VII. 53.

1. *Amutrabhūyād adhi yad Yamasya Bṛihaspate abhiśaster amunchaḥ* | *pratyauhatām Aśvinā mṛityum asmad devānām Agne bhishajā śachībhiḥ* | 2. *Sam̃ kramatām mā jihītam̃ śarīram prāṉāpānau te sayujāv iha stām* | *śatam̃ jīva śarado vardhamāno Agnis te gopāḥ adhipāḥ vasishṭhaḥ* | 3. *Āyur yat te atihitam parāchair apāṉaḥ prāṉaḥ punar ā tāv itām* | *Agnis tad āhār nirṛiter upasthāt tad ātmani punar āveśayāmi te* | 4. *Mā imam prāṉo hāsīd mo apāno avahāya parā gāt* | *sapta ṛishibhyaḥ enam paridadāmi te enam̃ svasti jarase vahantu* | 5. *Praviśatam prāṉāpānāv anaḍvāhāv iva vrajam* | *ayam̃ jarimṉaḥ śevadhir arishṭaḥ iha vardhatām* | 6. *Ā te prāṉam̃ suvāmasi parā yakshmam̃ suvāmi te* | *āyur no viśvato*

[613] Compare the αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος of Homer.
[614] Already quoted in the section on Yama, p. 312.
[615] Compare the section just referred to, p. 297 ff.

dadhad ayam Agnir vareṇyaḥ | 7. *Ud vayaṁ tamasas pari rohanto nākam uttamam* | *devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam* |

"1. Bṛihaspati, thou hast delivered us from dwelling in the realm of Yama, from the curse. The Aśvins,—they who, o Agni, are the two physicians of the gods,—they have repelled death from us by their powers. 2. Continue associated, ye two breaths, inspired and expired; forsake not his body: may they, united, remain with thee here. Live prosperously a hundred autumns. Agni is thy brilliant protector and lord. 3. May thy life, which has been dissipated afar, may thy breaths, come back to thee again. Agni has snatched it from the lap of Nirṛiti (Destruction): and I introduce it again into thyself. 4. Let not his inspiration abandon him, nor his expiration quit him and depart. I commit him to the seven Rishis; may they carry him on in health to old age. 5. Enter into him, ye two breaths, like two steers forcing their way into a cow-pen. May this man flourish here, an unmolested depositary of old age. 6. We restore thy breath. I drive away consumption from thee. May this excellent Agni sustain our life on every side. 7. Ascending from the darkness to the uppermost heaven, we have reached, among the gods, the god Sūrya, the highest luminary."

(11) *Atharva-veda*, VIII. 1.

1. *Antakāya mṛityave namaḥ prāṇāḥ apānāḥ iha te ramantām* | *ihāyam astu purushaḥ sahāsunā sūryasya bhāge amṛitasya loke* | 2. *Ud enam Bhago agrabhīd ud enaṁ Somo aṁśumān* | *ud enam Maruto devāḥ ud Indrāgnī svastaye* | 3. *Iha te asur iha prāṇaḥ ihāyur iha te manaḥ* | *ut tvā Nirṛityāḥ pāśebhyo daivyā vāchā bharāmasi* | 4. *Utkrāma ataḥ purusha mā 'va patthāḥ mṛityoḥ paḍbīśam avamunchamānaḥ* | *mā chhitthāḥ asmāl lokād agneḥ sūryasya sandṛiśeḥ* | 5. *Tubhyaṁ vātaḥ pavatām mātariśvā tubhyaṁ varshantu amṛitāni āpaḥ* | *sūryas te tanve śaṁ tapāti tvām mṛityur dayatām mā pra meshṭhāḥ* | 6. *Udyānaṁ te purusha nāvayānam jīvātuṁ te dakshatātiṁ kṛiṇomi* | *ā hi rohemam amṛitaṁ sukhaṁ ratham atha jirvir vidatham ā vadāsi* | 7. *Mā te manas tatra gād mā tiro bhūd mā jīvebhyaḥ pra mado mā 'nugāḥ pitṛīn* | *viśve devāḥ abhi rakshantu tveha* | 8. *Mā gatānām ā dīdhīthāḥ ye nayanti parāvatam* | *ā roha tamaso jyotir ehy ā te hastau rabhāmahe* | 9. *Syāmaś*

cha tvā mā śabalaś cha preshitau Yamasya yau pathirakshī śvānau | *arvāñ ehi mā vi dīdhyo mā 'tra tishṭha parāñmanāḥ* | 10. *Mā etam panthām anu gāḥ bhīmaḥ esha yena pūrvaṁ na īyatha tam bravīmi* | *tamaḥ etat purusha mā pra patthāḥ bhayam parastād abhayaṁ te arvāk* | 11. *Rakshantu tvā agnayo ye apsu antā rakshatu tvā manushyāḥ yam indhate* | *vaiśvānaro rakshatu jātavedāḥ divyas tvā mā dhāg vidyutā saha* | 12. *Mā tvā kravyād abhi maṁsta ārāt sankasukāt chara* | *rakshatu tvā Dyauḥ rakshatu Pṛithivī sūryaś cha tvā rakshatāṁ chandramāś cha* | *antarikshaṁ rakshatu devahetyāḥ* | 13. *Bodhaś cha tvā Pratībodhaś cha rakshatām* | *Asvapnaś cha tvā Anavadrāṇaś cha rakshatām* | *Gopāyaṁś cha tvā Jāgṛiviś cha* | 14. *Te tvā rakshantu te tvā gopāyantu tebhyo namas tebhyaḥ svāhā* | 15. *Jīvebhyas tvā samude Vāyur Indro Dhātā dadhātu Savitā trāyamāṇaḥ* | *mā tvā prāṇo balaṁ hāsīd asuṁ te 'nu hvayāmasi* | 16. *Mā tvā jambhaḥ saṁhanur mā tamo vidad mā jihvā barhiḥ pramayuḥ kathā syāḥ* | *ut tvā Ādityāḥ Vasavo bharantu ud Indrāgnī svastaye* | 17. *Ut tvā Dyaur ut Pṛithivī ut Prajāpatir agrabhīt* | *ut tvā mṛityor oshadhayo somarājnīr apīparan* | 18. *Ayaṁ devāḥ ihaivāstu ayam mā 'mutra gād itaḥ* | *imaṁ sahasravīryeṇa mṛityor utpārayāmasi* | 19. *Ut tvā mṛityor apīparaṁ saṁ dhamantu vayodhasaḥ* | *mā tvā vyastakeśyo mā tvā agharudo rudan* | 20. *Āhārsham avidaṁ tvā punar āgāḥ punarṇavaḥ* | *sarvāngaḥ sarvaṁ te chakshuḥ sarvam āyuś cha te 'vidam* | 21. *Vyavāt te jyotir abhūd apa tvat tamo akramīt* | *apa tvad mṛityuṁ nirṛitim apa yakshmaṁ ni dadhmasi* |

"1. Reverence to Death the Ender! May thy inhaled and exhaled breaths gladly rest here. May this man remain here united with his spirit in the domain of the sun, in the world of deathlessness. 2. Bhaga and Soma with his filaments, the divine Maruts, Indra, and Agni, have raised him up to health. Here is thy spirit, here thy breath, here thy life, here thy soul. We rescue thee from the bonds of Nirṛiti by a divine utterance. 4. Rise up hence, o man. Casting off the fetters of death, do not sink downward. Do not depart from this world, from the sight of Agni and the Sun. 5. May the Wind, Mātariśvan, blow for thee; may the waters shower immortality (or ambrosia) on thee; may the Sun shine healingly upon thy body; may Death pity thee; do not die. 6. Thou must ascend, o man, and not descend; I give thee life and perceptive power. Mount this pleasant and imperishable car, then, when aged, thou shalt declare a festival. 7. Let not thy soul

go away thither, let it not disappear; do not wander away from the living; do not follow the Fathers. May all the gods preserve thee. 8. Do not long after the departed, who conduct men afar. Ascend from the darkness; come into the light. We lay hold of thy hands. 9. Let not the two dogs sent by Yama,[616] the black and the brindled [seize thee]. Come hither; do not hesitate; do not remain here with averted mind. 10. Do not follow this path; it is terrible; I speak of that by which thou hast not hitherto gone. This, o man, is darkness; do not enter it. Beyond, thou hast fear; on this side, thou hast security. 11. May the fires which are in the waters preserve thee; may the fire which men kindle preserve thee; may Jātavedas Vaiśvānara (the fire, which is common to all men) preserve thee; let not the celestial fire, together with the lightning, consume thee. 12. Let not the flesh-devouring fire[617] seek to harm thee; go far from that wicked one. May the sky, the earth, the sun, and moon, preserve thee; may the air protect thee from the bolt of the gods. 13. May Wakeful and Watchful, may Sleepless and Wakeful preserve thee. May Guardian and Vigilant protect thee. 14. May they protect and guard thee. To them be reverence. 15. May Vāyu, Indra, Dhātṛi, and Savitṛi the deliverer, restore thee to converse with the living. Let not breath and strength abandon thee; we call back thy spirit. 16. Let not any destructive demon, let not darkness find thee .... May the Ādityas and Vasus, with Indra and Agni, raise thee up to health. 17. The sky, the earth, Prajāpati have rescued thee. The plants with Soma their king, have delivered thee from death. 18. Let this man remain here, o gods; let him not depart hence to the other world. We rescue him from death with a charm of boundless efficacy. 19. I have delivered thee from death; may the vigorous breathe upon thee.[618] Let not the she-devils with dishevelled hair, or those that howl dreadfully, yell at thee. 20. I have snatched thee; I have caught thee; thou hast returned renewed, and perfect in thy members: I have obtained thy entire eye, and thy entire life. 21.

[616] See A.V. v. 30, 6, above.

[617] There are three kinds of fire, the *kravyād*, or funeral (here referred to), which devours dead bodies, the culinary (*āmād*), and the sacrificial. See the Vāj. S. i. 17, and the commentary there, and above, p. 217, note.

[618] See the 4th verse of the next hymn.

[Life] has breathed upon thee. Light has come to thee. Darkness has departed from thee. We remove from thee death, Nirṛiti and consumption."

(12) *Atharva-veda*, VIII. 2.

1. *Ārabhasva imām amṛitasya śrushṭim achhidyamānā jaradashṭir astu te | asuṁ te āyuḥ punar ā bharāmi rajas tamo mopagāḥ mā pra meshṭhāḥ* | 2. *Jīvatāṁ jyotir abhyehi arvāñ ā tvā harāmi śataśāradāya | avamunchan mṛityupāśān aśastiṁ drāghīyaḥ āyuḥ prataraṁ te dadhāmi* | 3. *Vātāt te prāṇam avidaṁ sūryāch chakshur ahaṁ tava | yat te manas tvayi tad dhārayāmi saṁ vitsva angair vada jihvayā "lapan* | 4. *Prāṇena tvā dvipadāṁ chatushpadām agnim iva jātam abhi saṁ dhamāmi | namas te mṛityo chakshushe namaḥ prāṇāya te 'karam* | 5. *Ayaṁ jīvatu mā mṛita imaṁ samīrayāmasi | kṛiṇomi asmai bheshajam mṛityo mā purushaṁ vadhīḥ* | 6. *Jīvalaṁ naghārishāṁ jīvantīm oshadhīm aham | trāyamāṇāṁ sahamānāṁ sahasvatīm iha huve asmai arishṭatātaye* | 7. *Adhi brūhi mā "rabhathāḥ sṛijemaṁ tavaiva san sarvahāyāḥ ihāstu | Bhavāśarvau mṛiḍataṁ śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattam āyuḥ* | 8. *Asmai mṛityo adhi brūhi imaṁ dayasva ud ito 'yam etu | arishṭaḥ sarvāngaḥ suśruj jarasā śatahāyanaḥ ātmanā bhujam aśnutām* | 9. *Devānāṁ hetiḥ pari tvā vṛiṇaktu pārayāmi tvā rajasaḥ ut tvā mṛityor apīparam | ārād agniṁ kravyādaṁ nirūhan jīvātave te paridhiṁ dadhāmi* | 10. *Yat te niyānaṁ rajasam mṛityo anavadharshyam | pathaḥ imaṁ tasmād rakshanto brahmāsmai varma kṛiṇmasi* | 11. *Kṛiṇomi te prāṇāpanau jarām mṛityum dīrgham āyuḥ svasti | Vaivasvatena prahitān yamadūtāṁś charato 'pa sedhāmi sarvān* | 12. *Ārād arātim nirṛitim paro grāhiṁ kravyādaḥ piśāchān | raksho yat sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ tat tamaḥ ivāpa hanmasi* | 13. *Agnes te prāṇam amṛitād āyushmato vanve jātavedasaḥ | yathā na rishyāḥ amṛitaḥ sajūr asas tat te kṛiṇomi tad u te samṛidhyatām* | 14. *Śive te stāṁ Dyāvāpṛithivī asantāpe abhiśriyau | śaṁ te sūryaḥ ā tapatu śaṁ vāto vātu te hṛide | Śivāḥ abhi ksharantu tvā āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ* | 15. *Śivās te santv oshadhayaḥ ut tvā "hārsham adharasyāḥ uttarām pṛithivīm abhi | tatra tvā "dityau rakshatām Sūryāchandramasāv ubhā* | 16. *Yat te vāsaḥ paridhānaṁ yāṁ nīviṁ kṛiṇushe tvam | śivaṁ te tanve tat kṛiṇmaḥ saṁsparśe 'rūkshṇam astu te* | 17. *Yat kshureṇa marchayatā sutejasā vaptā vapasi keśaśmaśru | śumbhan mukham mā naḥ āyuḥ pra moshīḥ* | 18. *Śivau te stāṁ*

vrīhi-yavāv abalasāv adomadhau | etau yakshmaṁ vi bādhete etau munchato aṁhasaḥ | 19. *Yad aśnāsi yat pibasi dhānyaṁ krishyāḥ payaḥ | yad ādyaṁ yad anādyaṁ sarvaṁ te annam avishaṁ kriṇomi* | 20. *Ahne cha tvā rātraye cha ubhābhyām pari dadmasi | arāyebhgo jighatsubhyaḥ imam me pari rakshata* | 21. *Śataṁ te ayutaṁ hāyanān dve yuge trīṇi chatvāri kriṇmaḥ | Indrāgnī viśve devās te anumanyantām ahriṇīyamānāḥ* | 22. *Śarade tvā hemantāya vasantāya grīshmāya pari dadmasi | varshāṇi tubhyaṁ syonāni yeshu vardhante oshadhīḥ* | 23. *Mrityur īśe dvipadām mrityur īśe chatushpadām | tasmāt tvām mrityor gopater udbharāmi sa mā bibheḥ* | 24. *So 'rishṭa na marishyasi na marishyasi mā bibheḥ | na vai tatra mriyante no yanti adhamaṁ tamaḥ* | 25. *Sarvo vai tatra jīvati gaur aśvaḥ purushaḥ paśuḥ | yatredam brahma kriyate paridhir jīvanāya kam* | 26. *Pari tvā pātu samānebhyo abhichārāt sabandhubhyaḥ | amamrir bhava amrito atijīvo mā te hāsishur asavaḥ śarīram* | 27. *Ye mrityavaḥ ekaśataṁ yāḥ nāshṭrāḥ atitāryāḥ | munchantu tasmāt tvāṁ devāḥ agner vaiśvanarād adhi* | 28. *Agneḥ śarīram asi pārayishṇuḥ rakshohā 'si sapatnahā | atho amīva-chātanaḥ pūtudrur nāma bheshajam* |

"1. Seize this boon of immortality; may long life, which cannot be cut off, be thine. I restore to thee breath and life; do not depart to the mist (*rajas*) or to darkness (*tamas*); do not die. 2. Come hither to the light of the living; I rescue thee that thou mayest survive a hundred autumns. Loosing the bands of death and imprecation, I lengthen out thy existence. 3. I have recovered thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun.[619] I place in thee thy soul. Receive sensation in thy limbs. Speak, articulating with thy tongue. 4. I blow upon thee with the breath of bipeds, and of quadrupeds, as on Agni when he is born (*i.e.* on fire when kindled). I have paid reverence, o Death, to thine eye, and to thy breath. 5. Let this man live and not die. We restore him. I make for him a remedy. Death, do not kill the man. 6. I invoke for his safety a vivifying . . . . , living, delivering, strong, and powerful plant. 7. Befriend him ; do not seize him; let him go; though he is thine only, let him abide here with all his strength; o Bhava and Śarva, be gracious; grant deliverance; remove evil and confer life. 8. Befriend him, Death, pity him; let him

[619] See above in the section on Yama, p. 298.

arise. Unharmed, with all his limbs, hearing perfectly, till his time of decay, let him obtain enjoyment during a life of a hundred years. 9. May the shaft of the gods pass thee by; I bring thee across from the mist (see v. 1); I have rescued thee from death. Removing far away the flesh devouring Agni, I draw round thee a circle (see R.V. x. 18, 4) that thou mayest live. 10. Preserving him from that misty egress of thine, o Death, which no one may escape by menaces, we make prayer a protection for him. 11. I give thee thy breaths, death at thy full age,[620] long life and health. I drive away all the messengers of Yama, who roam about, sent by the son of Vivasvat. 12. We remove afar Evil, Nirṛiti, Grāhi, and flesh-devouring Piśāchas, and hurl all wicked Rakshases, as it were into darkness. 13. I ask thy life from the immortal, living, Agni, Jātavedas. I procure that thou mayest suffer no injury, that thou mayest also be immortal. May this be the fortunate result. 14. May heaven and earth in unison be auspicious and innocuous to thee. May the sun shine and the wind blow pleasantly to thy heart. May the celestial streaming waters drop down upon thee favourably. 15. May the plants be auspicious to thee. I have raised thee from the lower to the upper earth. There may both the sons of Aditi, the Sun and the Moon,[621] preserve thee. 16. Whatever garment for clothing, or whatever girdle thou makest for thyself, we cause it to be agreeable to thy body; may it be soft to thy touch. 17. When, as a barber, thou shavest our hair and beard with a sharp and cleansing razor, while cleansing our face, do not rob us of our life. 18. Let the rice and barley be auspicious to thee, causing no consumption or other ailment. These two (grains) destroy consumption, and deliver from calamity. 19. Whatever thou eatest or drinkest, the grain derived from husbandry, or liquid, whatever is or is not to be eaten—all that food I render for thee free from poison. 20. We commit thee to both the Day and the Night; preserve him for me from the goblins who seek to devour him. 21. We allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four, ages (yugas).[622] May Indra and Agni, may all

[620] Compare A.V. xix. 24, 4, 5, 8.

[621] The Moon is not in the Vedas generally reckoned among the Ādityas. See above, p. 54 f.

[622] It would be difficult to say how great a duration is here denoted by this word; but it must be one of great length, if the long periods of years, which are mentioned just before, may be taken as any indication. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 45 f.

the gods regard thee favourably, without hostility. 22. We commit thee to autumn, winter, spring, summer. May the rains be pleasant to thee, in which the plants grow up. 23. Death rules over bipeds; death rules over quadrupeds. From that Death the ruler I rescue thee; do not fear. 24. Thou, who art uninjured, shalt not die; thou shalt not die; do not fear. They do not die there; they do not go to the nethermost darkness, (25) every thing lives there, cow, horse, man, beast, in the place where this prayer is used, the bulwark of life. 26. May it preserve thee from curse from thy equals and friends. Be undying, immortal, long-lived; let not thy breaths abandon thy body. 27. May the gods deliver thee from those hundred deaths, from those dangers which are surpassable, and from that Agni Vaiśvānara (fire of the funeral pile?). 28. Thou, the medicament named Pūtudru (Butea frondosa), art the body of Agni, the deliverer, the slayer of Rakshases, and of rivals, and thou art the chaser away of diseases."

SECTION XXIII.

BRIEF NOTES ON SOCIETY AND LIFE IN THE VEDIC AGE, AS REPRESENTED IN THE HYMNS.

In the Introductions to the first three Volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (vol. i. pp. xl ff.; vol. ii. pp. xv ff.; vol. iii. xiv ff.), Professor Wilson has adduced from the hymns a variety of facts illustrative of the social and political condition of the people of India, and of the advance which they had made in civilization at the period when those hymns were composed. I propose in this section to bring forward such further particulars, connected with the same subjects, as I have noticed in the hymns, without excluding the topics already elucidated by Professor Wilson.

It is not only the facts which are directly stated or implied, in regard to the various subjects of inquiry, which may be understood as supplying the requisite information. References of a corresponding character made to the gods, their dwellings, dress, ornaments, chariots, weapons, etc., may (as in such a stage of religious progress, more especially, men frame their gods after their own image magnified and idealized) be taken as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to their worshippers.

(1.) *Country occupied by the Vedic people, their villages and cities.*

The country originally occupied in India by the Vedic people was the tract watered by the seven rivers, the modern Panjāb; but they gradually extended themselves to the eastward and southward; and in R.V. iv. 36, 18 reference is made to two enemies living beyond (*i.e.* no doubt east of) the Sarayu (*uta tyā sadyaḥ āryā Sarayor Indra pārataḥ Arṇa-chitrarathā 'vadhīḥ*). For details I refer to the second volume of this work, pp. 373 ff. This country was no doubt in part cultivated, as we shall see that frequent references are made to agriculture. But

probably large tracts were covered by forests, which are sometimes referred to. See the references to Agni consuming the woods, above (p. 212); and the hymn to Araṇyānī, quoted in p. 422.

As in our own day, in the north-west provinces of India and the Panjab, the houses, in places remote from the hills, and where the soil is alluvial, without any supply of stone, were no doubt constructed of mud.[623] Villages (*grāma*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 114, 1 (*viśvam pushṭam asmin grāme anāturam* | "may everything in this village be fat and healthy"); i. 44, 10 (*asi grāmeshu avitā* | "Thou (Agni) art the protector in (our) villages"); i. 149, 4 (*gāvaḥ iva grāmam* | "as cattle come to a village"); and x. 146, 1 quoted above.

Cities or fortified places (*pur*) are also constantly mentioned. In one place it is said that Indra demolished a hundred cities of stone in favour of the liberal Divodāsa, iv. 30, 20, that (*śatam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vi āsyat* | *Divodāsāya dāśushe*). Even if we should suppose this was a mythological reference to the aerial cities of the Asuras (comp. x. 67, 3), it might be received as evidence that they had as their prototypes stone-built cities on the earth, a circumstance in itself by no means improbable in tracts of country bordering on the hills, where stone is abundant. Iron cities or fortifications (*puraḥ āyasīḥ*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 58, 8; ii. 20, 8; iv. 27, 1; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14; vii. 95, 1; viii. 89, 8; x. 101, 8, where the reference is either figurative or purely fanciful and mythological. Cities with a hundred enclosures or fortifications (*śatabhuji*) are referred to in i. 166, 8; vii. 15, 14; and although they are only alluded to as figurative expressions of the means of protection afforded by the gods, they no doubt suggest the idea of forts, consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at the time.

(2) *Religious worship.*

Let the reader try to conceive himself as living 3000 years ago or upwards in the province of India which has been above described. At that period the Indo-Aryans had for some time been settled in that

[623] Bricks (*ishṭakā*) are frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas as used for the construction of *vedis*, or altars, but they may have been unbaked.

region, and had begun to consider it as their home, though they were still molested by the barbarous tribes of another stock, and of a ruder religion, who had been previously in possession of the country, and naturally looked upon the intruders with dislike and dread. Conscious of their own superiority, and strong in their faith in the protection of their ancestral gods, the Aryans regarded these aboriginal tribes and their savage rites and character with abhorrence not unmingled with apprehension. We shall therefore suppose one of the small outlying village settlements of the Aryans to be situated on the edge of a forest, part of which has been cut down, cleared, and cultivated. The population has already multiplied to a considerable extent, and (as we shall see further on) a division of labour has been long established. The more thoughtful and contemplative class has now devoted itself to the worship of the gods; the more enterprizing and warlike members of the community have assumed authority over the rest; the great mass of the people follow the occupations of trade and husbandry; while a gradually increasing number of the adjoining barbarians is becoming incorporated in the growing society as slaves or handicraftsmen of the lowest description.

Returning home in the evening through the forest, a member of one of the priestly families, who is at the same time of a poetical temperament, experiences emotions such as are sketched in the hymn to Araṇyānī, which is quoted above in p. 422. Anxious to propitiate the favour of the gods, and to worship them all with the customary ceremonies, he is frequently found watching during the night (not without apprehension of attack from the aboriginal tribes lurking in the adjoining thickets, or from the howling goblins with which his imagination peoples the surrounding darkness), and looking for the signs by which he supposes the earliest appearance of the deities who usher in the day to be indicated. The hymns which are addressed to these divinities, the two Aśvins and to Ushas (the Dawn), at least those which salute the arrival of the latter, do not spring from devotion alone, but are the product of a deep poetical feeling, and a delicate imaginative power. The Aśvins are the first to appear, the time of their manifestation being (as we have seen, p. 234) defined as that between midnight and the earliest manifestation of light; and their supposed advent is hailed with suitable hymns. Then, as the first

streaks of the ruddy dawn become visible in the east, the poet breaks out into an enthusiastic burst of devotion to the lovely goddess Ushas, who every morning renews her youth. Preparation is now made for the birth of the sacred Agni, who springs into life as soon as the physical instruments of his generation are brought into contact, is then duly lauded by his votary, and is imagined immediately to proceed as a messenger to summon the gods to whom sacrifice is to be offered by their worshipper. Soon after Sūrya (the sun) shoots up above the horizon, darting his rays across the firmament, and illuminating everything with his splendour; and receives, under a variety of forms or epithets, the adoration of the delighted poet. In the hot season, when the ground has been parched by long drought, and all eyes are turned to the gathering clouds in the hope that they will soon discharge their watery treasures, Parjanya, the raingod, is besought to send rain; and Indra, the regent of the firmament, and the storm-gods, the Maruts, are supplicated to fulfil the functions which the imagination of their worshippers has assigned to them, of combating the malignant demons of the atmosphere, and compelling them to yield up the waters which they keep shut up in the clouds. The other gods, or a select number of them, are then invoked. Along with the recitation of hymns and prayers, various sorts of oblations are offered up at different periods of the day, to the several deities.

(3) *Did the Vedic Indians make images of their gods?*

Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, i. 38) answers this question in the negative. "The religion of the Veda," he says, "knows of no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods." On the other hand, Dr. Bollensen finds in the hymns clear references to images of the gods (Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxii. 587 ff.). He writes, "From the common appellation of the gods as divo naras, 'men of the sky,' or simply naras (lares?), 'men,' and from the epithet nṛipeśas,[634] 'having the form of men,' R.V. iii. 4, 5, we may conclude that the Indians did not merely in

[634] Professor Roth *s.v.* says that according to Sāyaṇa the word means "having the form of men," but perhaps signifies "formed, or adorned by men."

imagination assign human forms to their gods, but also represented them in a sensible manner. Thus in R.V. ii. 33, 9, a painted image of Rudra is described: *sthirebhir angaiḥ pururūpaḥ ugraḥ babhruś śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ* | 'With strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours.' R.V. i. 25, 13 (where it is said of Varuṇa, that, 'wearing a golden coat of mail, he veils himself in his radiance; spies sit round him'), appears also to refer to a sensible representation." .... "Still clearer appears the reference to representations in the form of an image in v. 52, 15: *nū manvānaḥ eshām devān aścha* (the editions of Professor Müller and Aufrecht both read *achhā*) | 'I now pray to the gods of these (Maruts).' Here it seems that the Maruts are distinguished from their gods, *i.e.* from their images." .... "Besides the common expression vapus, tanu, rūpa ['body' and 'form'], there is in the oldest language one which properly denotes an image of the gods, viz., sandṛiś." Much more is added in support of the same view. It is perhaps premature to attempt to decide on the validity of these proofs till it is seen what can be urged on the opposite side.

(4) *Kings and principalities.*

Kings are frequently mentioned in the hymns, i. 40, 8; i. 126, 1; iii. 43, 5; v. 37, 4; x. 33, 4, etc. In i. 85, 8, the Maruts are said to be of awful aspect, like kings (*rājānāḥ iva tvesha-sandṛiśaḥ*). The country occupied by the Aryas was no doubt peopled by various tribes[635] and divided into numerous principalities. In R.V. i. 126, 1, a king called Bhāvya is celebrated, who dwelt on the banks of the Sindhu, or Indus (*amandān stomān prabhare manīshā Sindhāv adhi kshiyato Bhāvyasya* | *yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā śravaḥ ichhamānaḥ*). In viii. 21, 18, Chitra and other chiefs are alluded to as living near the Sarasvatī (*Chitraḥ id rājā rājakāḥ anyake yake Sarasvatīm anu*). Ten kings are alluded to as having fought against Sudās, vii. 33, 3; vii. 83, 6 ff. (see the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 319, 323 f.). Numerous names of kings occur in the Rig-veda. The meetings, whether friendly or hostile, of princes are alluded to, x. 97, 6 (*rājānaḥ samitāv iva*). In vii. 18, 2, Indra is represented as living in the

[635] See Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, pp. 131 ff.

society of his wives like a king, or dwelling amid lights, as a king among his wives, as Sāyaṇa explains: (*rājeva hi janibhiḥ ksheshi eva ava dyubhiḥ*), which appears to indicate the existence of royal polygamy. In x. 40, 3, the Aśvins are said to come to the libations like two kings' sons (*rājaputreva savanā 'va gachhataḥ*). When Mitra and Varuṇa are represented in ii. 41, 5; v. 62, 6, and vii. 88, 5 (see above, p. 60), as occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates, we may suppose that this is but an exaggerated description of a royal residence, such as the poets had seen.[636] And in the same way we may imagine that the description of Varuṇa in i. 25, 10, 13 (above, p. 59), as sitting in his house, arrayed in golden mail or raiment, surrounded by his messengers and exercising sovereignty, was suggested by the ceremonial of a contemporary Rājā's court. It appears from R.V. iv. 50, 8 (quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 247), that it was regarded as eminently beneficial for a king to entertain a family priest: and in point of fact we find that the liberality of different princes to the rishis or priests by whom they were attended is celebrated in numerous passages (see the 1st vol. of this work, p. 259, and my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1866, pp. 272 ff., where the names of numerous royal patrons are specified). The amount and variety of the presents lavished by these kings upon their spiritual advisers, consisting of cows, sometimes amounting to thousands (v. 30, 12 ff.), horses, chariots, lumps of gold (vi. 47, 23), dresses (*daśāśvān daśa kośān daśa vastrā 'dhibhojanā | daśo hiraṇyapiṇḍān Divodāsād asānisham | daśa rathān prashṭimataḥ śataṁ gāḥ atharvabhyaḥ Aśvathaḥ Pāyave 'dadāt*), and elegantly-adorned female slaves (viii. 46, 33, *adha syā yoshaṇā mahī pratīchī Vaśam Aśvyam | adhirukmā vi nīyate*), even although we should suppose,—as we probably must,—that there is a great amount of exaggeration in the passages referred to, viz., i. 126, 1 ff.; v. 27, 2; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 33, 8 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 47, 22 ff.; vi. 63, 9 f.; vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14; x. 33, 4 ff.; x.

[636] A.V. iii. 12, and ix. 3 contain prayers for the stability of a house at the time of its construction.

62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f., is still a proof that very considerable wealth was possessed by these princes. One chieftain, Kaśu, son of Chedi, is even said to have given to the rishi ten kings, brilliant as gold, viii. 5, 38 (*yo me hiraṇya-sandriśo daśa rājno amaṁhata*).

Towards the close of the Rig-veda two hymns occur (x. 173 and 174) in which blessings are invoked on a king. I shall quote the first, x. 173:—

1. *Ā tvā 'hārsham antar edhi dhruvas tishṭhāvichāchaliḥ* | *viśas tvā sarvāḥ vānchantu mā tvad rāshṭram adhi bhraśat* | 2. *Ihaivaidhi māpa chyoshṭhāḥ parvataḥ ivāchāchaliḥ* | *Indraḥ iveha dhruvas tishṭha iha rāshṭram u dhāraya* | 3. *Imam Indro adīdharad dhruvaṁ dhruveṇa havishā* | *tasmai Somo adhi bravat tasmai u Brahmaṇaspatiḥ* | 4. *Dhruvā dyaur dhruvā pṛithivī dhruvāsaḥ parvatāḥ ime* | *dhruvaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagad dhruvo rājā viśām ayam* | 5. *Dhruvaṁ te rājā Varuṇo dhruvaṁ devo Bṛihaspatiḥ* | *dhruvaṁ te Indraś cha Agniś cha rāshṭraṁ dhārayatāṁ dhruvam* | 6. *Dhruvaṁ dhruveṇa havishā abhi Somam mṛiśāmasi* | *atho te Indraḥ kevalīr viśo balihṛitas karat* |

"I have brought thee forward; remain in the midst; continue firm and immovable; may all thy subjects desire thee! may thy dominion not fall away from thee! 2. Remain here; do not fall; continue immovable as a mountain; abide here as firm as Indra; support here the realm. 3. Indra with a firm oblation has held him firm; may Soma, may Brahmaṇaspati, take his part. 4. Firm is the sky, firm the earth, firm these hills, firm is the whole world, and this prince is a firmly-established king over his subjects. 5. May king Varuṇa, may the divine Bṛihaspati, may Indra and Agni firmly maintain thy rule! 6. We urge the firm Soma with a firm oblation. And now may Indra make thy subjects devoted to thee alone, and bringers of tribute."

Mention is also made of rulers or governors under the title of pūrpati, lord of a city or fortified place (i. 173, 10), and grāmaṇī ruler of a village, or tribe, or band of men. The latter word occurs in x. 62, 11: *sahasradāḥ grāmaṇīr ma rishan manuḥ sūryeṇāsya yatamānā etu dakshiṇā* | "Let not this man (Sāvarṇi), the leader of the people, suffer calamity: let his largess extend to the sun;"[637] and in x. 107, 5, *dakshiṇāvān grāmaṇīr agram eti* | "The bestower of largesses walks in the front as a leader" (see above, p. 434).

[637] See the context in my paper on the priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 276

(5) *Different ranks in society,—rich and poor.*

As may be concluded from the facts already stated, we find in the hymns a distinct reference to rich and poor as existing in the community. See R.V. x. 117, quoted above in page 431, where the existence of both classes is distinctly recognized, and liberality on the part of the wealthy is recommended. In x. 107, 10, the house of the donor of largesses is compared to a lotus pond, and is said to be embellished like a palace of the gods (above, p. 434, and compare x. 135, 7). In viii. 4, 9, the man who is a friend of Indra is said to have horses, chariots, cows; to be handsome, to enjoy vigorous vitality, and to come resplendent into the assembly (*aśvī rathī surūpaḥ id gomān id Indra te sakhā | śvātrabhājā vayasā sachate sadā chandro yāti sabhām upa*).

(6) *Domestic relations and life and morals.*

There are in the hymns distinct traces of the existence of polygamy, though it was no doubt the exception, and monogamy the rule. In some places the husband appears to be described as having only one wife, if we may judge from the fact that the latter is mentioned in the singular. Thus in i. 124, 7, Ushas is said to display her form, as if smiling, as a loving and well-dressed wife does to her husband (*jāyā iva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ Ushāḥ hasrā iva ni riṇīte apsaḥ*; compare iv. 3, 2, and x. 71, 4). And in i. 105, 2, it is said *ā jāyā yuvate patim* | "The wife embraces her husband." In other places a plurality of wives is more or less distinctly intimated. Thus in i. 62, 11: *patiṁ na patnīr uśatīr uśantam spṛiśanti tvā śavasāvan manīshāḥ* | "Our hymns touch thee, o strong god, as loving wives a loving husband;" i. 71, 1: *upa pra jinvann uśatīr uśantam patiṁ na nityaṁ janayaḥ sanīḷāḥ | svasāraḥ* | "The loving sisters [*i.e.* fingers] have stirred up the loving [Agni], as wives dwelling together their own husbands;"[638] i. 105, 8 (=x. 33, 2): *sam mā tapanti abhitaḥ sapatnīr iva parśavaḥ* | "My ribs" (or, according to the Nirukta and Sāyaṇa, the sides of the well) "press painfully on me all around, like rival wives (literally,

[638] I should observe that both Sāyaṇa and Professor Benfey construe the epithet *sanīḷāḥ* "dwelling together, or in one house" with *svasāraḥ* "the sisters," and not with *janayaḥ* "wives."

co-wives);" i. 186, 7: *tam īm giro janayo na patnīḥ surabhishṭamaṁ naraṁ nasanta* | "Hymns haste to him the most pleasing of heroes, as women who are wives;" vii. 26, 3: *janīr iva patir ekaḥ samāno ni mamṛije puraḥ Indraḥ su sarvāḥ* | "Indra took to him all the cities, as (one) common husband his wives;" x. 43, 1: *pari shvajante janayo yathā patim* | "[The hymns] embrace [Indra] as wives a husband." The Satap. Br. ix 1, 4, 6, distinctly avows the principle of polygamy, and states the origin of the practice after its own fashion: *Puṁse pūrvasmai juhoti atha strībhyaḥ* | *pumāṁsaṁ tad-vīryeṇa atyādadhāti* | *ekasmai iva puṁse juhoti bahvībhyaḥ iva strībhyaḥ* | *tasmād apy ekasya puṁso bahvyo jāyāḥ bhavanti* | *ubhābhyāṁ vashaṭkāreṇa cha svāhākāreṇa cha puṁse juhoti svāhākāreṇa eva strībhyaḥ* | *pumāṁsam eva tad-vīryeṇa atyādadhāti* | "He sacrifices to the man first, then to the women. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour. He sacrifices to the man as to one, and to the women as to many. Hence also one man has many wives. He sacrifices to the man both with the vashaṭkāra and the svahakāra, to the women with the latter alone. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour." It seems to have been considered a misfortune for a woman to be left an old maid in her father's house (see the case of Ghoshā, above, p. 247). It would lead me too far to attempt to give any description of the marriage ceremonial, for which I must refer the reader to Weber's Indische Studien, v. 177 ff. (see also R.V. x. 109). Women appear to have been permitted to marry a second time, according to A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted above, in the section on Yama, p. 306 (see also the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 281 ff.). In i. 124, 7, Ushas is said to show herself, as a female, without a brother (her natural protector), is said to show herself to a man (*abhrāteva puṁse eti pratīchī*). Wicked liars are compared, in iv. 5, 5, to women without brothers, and evil-disposed wives hostile to their husbands (*abhrātaro na yoshaṇo vyantaḥ patiripo na janayo durevāḥ* | *pāpāsaḥ santaḥ anṛitāḥ asatyāḥ idam padam ajanata gabhīram*).

The eleventh and twelfth verses of R.V. x. 27, are as follows:—*yasyānakshā duhitā jātu āsa kas tāṁ vidvān abhimanyeta andhām* | *kataro menim prati tam muchāte yaḥ īṁ vahāte yaḥ īṁ vā vareyāt* | 12. *kiyatī yoshā maryato vadhūyoḥ pariprītā panyasā vāryeṇa* | *bhadrā vadhūr bhavati yat supeśāḥ svayaṁ sā mitraṁ vanute jane chit* | 11. "Who knowingly will desire the blind daughter of any man who has one?

Or who will hurl a javelin at him who carries off or woos such a female? 12. How many a woman is satisfied with the great wealth of him who seeks her! Happy is the female who is handsome: she herself loves [or chooses] her friend among the people." May we not infer from this passage that freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands was allowed, sometimes, at least, to women in those times? The Svayamvara, or selection of their own husbands by kings' daughters, appears, from the Mahābhārata, to have been a common practice in later times. See the well-known story of Nala and Damayantī.

A passage has been quoted above (p. 82 note) from the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, the commencement of which, though not altogether clear, may be translated thus: "The divine and fortunate Indrāṇī, wife of an excellent husband, was victorious by a part, in the acquisition of a husband." Did young women at that time compete for husbands?

The following allusion to the relations of a widow with her deceased husband's brother occurs in a verse addressed to the Aśvins, x. 40, 2 (=Nir. iii. 15): *Kuha svid doshā kuha vastor Aśvinā kuhābhipitvaṁ karataḥ kuhoshataḥ | ko vāṁ śayutrā vidhaveva devaram maryaṁ na yoshā kriṇute sadasthe ā |* "Where are you by night, Aśvins, and where by day? where do you alight? where have you dwelt? who draws you to his house, as a widow does her brother-in-law to the couch, or as a woman does a man?" In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 32, Professor Roth refers, in elucidation of this comparison, to Manu, ix. 69, 70, where it is enjoined that in certain circumstances a widow shall be married to her deceased husband's brother. In verse 60 it is ruled that the union shall only subsist until one son has been procreated. It will thus be seen that the ancient law of India corresponded in this respect with that of the Jews, as expounded in Deuteronomy, xxv. 5: compare St. Matthew, xxii. 24 ff. This custom appears to be referred to in the somewhat obscure verse before us.

By the kindness of Professor Max Müller I am enabled to give Sāyana's explanation of the verse:—*Kincha vāṁ yuvāṁ ko yajamānaḥ "sadhasthe" sahasthāne vedy-ākhye "ākriṇute" | paricharaṇārtham ātmābhimukhīkaroti | tatra drishṭāntam darśayati | "śayutrā" śayane "vidhaveva" yathā mritabhartrikā nārī "devaram" bhartribhrātaram abhimukhīkaroti | "maryaṁ na" yathā cha sarvam manushyaṁ "yoshā" sarvā nārī sambhoga-kāle 'bhimukhīkaroti tadvad ity arthaḥ |* "what

worshipper places you in his own presence at the altar to serve you? He illustrates this. As a woman whose husband is dead places her husband's brother before her on the bed, or a woman at the time of sexual connection places a man before her." Then follows a quotation from the Nirukta iii. 15, on the same verse.

On the occasion of the marriage ceremonial, a wish is expressed in the bride's favour that she may be a queen over her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, her husband's sister, and his brothers, x. 85, 46 (*samrājnī śvaśure bhava samrājnī śvaśrvām bhava | nanāndari samrājnī bhava samrājnī adhi devṛishu*). In viii. 2, 20 reference is made to an unamiable son-in-law (*aśīraḥ iva jāmātā*); but it is not very clear what he is intended to illustrate. In i. 109, 2, the poet says he has heard that Indra and Agni are more liberal than an inferior son-in-law, or a wife's brother (*aśravaṁ hi bhūridāvattarā vāṁ vijāmātur uta vā gha syālāt*). Yāska (Nir. vi. 9) explains the word *vijāmātṛi* of a person who is not complete in all necessary requisites (*asusamāptāj jāmātuḥ*); and adds that the people of the south always speak of this word as denoting a man who has purchased his wife (*vijāmātā iti śaśvad dakshiṇājāḥ krītāpatim āchakshate | asusamāptaḥ iva varo 'bhipretaḥ*).

Allusions to conjugal infidelity and sexual immorality are not wanting. In x. 34, 4, reference seems to be made to the gambler's wife being the object of other men's intrigues (*anye jāyām pari mṛiśanti asya yasya agṛidhad vedane vājī akshaḥ* | see above, p. 426). In x. 40, 6, mention is made of a woman resorting to her rendezvous (*nishkṛitaṁ na yoshaṇā*) comp. x. 34, 5 (*nishkṛitaṁ jāriṇī iva*)[629] which, if a married woman is meant, implies an adulterous connection. In ii. 29, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are prayed to remove the worshipper's sin, as a woman who bears a child secretly puts it away (*āre mat karta rahasūr ivāgaḥ*).[630] In i. 167, 4, we find the words *parā śubhrāḥ*

[629] These words (*nishkṛitaṁ na yoshaṇā*) prove either conjugal infidelity, if *yoshaṇā* or *jāriṇī* mean a married woman, or if they refer to an unmarried female, it would shew that young lovers made assignations, and therefore that women had more liberty, and were not confined as in later times. In i. 167, 3, occur the words *guhā charantī manusho na yoshā* | "Like a man's wife moving or acting secretly." Sāyana, however, refers them only to the privacy of the female apartments. See Wilson in loco.

[630] See Professor Wilson's translation and note in loco, and Introduction to vol. ii. p. xvii.

ayāso yavyā sādhāraṇyeva Maruto' mimikshuḥ | which Professor Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, renders "The radiant, ever-moving, Maruts have mingled with (their) associate (lightning), like (youths) with common women." The words are quoted by Professor M. Müller, translation of R.V. i. 176, but without any explanation on the point under consideration.

In ix. 67, 10 ff. the poet prays, and twice repeats the prayer, that Pūshan would protect him in all his goings, and provide him with a supply of damsels (*avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 11. *ayaṁ somaḥ kapardine ghṛitaṁ na pavate madhu* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 12. *ayaṁ te āghṛiṇe suto ghṛitaṁ na pavate śuchi* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ*). The general opinion of the poet's contemporaries in regard to the female sex appears to be intimated in the following words put into the mouth of Indra, viii. 33, 17. *Indraś chid gha tad abravīt striyāḥ aśāsyam manaḥ* | *uto aha kratuṁ raghum* | "Indra declared that the mind of a woman was ungovernable and her temper fickle."

In Vālakhilya 8, 3, mention is made of a gift of one hundred slaves (*śataṁ dāsān ati srajaḥ*). In R.V. viii. 46, 32, Professor Roth conjectures (*s.v. dāsa*) that the correct reading is *śatam dāsān* | "I received a hundred slaves." (See my article on the priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 275). Compare the word *dāsapravarga* in R.V. i. 92, 8, quoted above in p. 184, and translated in p. 186.

As regards the morals of the people, in other respects than those which relate to the relations of the sexes, it may be mentioned that untruth is condemned in a verse already quoted, iv. 5, 5, and the gods are said (i. 152, 1; vii. 49, 3; vii. 84, 2) to punish lying. Frequent mention is made of the friendship borne by the gods to their votaries, which seems to imply the existence of a similar special relation of affection between some of their worshippers. See also hymn x. 71, translated in the third volume of this work, p. 256. In x. 117 (as I have already noticed, p. 457) beneficence to the poor is commended.

(7) *Dress, ornaments, etc.*

References are made in various places to well-dressed females, iv. 3, 2; x. 71, 4 (*jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ*); x. 107, 9, or to elegant,

well-made garments, v. 29, 15 (*vastrêva bhadrā sukṛitā*). From these passages and others relating to jewels, as in viii. 46, 33, quoted above, p. 455, we may gather that considerable attention was already paid to personal decoration. We derive from them no information regarding the shape or materials of the clothing worn, further than may be learnt from the mention of sheep and of wool in certain texts (as i. 126, 7; vi. 15, 16; x. 75, 8). But it is difficult to conceive that cotton (which, as I learn from Professor J. H. Balfour, is supposed to have been indigenous in India), though not mentioned in the hymns, should have been unknown when they were composed, or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate. The form of the garments was probably much the same as among the modern Hindus, unless it be that some innovations may have been introduced by the Mohammedans. A turban or head-dress (*ushṇîsha*)[631] is mentioned in the A.V. xv. 2, 1.

Two of the Vedic deities, Rudra and Pūshan, are said to wear their hair wound or braided spirally upwards into the form of a shell, as the word "kapardin" in R.V. i. 114, 1, 5; vi. 55, 2; and ix. 67, 11, is explained in the dictionary of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth; and in vii. 83, 8, the same epithet is applied to the Tṛitsus (the tribe to which Vasishṭha belonged) (*śvityancho yatra namasā kapardinaḥ tṛitsavaḥ*).[632] In x. 114, 3, a young female, handsome and brilliant (it does not clearly appear who she is, as the passage is obscure and enigmatical) is said to wear four of these braids (*chatushkapardā yuvatiḥ supeśāḥ ghṛitapratīkā vayunāni vaste*). And in vii. 33, 1, the priests of the family of Vasishṭha are said to have their hair-knots on the right of their heads and to be robed in white (*śvityancho mā dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ ityādi*; comp. vii. 83, 8 already quoted).[633] In various passages already cited (pp. 149 f.) the Maruts are said to wear different sorts of ornaments, which were probably similar to what were worn by the poet's countrymen or countrywomen.

[631] In regard to the word *śipra* see above, p. 149.
[632] See the rude picture of the god S'iva at the beginning of the Bombay edition of the Linga Purāna. But Wilson *s.v. kaparda*, explains it merely as "braided hair."
[633] See Roth Zur Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda, p. 120.

(8) *Food and drink.*

In the Rig-veda (see i. 23, 15; i. 66, 3; i. 117, 21, etc.) frequent mention is made of *yava*, which in later Sanskrit means barley; but according to the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* appears to have, in early times, denoted corn in general. Rice (*vrīhi*) according to the same authority is not referred to in the Rig-veda, but is named in the Artharva-veda, as well as barley, and māsha (beans) and tila (sesamum orientale); see vi. 140, 2 (*vrīhim attam yavam attam atho māsham atho tilam*). Parched corn (*dhānā*) is mentioned in several places of the R.V., as i. 16, 2; iii. 35, 3; iii. 52, 5; vi. 29, 4, as an offering to the gods; and in iii. 35, 7, is said to be provided as food for Indra's horses. Cakes (*apūpa*) and meal mixed with curds or butter (*karambha*) are said to be offered to the gods, iii. 52, 7; vi. 57, 2. Fruit (*phala*) is mentioned in iii. 45, 4 (see above, p. 107); i. 146, 5. Plants (*oshadhi, vīrudh*) are frequently alluded to, and are even invoked vi. 49, 14; vii. 34, 23; vii. 35, 5; x. 97, 1 ff., where some of them are spoken of as produced three ages before the gods; verse 1 [*yāḥ oshadhīh pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*]; and are said in verse 4 to be divine [*devīḥ*]; in verses 3 and 15 to be some of them flowering and productive and fruit-bearing, and others not [*pushpavatīḥ prasūvarīḥ | yāḥ phalinīr yāḥ aphalāḥ apushpāḥ yāś cha pushpinīḥ*], and in verses 11 and 12 to drive away disease. Medicaments (*bheshaja*) are also frequently referred to. The cutting up of flesh, apparently for sacrificial purposes, is mentioned in one place, i. 161, 10 (*māṁsam ekaḥ piṁśati sūnayā "bhṛitam*). In i. 164, 43 reference is made to the cooking of a bull as being a primeval institution (*ukshāṇam priśnim apachanta vīrās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan* | comp. x. 27, 2; x. 28, 3).[633] In v. 29, 7; viii. 12, 8; viii, 66, 10, mention is made of the gods cooking or eating large numbers of buffaloes (see above, p. 90). From the fact of these animals being offered in sacrifice, it may perhaps be inferred that they also formed a portion of human food. Intoxicating liquors are mentioned in the hymns. As regards

[633] See the "general note" appended to Sir W. Jones's translation of Manu; and Manu xi. 59, where *gobadha* is mentioned as an *upapātaka*, or minor sin. See also verse 108.

the soma-juice, see above, p. 89, note 169. Wine, *surā*, (though it does not appear from what material it was distilled)[635] was also in use, as appears from several passages already quoted, viz. i. 116, 7 (p. 246) and vii. 86, 6 (p. 66); and x. 107, 9 (p. 434). It is also mentioned in viii. 2, 12, *hṛitsu pītāso yudhyante durmadāso na surāyām* | "When drunk they (the soma-draughts) contend in thy stomach, as men maddened with wine." Swillers of wine, *surāśvaḥ*, are mentioned in viii. 21, 14, as we have seen above (p. 112, note 201). In i. 191, 10, we find the following words: *Sūrye visham ā sajāmi dṛitiṁ surāvato gṛihe* | "I place the poison in the sun, like a [wine]skin in the house of a keeper of wine." See also Vāj. Sanh. xix. 5, 7; Satap. Br. xii. 7, 3, 8, and 12; xii. 8, 1, 16; commentary on Vāj. S. xix. 44; and A.V. xiv. 1, 35 f. (translated in Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 197). In regard to the light in which wine drinking was regarded in later times the reader may consult Manu, xi. 54, 90, 93-97, 148 f., 249.

(9) *Professions and trades.*

In R.V. ix. 112, as we have already seen (p. 424), the variety in men's tastes and pursuits is described, and some of their different occupations are mentioned, viz., those of carpenter, physician, priest, blacksmith (compare x. 72, 2), poet, and female grinder of corn. That man is said to be a skilled physician, and both a slayer of Rakshases and a repeller of diseases, by whom all plants are collected, like kings in an assembly, x. 97, 6 (*yatraushadhīḥ samagmata rājānaḥ samitāv iva* | *vipraḥ sa uchyate bhishag rakshohā 'mīva-chātanaḥ*). The construction of chariots is often alluded to, and the skill shown in the composition of hymns is described as a fabrication, and compared to the art of the carriage-builder, i. 61, 4; i. 62, 13; i. 130, 6; i. 171, 2; ii. 19, 8; ii. 35, 2; iv. 16, 20; v. 2, 11; v. 29, 15; v. 73, 10; vi. 32, 1; x. 39, 14, etc. (see the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 233, 235 f., 241). The Ṛibhus are, as we have already seen (p. 226), celebrated for their ability as workers in wood and metal, which further indicates the existence and appreciation of such skill at the period in question. Skill in the manufacture of weapons of war and other sharp-edged

[635] In Manu xi. 94, it is said to be of three kinds, *gauḍī, paishṭī, mādhvī*, distilled from molasses, meal, or the flowers of the madhu plant.

implements must have been common, as spears (*vāśī*), swords or knives (*asi*), axes (*paraśu, svadhiti*), are constantly mentioned, i. 162, 20; x. 79, 6; x. 86, 18; ix. 96, 6; i. 127, 3; vii. 104, 21; x. 28, 8; x. 53, 9; vi. 3, 5; vi. 47, 10; viii. 91, 19. Weaving, it is scarcely necessary to say, was universally practised, as we learn from the references already quoted to cloth, and from the metaphorical use of the verb *ve*, "to weave," for the composition of hymns, etc. Thus in i. 61, 8: (*devapatnīr Indrāya arkam ahihatye ūvuḥ* | "The wives of the gods wove a hymn to Indra on his slaughter of Ahi)," vii. 33, 9 and 12 (see the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 247); x. 130, 1 (ibid. p. 277 f.). The warp and woof (*tantu* and *otu*) are both mentioned in vi. 9, 1 and 2: *nāhaṁ tantuṁ na vijānāmi otum ityādi* | "I know not the warp and I know not the woof," etc. (These two verses are translated by Professor Benfey in the Glossary to his Sāma-veda, p. 76; see also A.V. xiv. 2, 51). The art of boat- or ship-building was well known, as appears from the frequent mention made of boats or ships (*nau* or *plava*), i. 116, 3; i. 182, 5 f.; i. 131, 2; ii. 39, 4; viii. 42, 3; viii. 72, 3; ix. 70, 10, propelled by oars, x. 101, 2 (*nāvam aritraparaṇīm*). Ships are even spoken of as going to sea (see above, p. 244 f., and i. 25, 7, *nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ;* vii. 88, 3 f.). The Aśvins are said to have conveyed Bhujyu in a ship with a hundred oars (*śatāritrāṁ nāvam*). Rope-making also must have been practised, as ropes are mentioned, i. 162, 8, or their absence referred to, ii. 13, 9; vii. 84, 2. Working in leather must also have been common, as hides (*charman*, i. 85, 5; vi. 8, 3; vii. 63, 1), and skins for holding water or wine (*dṛiti*) are constantly referred to, i. 191, 10; iv. 45, 1, 3; v. 83, 7; vi. 48, 18; vii. 89, 2; vii. 103, 2; viii. 5, 19. Agriculture, as we have already seen (p. 427), is recommended to the gambler in x. 34, 13, and in the hymn to Araṇyānī, x. 146, 6 (above, p. 423), the goddess is said to be untilled by husbandmen (*akṛishīvala*). R.V. iv. 57, is a hymn in which the Kshetrasya pati, or deity who is the protector of the soil or of husbandry, is addressed, and a blessing is invoked on field operations, and their instruments, and on the cultivators (*kīnāśa*). Compare x. 117, 7. *Urvarā*, cultivated and fertile land, is mentioned in various places. Watercourses (*kulyā*), which may or may not have been artificial, are alluded to in iii. 45, 3, and x. 43, 7 (*samaksharan somāsaḥ Indraṁ kulyāḥ iva hradam*), as leading to ponds or

lakes; and waters which are expressly referred to as flowing in channels which had been dug up for them, are mentioned in vii. 49, 2 (*yāḥ āpo divyāḥ uta vā sravanti khanitrimāḥ uta vā yāḥ svayamjāḥ*); and from this it is not unreasonable to infer that the irrigation of lands under cultivation may have been practised. In the Rig-veda we have, as Professor Müller observes (Transl. i. 223 f.), clear allusions to shaving, x. 142, 4, where Agni is said to shave the earth, as a barber does a beard (see above, p. 212). In viii. 4, 16, as interpreted by Professor Roth, the worshippers pray that the god would sharpen them like the edge of scissors (*saṁ naḥ śiśīhi bhurijor iva kshuram*). On the prevalence of debt, see Professor Wilson's observations in the Introduction to his translation of the Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. xvii., and compare R.V. x. 34, 10, quoted above, in p. 427.

(10) *Amusements.*

Gaming was a frequent amusement of the early Indians, as we learn from the hymn x. 34, which has been given at length above, p. 426, (comp. vii. 86, 6); and from the frequent illustrations derived from the practice; see i. 92, 10; ii. 12, 4; ii. 29, 5; iv. 20, 3; v. 85, 8; viii. 45, 38; x. 42, 9; x. 43, 5.

Dancers, or actors (*nṛitū*), seem to have afforded entertainment at the same period; as we may gather from i. 92, 4, where Ushas is said to display herself like a professional person of this sort, who decks himself with ornaments (see above, p. 185). In x. 18, 3,[636] allusion is made to the living going forth to dance and to laugh after a funeral (*prāncho agāma nṛitaye hasāya*). Drums (*dundubhi*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 28, 5; vi. 47, 29, 31; and a hymn in the A.V. v. 20, is addressed to this musical instrument. According to Professor Roth (see *s.v.* and Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 92) the word *bakura*, which occurs in i. 117, 21 (and is explained by Sāyaṇa as a thunderbolt) probably means a martial wind instrument.

(11) *Crime.*

Thieves or robbers (*tāyu, taskara, stena, paripanthin, mushīvan, huraśchit*) are mentioned in some passages as infesting the highways, or

[636] See Professor Roth's translation of the verse in Z. D. M. G. viii. 468, and Professor Müller's in the same Journal ix. p. xvi.

stealing secretly (see above, p. 174 f.; i. 50, 2: *apa tye tāyavo yathā nakshatrā yanti aktubhiḥ* | "The stars depart before the sun's rays, like thieves," i. 65, 1; i. 191, 5 (*ete u tye praty adṛiśran pradoshaṁ taskarāḥ iva* | "They have been seen in the evening like thieves"); ii. 28, 10; iv. 38, 5 (*uta sma enam vastramathiṁ na tāyum anu krośanti kshitayo bhareshu* | "Men cry after him in battles as after a thief stealing clothes"); v. 15, 5; v. 52, 12; vi. 12, 5; vii. 55, 3; vii. 86, 5: viii. 29, 6; x. 4, 6.

(12) *Animals, tame or wild, mentioned in the hymns.*

The mention of kine and horses[637] (beth in prayers to the gods to bestow them in abundance, and in the details of gifts conferred upon poets or priests) is too frequent to require further specification. Sheep (*avi, avikā, urā, mesha*) are also frequently referred to, i. 43, 6; i. 51, 1; i. 52, 1; i. 116, 16; viii. 2, 2; viii. 34, 3; ix. 6, 1; x. 95, 3; and goats (*aja, chhāga*) in i. 162, 3 f.; and x. 90, 10. Allusion is made in x. 27, 17 to the cooking of a fat ram (*pīvānam mesham apachanta vīrāḥ*). In Vālakhilya viii. 3, reference is made to the gift of a hundred ewes (*śatam ūrṇāvatīnām*). In i. 126, 7 the ewes of the Gandhāris are spoken of as famous for their wool (*romaśā Gandhārīṇām iva avikā*). Dogs are often alluded to. In ii. 39, 4 the two Asvins are compared to two dogs (*śvānā iva*). The mythological dogs of Yama have been already referred to (in p. 294). A long-tongued dog which brought no good is mentioned as an object of dread to be driven away, ix. 101, 1 and 13 (*apa śvānaṃ śnathishṭana sakhāyo dīrghajihvyam* | *apa śvānam arādhasaṁ hata makhaṁ na Bhṛigavaḥ*). Apes, *kapi*, (x. 86, 5), boars, *varāha* (viii. 66, 10; x. 28, 4), buffaloes, *mahisha* (see above, p. 90 and 463), deer, *mṛiga* (i. 38, 5; i. 105, 8), *riśya* (viii. 4, 10), jackals and foxes, *kroshṭṛi, lopāśa*, x. 28, 4, and wolves, *sālāvṛika* (x. 95, 15), lions, *siṁha* (x. 28, 4; iv. 16, 14), wolves, *vṛika, vṛikī*, i. 116, 16; viii. 55, 8, as devouring sheep, viii. 34, 3 (*urāṁ na dhūnute vṛikaḥ*), and deer, i. 105, 8 (*vṛiko na tṛishṇajam mṛigam*). Elephants also are possibly mentioned under the designation of *mṛiga vāraṇa* viii. 33, 8; x. 40, 4 (*vāraṇa* being an elephant in later

[637] In viii. 2, 2 allusion is made to be a horse being washed in a river (*aśvo na nikto nadīshu*).

Sanskrit); certainly under that of *mṛiga hastin* (the wild animal with the hand or trunk) i. 64, 7; iv. 16, 14. These texts are as follows: *mṛigāḥ iva hastinaḥ khādatha vanā* | "Ye (Maruts), like elephants, devour the woods;[638] iv. 16, 14: *mṛigo na hastī tavishīm ushāṇaḥ siṁho na bhīmaḥ āyudhāni bibhrat* "[Indra] consuming force like an elephant: like a terrible lion, carrying weapons; viii. 33, 8 (= S.V. ii. 1047); *dānā mṛigo na vāraṇaḥ purutrā charathaṁ dadhe* | which is thus rendered by Professor Roth, *s.v. dāna*, 2, "After feasting he runs hither and thither like a beast of prey."[639] x. 40, 4: *yuvām mṛigeva vāraṇā mṛigaṇyavo doshā vastor havishā ni hvayāmahe* | "We invoke you twain [Aśvins] night and day, as hunters [seek to catch] two wild animals."[640] In the first three of these passages the elephant (if meant in the third) is referred to merely as a terrible wild beast; in the fourth there is an allusion to the hunting of wild animals, and if elephants are intended, we may perhaps infer that, at the period when that verse was composed, they had begun to be tamed. There seems no reason to doubt that in A.V. ix. 3, 17, a female elephant is meant by *hastinī*: "Thou, hall (or house), standest on the earth with feet like a female elephant" (*mitā pṛithivyāṁ tishṭhasi hastinīva padvatī*). The author of this verse appears to have been accustomed to look familiarly at the animal close at hand. In the following verse from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 23 (quoted by Professor Roth *s.v.*) elephants are said by him and Professor Haug (transl. p. 26) to be understood by Sāyaṇa as intended by the word *mṛiga*: *hiraṇyayena parivṛitān kṛishṇān śukladato mṛigān* | *Mashṇāre Bharato 'dadāt śataṁ badvāni sapta cha* | "Bharata bestowed in Mashnāra one hundred and seven great herds of black, white-toothed wild animals, decked with gold." In many passages, i. 138, 2; viii. 5, 37; viii. 6, 48; viii. 46, 22 and 31, we find the word *ushṭra*, which, in later Sanskrit, denotes a camel; but according to Professor Roth (see *s.v.*) it means in the hymns a buffalo or a humped bull. Professor Aufrecht also informs me that in his opinion it signifies the latter. In one of the passages (viii. 6, 48)

[638] See Professor Müller's trans. of R.V. i. pp. 99 f.

[639] Profesor Benfey, Sāmaveda, Transl. p. 288, renders the half verse thus: "Like drops from a rutting elephant, falls in many places his moisture of blessing."

[640] Sayaṇa makes *vāraṇā* = *śārdūlau*, "tigers." Compare viii. 55, 8, where *vāraṇa* seems to be an epithet of *vṛika*, "wolf."

the oxen are said to form a team of four yoked together (*ushṭrān chaturyujaḥ*). Various birds are mentioned, peacocks, *mayūra* (i. 191, 14; iii. 45, 1; viii. 1, 25): pigeons, *kapota*[641] (i. 30, 4; x. 165, 1 ff.) falcons, *śyena*, vultures, *gṛidhra* (ii. 39, 1), ducks, *chakravāka* (ii. 39, 3), *āti* (x. 95, 9), swans, *haṁsa* (i. 163, 10; vii. 59, 7), quails, *vartikā* (i. 112, 8). Serpents are of course frequently mentioned, and in one place, ix. 86, 44, reference is made to their casting their slough (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati tvacham*).

(13) *War, armies, armour, and weapons.*

Wars, as we have already seen (see above, p. 109 f., 454), are frequently mentioned in the Rig-veda. Some verses have also been quoted, in p. 110, from R.V. x. 103, a hymn in praise of Indra's prowess, at the close of which he and other deities are supplicated to confound the enemies of his worshippers, and cause the arms of the latter to triumph. R.V. vi. 75, is another remarkable composition of a warlike character in praise of armour, of the bow, etc. The following are a few of the verses, which are spirited:—

1. *Jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratīkaṁ yad varmī yāti samadām upasthe | anāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvaṁ sa tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu* | 2. *Dhanvanā gāḥ dhanvanā "jiṁ jayema dhanvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema | dhanuḥ śatror apakāmaṁ kriṇotu dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema* | 3. *Vakshyantīved ā ganīganti karṇam priyaṁ sakhāyam parishasvajānā | yosheva śinkte vitatā 'dhi dhanvan jyā iyaṁ samane pārayantī* | . . . . 6. *Rathe tishṭhan nayati vājinaḥ puro yatra yatra kāmayate sushārathiḥ | abhīśūnām mahimānam panāyata manaḥ paśchād anu yachhanti raśmayaḥ* | 7. *Tīvrān ghoshān kriṇvate vṛishapāṇayaḥ aśvāḥ rathebhiḥ saha vājayantaḥ | avakrāmantaḥ prapadair amitrān kshiṇanti śatrūn anapavyayantaḥ* |

"1. There appears like the lustre of a cloud when the mailed warrior stalks into the heart of the combat. Conquer with an unscathed body; let the might of thine armour protect thee. 2. With the bow may we conquer cattle; with the bow may we conquer in the struggle for the mastery; with the bow may we conquer in the sharp conflicts; the bow frustrates the desire of our enemy; with the bow

[641] Professor Roth suggests *s.v.* that *kapota* may not always mean a pigeon, as the bird it denotes is sometimes connected with the owl (ulūka) and is regarded as unlucky. In x. 165, 1, it is called the messenger of Nirṛiti or Evil.

may we conquer all the regions around. 3. The bowstring approaches close to the bowman's ear, as if to speak to and embrace a dear friend; strung upon the bow, it twangs like the scream of a woman, and carries the warrior safely through the battle .... 6. Standing on the chariot the skilful charioteer directs the horses whithersoever he wills; laud the power of the reins, which from behind control the impulse [of the horses]. 7. The strong-hoofed steeds, rushing on with the chariots, utter shrill neighings; trampling the foe with their hoofs, they crush them, never receding."

The following is a free metrical rendering of the preceding verses:

1. When, cased in mail, the warrior proud
    Stalks on defiant to the front,
    To bear the raging battle's brunt,
  We seem to see a flashing cloud.
  Bold warrior, may thine armour bright
  Preserve thee scatheless in the fight!

2. May I the foeman's malice foil
    With this my all-subduing bow!
    May I, triumphant, lay him low,
  And all his goods and cattle spoil!
  This bow our foes with ruin whelms,
  And conquers all surrounding realms.

3. The bowstring to the bowman's ear
    Approaches close, as if to speak:
    Its twang is like a woman's shriek:
  It guards the warrior's soul from fear.

6. See, yonder on the chariot stands
    The dauntless charioteer, whose skill
    His horses onward drives, whose will
  Their movements to and fro commands.
  The reins (their wondrous power extol!)
  Although behind, the steeds control.

7. The impetuous coursers shrilly neigh,
    As forward to the fight they rush:
    Their trampling hoofs our foemen crush;
  They never shun the murderous fray.

In three hymns of the 8th Maṇḍala, 39, 40, and 41, each verse (except the last of hymn 40) ends with the words *nabhantām anyake same* | "may all aliens or enemies perish;" and one verse, viii. 40, 7, contains a prayer for victory over hostile combatants, and for their destruction (*asmākebhir nṛibhir vayam̃ sāsahyāma pṛitanyato vanuyāma vanushyataḥ*). Hymn x. 133 contains prayers to Indra for victory and protection, and each of the first six verses concludes with the same terms *nabhantām anyakeshām̃ jyākāḥ adhi dhanvasu* | "May the bowstrings of our enemies be snapped upon their bows."

War chariots are mentioned, as we have just seen, in vi. 75, 6 f.; and also in x. 103, 10 (see above, p. 110). I am not aware that any means exist of ascertaining the form of their construction. They seem to have been drawn by two horses, and were probably formed so as to carry two persons, a charioteer and a combatant; at least, this may be conjectured both from the nature of the case, the practice of other countries, and from the fact of two or more deities being described as occupying the same car, in the cases of Indra and Vāyu (above, p. 144), of Agni and the other gods (p. 202), and of Sūryā and the Aśvins (p. 236). The different parts and appurtenances of the Aśvins' chariot are alluded to above (p. 240 f., and note), and had no doubt their counterparts in those of their worshippers (see also above the account of Mitra and Varuṇa's chariot, in p. 42). The charioteer was, no doubt, like the Maruts (p. 151), furnished with a whip. Foot soldiers are mentioned in A.V. vii. 62, 1, where Agni is said to conquer the most powerful opponents, as a combatant on a chariot overcomes men fighting on foot (*ayam Agniḥ satpatir vṛiddha-vṛishṇo rathīva pattīn ajayat purohitaḥ*). Banners are alluded to as borne in battle, R.V. x. 103, 11 (see above, p. 110), and in vii. 83, 2 (*yatra naraḥ samayante kṛitadhvajaḥ* | "where men bearing ensigns meet in battle, etc"). Senānī, "the leader of an army," is metaphorically applied to one of the host of dice, x. 34, 12 (*yo vaḥ senānīr mahato gaṇasya*). As regards the size of the armies, the Vedic poets are familiar with large numbers, at least as regards the hosts of the Dasyus, whether we are to take these as aboriginal tribes or mythological foes in the clouds. In i. 53, 9, 60,000; in iv. 16, 13, 50,000; and in iv. 30, 21, 30,000, are mentioned as destroyed by Indra. The battle of Sudās with the ten kings has been already referred to (above, p. 454). Defensive

armour or mail (*varman*), is mentioned in vi. 75, 1, already quoted, and is referred to in numerous other passages, as vi. 75, 18 (*marmāṇi te varmaṇā chhādayāmi* | "I protect thy vital parts with armour"), and 19; vi. 27, 6. Varuṇa and Savitṛi are each of them mentioned as being clad in golden or yellow mail (as the word drāpi is interpreted by Sāyaṇa; Müller, in Ancient Sansk. Lit., 536; and Benfey, in R.V. i. 25, 13;[642] while Roth, *s.v.*, explains it, perhaps with more probability, as meaning "robe"), i. 25, 13 (*bibhrad drāpiṁ hiraṇyayaṁ Varuṇo vaste nirṇijam*); iv. 53, 2 (*piśangaṁ drāpim pratimunchate kaviḥ*). Various kinds of warlike weapons have already been mentioned above in subsection (9), p. 464 f. See also the accounts of the weapons assigned to Indra in p. 86 f., and of the arms and armour of the Maruts in p. 149 f. and notes.

(14) *Poetry and speculation.*

The elaborate character of the metres in which the hymns are composed has been adverted to by Professor Wilson, in the Introduction to the 2nd vol. of his translation of the Rig-veda. As regards the occasional beauty and variety of the illustrative imagery employed, and the moral depth of many of the reflections, I may refer to the hymns to Ushas translated above in section xiii. The hymn on the variety of human pursuits, ix. 112, that on gambling, x. 34, and the one on beneficence, x. 117 (all translated in the preceding section, pp. 424 ff.), may be cited as instances of close and acute observation of human life. The speculations on creation in x. 129 (above, p. 356) and in x. 82 and 83 (p. 354), indicate the beginnings of philosophical reflection. As an instance of picturesque expression I may quote the epithet *vṛiksha-keśa*, as applied to mountains, in v. 41, 11: *āpaḥ oshadhīr uta no avantu dyaur vanā girayo vṛikshakeśāḥ* | "May the Waters, the Plants, the Sky, the Woods, the Mountains with their tresses of trees, preserve us."

In R.V. x. 70, 10, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 254, and in A.V. vii. 12, quoted above, in p. 438, allusion is made to social meetings, which appear to have been of a literary or learned character.

[642] In R.V. i. 116, 10, however, Benfey renders it by robe, or garment, as he does also in S.V. ii. 368 = R.V. ix. 100, 9 (trans. of S.V. p. 256). In his glossary *s.v.* *drāpi*, he translates it by coat of mail, where it occurs in R.V. ix. 86, 14.

(15) *Conclusion.*

Although the hymns of the Rig-veda exhibit a simpler, a less advanced, a less definitely fixed and developed, stage of religious belief and conceptions than we meet with in the works of the earliest Greek poets, and a system of ideas widely diverse both from the mythological forms, and the theosophic opinions, of the later Indian pantheon, and of subsequent speculation, and although some of the customs and practices of that early age were different from those which prevailed in later times, it would be a mistake to suppose that, in the former period, the condition of society was of a very primitive description. On the contrary, the preceding inquiry has brought into view many signs of a considerable progress in civilization, and in even a certain sort of refinement, as then existing. (Compare the remarks of Professor Wilson, in the Introduction to the second volume of his Translation of the Rig-veda, p. xvii.)

APPENDIX.

Page 15, *line* 7.

See A.V. iv. 11, 6 (quoted in p. 361, at the foot), where the gods are said to have "ascended to heaven, leaving their bodies behind."

Page 15, *line* 11.

In the two following passages the poets seem to claim affinity with the gods.

viii. 27, 10: *asti hi vaḥ sajātyam riśādaso devāso asti āpyam* | 14. *Devāso hi sma manave samanyavo viśve sākaṁ sarātayaḥ* |

viii. 72, 7: *adhi naḥ Indra eshāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām* | *ita Maruto Aśvinā* | 8. *Pra bhrātṛitvaṁ sudānavo adha dvitā samānyā* | *mātur garbhe bharāmahe* |

Page 18, *line* 11.

Compare the Taitt. Sanh., Asht. 6, p. 18 of MS. 1702 of India Office Library: *Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan* | *te devāḥ mitho vipriyāḥ āsan* | *te anyonyasmai jyaishṭhyāya tishṭhamānāḥ panchadhā vyakrāmann Agnir Vasubhiḥ Somo Rudrair Indro Marudbhir Varuṇaḥ Ādityair Bṛihaspatir Viśvairdevaiḥ* | *te amanyanta "asurebhyo vai idam bhrātṛivyebhyo radhyāmo yan mitho vipriyāḥ smaḥ* | *yāḥ naḥ imāḥ priyās tanuvas tāḥ samavadyāma ha etābhyaḥ sa nirṛichhād yaḥ naḥ prathamo 'nyonyasmai druhyād" iti* | *tasmād yaḥ satānūnaptṛiṇām prathamo druhyati sa ārttim ārchhati* | *yat tānūnaptram samavadyati bhrātṛivyābhibhūtyai bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya bhrātṛivyo bhavati ityādi* |

"The gods and Asuras contended together. The gods were hostile to one another. Striving with one another for the superiority, they parted into five divisions, Agni with the Vasus, Soma with the Rudras,

Indra with the Maruts, Varuṇa with the Âdityas, and Bṛihaspati with the Viśvedevas. They then reflected: 'We are subject to our enemies, the Asuras, because we are hostile to one another. Let us unite our dear bodies; and whoever shall first show enmity to another, let him be separated from his body.' Hence, any one among persons who have bound themselves together by an oath, who first commits an injury falls into calamity. When a man joins in the oath *tānūnaptra* for the purpose of overcoming his enemies, he conquers, and his adversary is overcome."

The same story is told in other words in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and I quote the words to show how these narratives are varied in the different Brāhmaṇas:

Ait. Br. 1, 24: *Te devāḥ abibhayur "asmākam vipremāṇam anu idam asurāḥ ābhavishyanti" iti | te vyutkramya amantrayanta | Agniḥ Vasubhir udakrāmad Indro Rudrair Varuṇaḥ Ādityair Bṛihaspatir Viśvair devaiḥ | te tathā vyutkramya amantrayanta | te 'bruvan "hanta yāḥ eva naḥ imāḥ priyatamās tanvas tāḥ asya Varuṇasya rājno grihe sannidadhāmahai | tābhir eva naḥ sa na sangachhātai yo naḥ etad atikrāmād yaḥ ālulo bhavishād" iti | "tathā" iti | Te Varuṇasya rājno grihe tanūḥ sannyadadhata | te yad Varuṇasya rājno grihe tanūḥ sannyadadhata tat tānūnaptram abhavat | tat tānūnaptrasya tānūnaptratvam | tasmād āhur "na satānūnaptriṇe drogdhavyam" iti | tasmād u Asurāḥ na anvābhavanti |*

I quote Professor Haug's translation of this passage: "The Devas were afraid, surmising the Asuras might become aware of their being disunited, and seize their reign. They marched out in several divisions and deliberated. Agni marched out with the Vasus and deliberated. Indra did so with the Rudras; Varuṇa with the Âdityas; and Bṛihaspati with the Viśve Devas. Thus all, having severally marched out, deliberated. They said, 'Well, let us put these our dearest bodies in the house of Varuṇa the king (*i.e.* water); he among us who should, out of greediness, transgress this (oath, not to do anything which might injure the sacrifice), he shall no more be joined with them. They put their bodies in the house of Varuṇa. This putting of their bodies in the house of Varuṇa the king, became their *Tānūnaptram* (joining of bodies). Thence they say: none of those joined together by the *Tānūnaptram* ceremony is to be injured. Thence the Asuras

could not conquer their (the gods') empire (for they had all been made inviolable by this ceremony)."

Page 65, *line* 13.

Setū must mean "bonds," not "barriers." See the quotation next following in the text, viz., vii. 84, 2; and compare R.V. ix. 73, 4, and x. 67, 4; and the word *setra*, rendered "a ligament, a fetter," in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.

Page 103, *line* 10.

Compare R.V. i. 61, 2; i. 157, 6; viii. 1, 31; viii. 2, 37; x. 147, 1, where faith or heart-felt worship to Indra or the Aśvins is expressed, or enjoined.

Page 105, *line* 11.

So in R.V. viii. 59, 7, it is said: *na sīm adevaḥ āpad ishaṁ dīrghāyo martyaḥ* | "o long-lived god, the godless man obtains no food."

Page 108, *line* 8.

Indra is himself declared to be a priest and a rishi, viii. 16, 7 (*Indro brahmā Indraḥ rishiḥ*).

Page 118, *line* 19.

See also Professor Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, ii. 427.

Page 178, *line* 6.

Karambhād. See Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 306, and the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 4 f.: *Tat Pūshṇe paryaharan* | *tat Pūshā prāśya dato 'ruṇat* | *tasmāt Pūshā prapishṭa-bhāgaḥ* | *adantako hi* | "They gave it to Pūshan; and he, in eating it, pushed out his teeth. Hence, Pūshan has ground meal for his share in the oblation; for he is toothless." See the later story about how Pūshan lost his teeth, in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 168, 322.

Page 217, *line* 10 *from the foot*.

I have to thank Professor Müller for sending me a copy of Sāyaṇa's note on the verse, R.V. x. 16, 4. It is as follows:—

Ajaḥ janana-rahitaḥ śarīrendriyādi-bhāga-vyatiriktaḥ antara-purusha-lakshaṇo yo bhāgas te Agne te tvadīyena tapasā tapanena taṁ tādṛiśam bhāgam tapasva tapanaṁ kuru | *Tathā te tava śochiḥ śokahetur jvālā-viśeshaḥ tam bhāgam tapatu saṁskarotu* | *tapaḥ-śochir-archiḥ-śabdānāṁ*

santānāya tāratamyena bhedaḥ | *He jātavedaḥ te tava yās tanvo mūrtayaḥ śivāḥ sukha-hetavaḥ tanu-tāpa-pradāḥ tābhir eva tanūbhiḥ pretaṁ sukṛitāṁ śobhana-karma-kāriṇāṁ lokaṁ sthānaṁ vaha prāpaya* |

Of this I will translate only so much as refers to the important phrase *ajo bhāgaḥ* | "'Aja' is the portion characterized as the inner man, devoid of birth, and of bodily senses and other parts."

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a statement of some further grounds in support of his opinion as quoted in my note to p. 217. He urges (1) that the goat is sacrificed to Agni (*āgneyam ajam*, Satap. Br. vi. 2, 1. 5, and Tāṇḍya Br. i. 8, 4, *agnaye 'jam*); (2) that it would be absurd to ask Agni to burn or warm the unborn part, that is, to do a material act to a thing beyond the reach of material influence; (3) that in the Rig-veda *bhāga* is never used for part (*pars*), but only for share (*sors*); (4) that *tap* means only to burn, to consume by heat, not to warm; (5) that *vātam ātmā gachhatu* | "let the soul go to the wind," had preceded in verse 3; so that there was no further occasion to refer to the man's immaterial part.

In regard to what is urged by Professor Aufrecht under his fifth head, I refer to what I have said on the sense of *ātman* in p. 313.

Page 220, *line* 3; *and* 267, *line* 16.

On the sense of *vṛitra* and *vṛitrahan* see Professor Spiegel's remarks in Kuhn's Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vi. 388 f.

Page 228, *line* 12 *from the bottom.*

In reference to this myth Professor Aufrecht refers me to Dr. Kuhn's Zeitschrift. i. 442, and to Professor Roth's explanation of it, ibid. p. 444.

Page 264, *line* 14.

Compare Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 7 ff., referred to above, p. 241, note 372. The story begins as follows:—

Prajāpatir vai Somāya rājne duhitaram prāyachhat Sūryāṁ Sāvitrīm | *tasyai sarve devāḥ varāḥ āgachhan* | "Prajāpati gave his daughter Sūryā Sāvitrī in marriage to king Soma. All the gods came as the bridegroom's friends."

Page 269, *line* 14.

In ix. 92, 5, it is said that Soma protected the (Āryan) man and repelled the Dasyu (*Somaḥ prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam*).

Page 288, *line* 4.

The Taitt. San. vi. 1, 4, 3, has the following story about Yama:—*Devāś cha vai Yamaś cha asmin loke 'spardhanta | sa Yamo devānām indriyaṁ vīryam ayuvata | tad Yamasya* 4. *Yamatvam | te devāḥ amanyanta "Yamo vai idam abhūd yad vayaṁ smaḥ" iti | te Prajāpatim upādhāvan | sa etau Prajāpatir ātmanaḥ uksha-vaśau niramimīta | te devāḥ Vaishṇāvaruṇīṁ vaśām ālabhanta Aindram ukshāṇam | taṁ Varuṇenaiva grāhayitvā Vishṇunā Yajnena prāṇudanta | Aindreṇaiva asya indriyam avṛinjata |*

"The gods and Yama contended in this world. Yama took away the vigour and energy of the gods. This is his characteristic. The gods reflected, 'Yarma has become the same as we are.' They hastened to Prajāpati, who formed from himself this bull and this cow. The gods sacrificed the cow to Vishṇu and Varuṇa, and the bull to Indra," etc.

Page 345, *line* 7.

In R.V. x. 30, 10, the Waters are called the mothers and the mistresses of the world (*ṛishe janitṛīr bhuvanasya patnīr apo vandasva*).

Page 361, *line* 3.

In R.V. x. 190, right (or the ceremonial), and truth, night, the ocean, etc., are said to have sprung from tapas: *Ṛitaṁ cha satyaṁ cha abhīddhāt tapaso 'dhi ajāyata | tato rātrī ajāyata tataḥ samudro arṇavaḥ |* 2. *Samudrād arṇavād adhi saṁvatsaro ajāyata | ahorātrāṇi vidadhat viśvasya mishato vaśī |* 3. *Sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam akalpayat | divaṁ cha pṛithivīṁ cha antariksham atho svaḥ |*

"Right and truth sprang from fervid tapas; and thence sprang the night and the liquid ocean. 2. From the liquid ocean sprang the year; and it, the lord of all things that see, made the day and night. Dhātṛi (or the Disposer) made the sun and moon as before; and the sky, the earth, the air, and the heaven."

Page 453, *line* 8 *from the foot.*

See also Professor H. H. Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. iii. f. (Dr. Hall's edit.).

INDEX.

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THE END.

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